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AN INTRODUCTION  
TO  
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AN INTRODUCTION  
TO  
GREEK EPIGRAPHY

PART I

THE ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THE  
GREEK ALPHABET

*EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

BY

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## PREFACE.

SIR CHARLES NEWTON, in the course of his admirable articles on Greek inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, remarks that "what is now wanted is a popular work, giving a classification of Greek inscriptions according to their age, country, and subject, and a selection of texts by way of samples, under each class." The present work represents an attempt to supply the need indicated by the words which I have quoted. The scope of the book will be best understood if it be described as an Introduction or Handbook to a *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, imagined, if that were possible, to be complete at the time of publication. But completeness is quite beyond reach in the present condition of epigraphical science and epigraphical discovery. If all exploration and research on ancient classical sites were to be stopped for a period of years, it might be possible indeed to issue a *Corpus*, which should contain all extant known Greek inscriptions; but on the day which marked the resumption of exploration a supplementary volume would be needed.

Such a supplementary volume had in the first instance been contemplated by August Boeckh, the original editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*; but so vast have been the additions to the number of Greek inscriptions since Boeckh's first volume was published in 1828, that the scholars who succeeded to his task abandoned the idea of completing Boeckh's work in the sense originally intended; the 'supplement' would in fact have exceeded in bulk the work to which it was to form an adjunct. This and other considerations led the Academy of Berlin to undertake the gigantic enterprise of

<sup>1</sup> *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, by C. T. Newton. London, 1880.

publishing a new *Corpus*, of which the three volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* may be regarded as a first instalment.

A few instances may suffice to demonstrate the difficulty of keeping pace with the activity of discovery and excavation. The opening pages (1—60) of Boeckh's *Corpus* contain forty-three inscriptions, which, in violation of the otherwise strictly geographical classification, are placed first as *Tituli antiquissima scripturae forma insigniores*. These, which we may provisionally group under the 'archaic' section, had in 1882 (so far as concerns the inscriptions not found in Attica) expanded into the six hundred or more inscriptions collected in H. Roehl's *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas*. No sooner had that work appeared than news came of the most extensive epigraphical discovery ever made, that of the immense twelve-column long inscription found at Gortyn in Crete. And a few months ago, when the first sheets of the present work had all but undergone final revision, the discovery of yet older Cretan inscriptions necessitated the rewriting of the whole Cretan section<sup>1</sup>. Again, since the appearance of Boeckh's first volume, the Attic inscriptions, numbering in the *Corpus* about 1000, have grown into the 5000 and upwards of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, with probably hundreds of others scattered in various periodicals.

The present volume, or Part I, containing the 'archaic' inscriptions, corresponds to the section in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* which is devoted to the *Tituli antiquissima scripturae forma insigniores*. An apology is perhaps due for the use of the word 'archaic'; the term is applied conveniently, albeit

<sup>1</sup> Every effort has been made to keep *au courant* with the periodical literature, but some of the more recent epigraphical information could find a place only in the *Addenda* and *Addenda nova*. While the last sheets are being printed off, I read in the latest number of the *Wiener Studien* (1887, p. 223 sqq.) A. Bauer's opinion that neither the Delphian tripod with intertwined serpents (no. 259) nor the memorial at Olympia (see p. 260) was intended to commemorate especially the battle of Plataeae. He contends that Pausanias (v. 23. 1, x. 13. 9) was the first to refer it to Plataeae; the other writers quoted by Roehl (IGA 70) represent both as memorials erected by the Greeks generally who fought against the Persians, and especially by those whose names appear on them, and who must have been contributors to the expense of erecting them.

somewhat arbitrarily, to inscriptions before about 400 B.C., and inscriptions written in the non-Ionic alphabet, which in the vast majority of cases will be found to be anterior to 403 B.C., when the Ionic alphabet was formally adopted in public documents at Athens. For the proper understanding of these inscriptions a knowledge of the history and changes of the Greek alphabet is indispensable. The plan has been adopted of appending to each group of inscriptions, arranged geographically, an account of the alphabet used from the earliest times in the locality from which they come. In every case the inscriptions in the original character are followed by a minuscule transcript, and where it appeared necessary, notes or short commentaries on the subject-matter have been subjoined; but in some instances, in order to avoid overloading the text, the commentary has been relegated to the Appendix. Wherever it seemed advisable, and wherever it was impossible approximately to represent the peculiarities of the original characters by other means, recourse has been had to reduced facsimile reproductions, obtained, it is hoped, from the best available sources. Where however the letters sufficiently conformed to well marked types, characteristic of periods or localities, the originals have been given in the text with approximate accuracy by means of special founts cast for the purpose. The student will therefore carefully distinguish between actual facsimiles and type-copies, and will not draw inferences from an inspection of the latter which would be justified only by an examination of the former, or, it may be, only by access to the original documents themselves.

It is intended that the arrangement adopted in Part II shall be in the main geographical, with subordinate divisions determined by chronology and subject-matter. An attempt will be made to give a selection of representative inscriptions from the most diverse localities of the Hellenic world. The choice will be guided by consideration of subject, dialect, and period. The inscriptions in Part II will naturally for the most part be drawn from the period beginning with the fourth century B.C. and reaching to the latest times; but many important inscriptions will be found which date from the 'archaic'

period, but which, as not being especially needed to illustrate the development of the Greek alphabet, are not included in Part I. The texts in Part II will be printed only in minuscule; but care will be taken to indicate the period in the history of the alphabet to which they severally belong.

The present volume contains, without counting coin-legends, about 500<sup>1</sup> inscriptions, nearly all of which are adduced with the object of illustrating the gradual development of the Greek alphabet. In the transcription the restored portions are denoted not only by enclosure within square brackets, but also by the use of a different type. A letter, of which traces remain in the original, is included in the square brackets, but printed in ordinary type<sup>2</sup>. A superfluous letter is denoted by angular brackets. A letter which is needed for the transcription but not intended to be present in the original, appears within curved brackets.

The most important authorities and sources of information have in general been cited at the head of the inscriptions: in the case of some inscriptions which have been often published it has been deemed better, regard being had to limits of space, to refer to more exhaustive lists in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* or other similar works. Of all authorities however the one to whom my debt is greatest—*das versteht sich von selbst*—is Professor A. Kirchhoff, whose *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* no writer on the earlier Greek inscriptions can dispense with, and from whose conclusions no student of epigraphy can lightly dissent. It is therefore with considerable hesitation that I feel myself compelled at present to maintain an attitude of suspense in the controversy, to which Prof. Kirchhoff has devoted three pages in the fourth edition of his *Studien*<sup>3</sup>, concerning the claims of the Abou-

<sup>1</sup> The actual numeration runs from 1 to 311, but frequently two or more inscriptions are included under one number.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally where there was no doubt whatever about the reading but where owing to fracture of the stone or other cause individual letters or a series of letters are imperfect, the device has been adopted of a line of dots beneath the letters; see, e.g., nos. 133, 147.

<sup>3</sup> This edition fortunately appeared just in time to enable me to correct the references to the *Studien* throughout the work and to modify parts of it in

Symbols inscriptions to be the oldest specimens in existence of the Ionic alphabet<sup>1</sup>. However the question may be decided, it furnishes an example of those numerous difficulties, which give force to Kirchhoff's observation, repeated in this fourth and last edition, that the time has not yet come to write a 'history' of the Greek alphabet, though the discoveries of the last ten years appear to have brought us appreciably nearer to the desired end.

An editor, who offers to students of Greek epigraphy a volume of 'Selections,' *ipso facto* invites a comparison between his work and other recent essays in the same field. I am fully aware that if I follow in the steps of such well-tried and experienced scholars as P. Cauer, W. Dittenberger, and E. L. Hicks, I cannot aspire to rank after them unless it be *longo intervallo*. But the scheme of the present volume, as described above, is entirely different from that of any which have preceded it, and on this ground alone it may perhaps prove to be no less useful to the student of Greek epigraphy in general than are the works of the three scholars named for the study of a special department. The 'Delectus' of P. Cauer deals with inscriptions from the point of view of dialect alone; the 'Sylloge' of W. Dittenberger treats of inscriptions which illustrate Hellenic political and social life; the 'Manual' of E. L. Hicks contains those inscriptions only which are of importance for historical research. And in speaking of Selections, no English student can without ingratitude omit a reference to the work of Hugh James Rose, whose volume entitled *Inscriptiones Graecae vetustissimae* appeared some three years before the first volume of the *Corpus* was published; and again no student of epigraphy can forget that the *Elementa Epigraphices Graecae* of J. Franz, published in 1839, was the

accordance with Kirchhoff's changed views or newly obtained information. Another important work which I was similarly able to use for the earliest sheets was B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum*.

<sup>1</sup> See the article on the Early Ionic Alphabet, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii. 220 sqq., by E. A. Gardner; Kirchhoff, *Studien, &c.*, Ed. 4, 44 sqq.; the article by G. Hirschfeld on Naukratis in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xlii. 200 sqq., and letters in the *Academy*, by E. A. Gardner, G. Hirschfeld and W. M. F. Petrie, 1887, May 14, July 9 and 16, Aug. 20 and 27.

only text-book in use for nearly half a century. It contained on the one hand a selection of inscriptions taken mainly from the first two volumes of the *Corpus* and on the other a mass of information touching the history, the forms, and the peculiarities of Greek inscriptions, the compilation of which argued such a breadth of learning and grasp of the subject on the part of the author that, when copies of the work became rare, scholars shrank from the responsibility of undertaking a new edition<sup>1</sup>.

A ready welcome therefore awaited the recently published *Traité de l'épigraphie grecque* of Mons. S. Reinach, who has very wisely decided that selections of inscriptions may best be left to separate treatises, and has confined himself to the task of making a really useful work of reference, dealing with all aspects of Greek epigraphy. Lastly, the concise and valuable summary forming the section *Griechische Epigraphik*, in I. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, may help us to estimate the great loss which epigraphical science has sustained in the untimely death of its author, Gustav Hinrichs.

My acknowledgments to fellow-students, pupils, and other friends, who have ungrudgingly lent me their aid in the preparation of this work, are too numerous to detail. But in particular I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor W. Ridgeway, whose vigorous criticism of the earlier proof sheets was invaluable; and to Mr E. A. Gardner, who not only under-

<sup>1</sup> For the more detailed bibliography, whether as concerns 'collections' or 'selections' of Greek inscriptions, the reader is referred to the *Corpus Inscriptionum graecarum*, pp. viii. sqq., Westermann, art. *Inscriptiones*, in Pauly's *Encyclopædia*; Egger, *Journal des Savants*, 1871, p. 157, 1885, and S. Reinach, *Traité de l'épigraphie grecque*, pp. 541 sqq. The information which led me "as in private duty bound" to commemorate on the dedicatory page one of the earliest masters in epigraphical lore is found in the following extract from the *Liber Matriculationis* of Gonville and Caius College, bearing date 1577: *Johannes Gruter filius Gualter civis et mercatoris Antverpiensis natus Antverpie in Brabantia educatus in Norwico sub doctore Matthias adolescens anno 19 in nostrum collegium admissus est pensionarius minor ordinis primi litterarum gratiâ 11 Junii 1577. Pro eo fidejubet Mr Richardus Swaile artium Mr et hujus collegii socius. Assignatur illi cubiculum inferius in Collegio Caii sub custode. Solvit pro ingressu iiii' iiii'.*

took the drudgery of making the index, but also read and criticised the proofs from beginning to end.

In offering my sincere thanks to the Syndics of the University Press for the trust they placed in my hands some years ago, I cannot but feel that they would never have done so if they had foreseen the delays and hindrances to publication which were destined inevitably to result from my continuous and heavy official duties. Lastly I have to thank the authorities of the University Press for their courtesy and readiness in overcoming the numerous typographical difficulties which from time to time presented themselves, and for the accuracy, beyond all praise, with which their readers detected and eliminated the minutest errors.

While I venture to anticipate that this *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* will be a real help to an increasing number of students both in this country and in America, I do not look forward without some misgiving to the searching, but I trust kindly, criticism which the work is likely to encounter. That its imperfections are neither few nor slight no one can be more conscious than the author himself.

E. S. ROBERTS.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
*September, 1887.*

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PERIODICALS REFERRED TO IN THE  
TEXT AND OF THE MORE IMPORTANT WORKS OF REFERENCE.

[Some of the more common abbreviations are subjoined in brackets: the  
rest will be readily understood by a reference to this list.]

- Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.  
4to. Berlin, 1815 sqq.
- Académie des inscriptions et de belles lettres (Comptes rendus des séances  
de l'). 8vo. Paris, 1857 sqq.
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1843-48, 1868 sqq. (*A. Z.*)
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 Paris and Athens, 1877 sqq. (*B. C. H.*)  
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 ship of Euclid; Vol. ii. Part i. 1877, by Köhler, giving the Decrees  
 alone from Euclid down to Augustus; Part ii. 1883, containing the  
 records of magistrates, catalogues, and documents relating to private  
 law; Vol. iii. Part i. 1878, and Part ii. 1883, by W. Dittenberger, con-  
 taining the inscriptions of the Roman period. (*CIA.*)  
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xviii *PERIODICALS AND WORKS OF REFERENCE.*

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## CORRIGENDA.

p. 47, l. 4, for  $\omega\acute{\sigma}\tau\omicron$  read  $\omega\acute{\sigma}\tau\acute{\omicron}$ .

p. 174, l. 4 and 5, from end, for  $\pi\alpha\rho[\alpha]\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}[\sigma\theta\alpha\iota]$  read  $\pi\alpha\rho[\alpha]\delta\iota\delta\omicron[\sigma\theta\alpha\iota]$ .

p. 197. To the note on no. 169. 269, I gladly add the following from F. Bechtel, *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, 1887, p. 32: "Der Verdacht der Fälschung wird schwerlich bestehn bleiben können." Cf. however Kirchhoff, *Stud.* <sup>4</sup>, p. vi.

p. 238, l. 3, from end, for  $A\acute{\iota}$  read  $A\iota$ .

p. 294, l. 3, from end, for  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\epsilon(s)$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  read  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\epsilon< s>$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .

p. 296, l. 10, for  $\pi\omicron(\tau)\tau\acute{o}\nu$  read  $\pi\acute{o}(\tau)\tau\acute{o}\nu$ .



## PART I.

### i. Historical Sketch of the Greek Alphabet.

§ 1. **Introduction.** The object of the following pages is to trace the history of the Greek alphabet from the earliest times. The first part of the undertaking is the more complex; the student must thread the maze of ramifications from one mother-alphabet down to the date when all other varieties gave place to that with which we are most familiar, the alphabet first adopted by the Ionians of Asia Minor. This date is marked at least in Athens by the archonship of Euclides, B.C. 403, when, according to Theopompus<sup>1</sup>, by a decree of Archinus it was ordained that in future all public acts should be written in the Ionic characters, which indeed had been in literary and private use in Attica<sup>2</sup>, and also in public use elsewhere<sup>3</sup>, for some time previously. From this point onwards the task becomes simpler, and consists merely in registering unimportant changes in a universally spread Hellenic alphabet, instead of having to deal with essentially different divisions or perplexing local variations.

The importance to the student of Greek epigraphy of an accurate acquaintance with the history of the Greek alphabet can hardly be overrated. Not only may the occurrence of a single form in an inscription suffice to determine the place of origin of the document<sup>4</sup>, but the appearance or disappearance of a given form or group of forms may serve to limit the date actually or approximately to a period of years<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Theopomp. *ap. Phot. Biblioth. cod.* 176. For other authorities see Franz, *El. Ep. Gr.* p. 148 note; Dar. and Sagl., *Art. Alphabet*, p. 201 note. Cf. Grote, *H. G.* ch. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> See § 41, p. 103 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> As in the Ionic coast cities of Asia Minor: cf. § 3 and 74.

<sup>4</sup> As, e.g., the Argive form of λ, the Corinthian of β and ε.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the remarks on the use of the signs for *spiritus asper* and ρ, and the group α, ν, σ, φ in Attic, § 41, III, XII.

§ 2. **Traditional compared with Inscriptional evidence.** It is plain that the data for the history of the Greek alphabet must be based upon either (i) Tradition or (ii) the Inscriptional records themselves.

(i) Tradition, except on one point, proves upon closer examination to be altogether inadmissible as evidence, not only because in most cases it depends upon the statements of later grammarians, whose relation to their sources of information we are no longer in a position to check, but also because their statements on the one hand bear a decidedly mythical stamp and on the other hand are found to be almost irreconcilably inconsistent with the evidence of contemporary inscriptions. When, for instance, tradition makes Simonides of Ceos inventor of the signs for  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , monuments prove the existence of these forms at least a generation before the poet was born<sup>1</sup>. When tradition ascribes to Epicharmus the invention of  $\xi$  and  $\psi$ , monuments again show that these characters were in use at Miletus at a date nearly half a century before the reputed year of Epicharmus' birth. It has indeed been suggested that the poems of Simonides may have helped to familiarise the Athenians with these new letters and that the attribution of 'invention' to an Epicharmus or a Simonides is only one of the not uncommon instances where the name of 'inventor' has been given to those who only popularised what was known before. Tradition however supplies one real historical fact, that the Greek alphabet is derived from the Phoenician; but even this statement could not have been accepted without proof; and here too it is the knowledge of the Phoenician alphabet itself and not tradition which has made and can alone make the fact certain.

(ii) Tradition then must be treated as though it did not exist; and the investigation must be based upon the evidence, not indeed always sufficient, but throughout admissible, of Inscriptional records. But of these last those belonging to the periods anterior to the end of the Peloponnesian war will principally occupy our attention. For with the general adoption of the Ionic variety, which more completely than the rest represents the Greek sound-system, the history of the Greek alphabet is practically concluded and the subsequent modifications and changes may be summed up in a few words.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the remarks on the *o*-sounds, § 5 *infra*.

*Note.* It does not come within the scope of this work to examine into the history of traditions such as that alluded to in the text. They will be found discussed by Franz, *Elem. epigr. Graec.* Chap. III. and by Lenormant in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire Art. Alphabet*, where copious references to authorities are given. The legends variously relate: (1) that the Phoenician writing was introduced into Greece by the colony of Cadmus (hence the terms 'Φοινικηία γράμματα' Hesych., cf. Hdt. v. 58 and *infra*. 142 B 37 'Καδμήϊα γράμματα' Hdt. v. 59; 'ἐκφοινίξαι' Hesych.); this is the account which finds most favour with Greek writers; (2) that the Greek alphabet was invented by Prometheus, by Orpheus, by Musaeus, or by Linus; (3) that Palamedes was the inventor; several monuments of art prove the high antiquity of this view (Ch. Lenorm. and De Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques*, Vol. I. p. 253); other accounts make Palamedes only the adapter of the Phoenician letters to Greek usage, and state that he added four new letters ξ, φ, υ, ψ; (4) that Epicharmus invented ξ and ψ, and (5) Simonides η and ω (see above, p. 2).

### § 3. Geographical and chronological division of the subject.

We proceed now to give a comprehensive sketch. This will be in fact a summary of the results arrived at by the detailed examination of the individual varieties of alphabet spread over the Hellenic world prior to a date which we may fix provisionally at B.C. 403. The periods which ended and began with this date we shall frequently find it convenient to denote as pre-Euclidean and post-Euclidean respectively. The reader is recommended to bear in mind that the statements in this anticipatory sketch are justified only so far as they can one and all be proved or reasonably inferred from the series of inscriptions adduced to exemplify the phases of the alphabet in successive periods and different localities. It will be sought in the course of the investigation to establish the following facts, a statement of which thus early will conduce to a readier appreciation of the exposition: these facts are (i) the existence in the 'pre-Euclidean' period of two well-marked divisions of the alphabet, conveniently termed the EASTERN and the WESTERN group, intersecting each other in Hellas proper, and separated from each other by specific peculiarities; (ii) a subordinate division of the Eastern group into the alphabets in use, (a) in the Islands of the Aegean Sea, (b) at a few spots on the mainland of Hellas, (c) in the coast-towns of Asia Minor: the Western group comprising the alphabets spread over the mainland of Hellas generally, together with Euboea; (iii) the existence of what is called the 'Ionian alphabet' (a branch of the Eastern group) in full development as early as B.C. 453, as it appears in (e.g.) an inscription from Halicarnassus (no. 145) ascertained to be not later than that date; (iv) the official adoption of

this alphabet in public documents at Athens in the year B.C. 403, in the archonship of Euclides; (v) its subsequent extension through the whole of the Hellenic world over which it prevailed with unessential modifications down to the latest periods.

The division of the alphabets here adopted is that of Kirchhoff. The principal classifications attempted by other scholars are those of Franz (*Elem. Ep. Gr.*), Mommsen (*Unterital. Dialecten*), and Lenormant (*Dar. and Sagl., Art. Alphabet*).

Franz distinguishes three Greek alphabets: (1) the *Aeolo-Dorian*, consisting of 25 letters, (2) the *Attic*, consisting of 21 letters, (3) the *Ionic*, consisting of 24 letters. Against the vague use of the term 'Dorian' and the conception of a 'Dorian' alphabet Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 122) enters a protest. See further § 86 below, on the Chalcidian and other vase-inscriptions.

Mommsen (whose classification is essentially chronological) admits the existence in Greece of only two successive alphabets: (1) a primitive alphabet of 23 letters, represented by the inscriptions of Thera; of this according to his view the *Ionic* and *Attic* alphabets of Franz are merely varieties; (2) a later or secondary alphabet of 26 letters, which he subdivides into two principal varieties, (a) the *Corecyrean*, (b) the *Dorico-Chalcidian* alphabet. To these he joins two other varieties, the *Argive* and the *Eleo-Arcadian*, which he considers as the product of the combination of the second alphabetic system with the first.

Lenormant adheres essentially to the division of Franz, which he modifies by classifying as follows: (1) the *Aeolo-Dorian* alphabet, to which belong two secondary and distinct sub-varieties, the *Corinthian* and the *Argive* alphabet, (2) the *Attic* alphabet, (3) the alphabet of the *Islands*, (4) the *Ionian* alphabet.

Lastly, Dr Taylor (*Alphabet*, xi. 64), while apparently adopting Kirchhoff's arrangement, hardly improves upon it by enumerating seven groups, distinguished as (1) the *Ionian*, (2) the *Aegean*, (3) the *Corinthian*, (4) the *Argive*, (5) the *Attic*, (6) the *Euboean*, (7) the *Peloponnesian*.

#### § 4. Derivation of the alphabets from a Phoenician source.

**Direction of writing.** The Greek alphabets are modifications and to some extent individual expansions of one and the same original alphabet derived from the Phoenician of 22 signs. These 22 signs were adopted without exception in the Phoenician order, and, as far as the oldest extant inscriptions entitle us to an inference, nearly in the forms indicated below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π
17	18	19	20	21	22										
ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ										

No attempt is here made at reproducing the form of the letters with exactness. They necessarily vary in detail in different and even in the same inscrip-

tions. For the exact representation of the most ancient Greek inscriptional types the student is referred to the inscriptions given later in facsimile. Below we subjoin for the sake of comparison the parent Phœnician forms, as taken from the two most ancient Phœnician monuments hitherto brought to light; these are (1) the inscriptions on fragments of the sacred vessels from the Temple of Baal Lebanon; (2) the inscription on the famous stele of Mesha, king of Moab, (the 'Moabite stone') dated approximately at 890 B.C.<sup>1</sup> On palaeographical grounds the priority in age has been assigned to the Baal Lebanon fragments. For convenience of future reference we have given also the Hebrew names of the letters and in the next column their numerical values.

			Baal Lebanon	Moab				Baal Lebanon	Moab
1	Aleph	1	𐤀	𐤁	12	Lamed	30	𐤌	𐤍
2	Beth	2	𐤂	𐤃	13	Mem	40	𐤎	𐤏
3	Gimel	3		𐤅	14	Nun	50	𐤐	𐤑
4	Daleth	4	𐤄	𐤆	15	Samekh	60	𐤓	𐤔
5	He	5		𐤈	16	Ayin	70	𐤕	𐤖
6	Vau	6		𐤊	17	Pe	80		𐤔
7	Zayin	7	𐤇	𐤌	18	Tsade	90	𐤕	𐤖
8	Cheth	8	𐤈	𐤍	19	Q'oph	100	𐤖	𐤗
9	Teth	9	𐤉		20	Resh	200	𐤗	𐤘
10	Yod	10	𐤊	𐤚	21	Shin	300	𐤘	𐤙
11	Kaph	20	𐤋	𐤛	22	Tau	400	𐤙	𐤚

The method of writing from right to left which henceforward we shall specify as the *retrograde* method was at first retained unaltered. This fact is expressly attested by Pausanias v. 25, 9 γέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο (the name on a statue of Agamemnon) ἐπὶ τὰ λαὶὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν, and is amply proved by the most ancient inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> The most convenient short account of the discovery and importance of these monuments will be found in Dr Taylor's *Alphabet*, i. 206 sqq. where references are given to the literature of the subject.

Then followed a period of transition, during which the βουστροφηδόν arrangement (winding as one ploughs with oxen) prevailed. Cf. Paus. v. 17, 6 τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοιόνδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ, i. e., in the first line the letters run from left to right, in the second from right to left, or conversely<sup>1</sup>. In the βουστροφηδόν style were written the laws of Solon at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (Harpocr. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος); to the same period belong the βουστροφηδόν inscriptions of the Greek mercenaries at Abou Symbel (no. 130); and early in the same century we have the inscriptions found on the Sacred Way at Branchidae (nos. 133 sqq.). It would appear then that in the sixth century the βουστροφηδόν style prevailed so far as to be characteristic. It was not till the beginning of the fifth century that the change from the retrograde to the βουστροφηδόν method brought about as a natural consequence the complete adoption of the left to right direction. That the transformation was already fully effected in the time of Herodotus the following passage shows: Hdt. ii. 36 γράμματα γράφουσι... Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά<sup>2</sup>.

§ 5. Immediate modifications necessary. The vowel signs. An alphabetic system of Semitic origin was obviously inadequate without considerable adaptation to meet the phonetic requirements of an essentially different language. To some of the signs therefore immediately after their adoption by the Greeks, and to others in the course of individual development, a value different from the Phoenician was given. The first need, which was doubtless felt at once, was to find special expressions for the vowel sounds, which the mother alphabet did not supply. These were obtained by utilising the signs 1, 5, 10, 16 (the Phoenician *aleph*, *he*, *yod*, *ayin*), which from a Greek point of view were superfluous, to denote the

<sup>1</sup> The comparison of writing to the action of ploughing appears again in the use of ἀλοκίψω (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 850) and the Latin *exarare litteras*. Doubtless between the strictly retrograde and the regular βουστροφηδόν there were many varieties; cf. Paus. *ib.* γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of certain letters (§ 2) their origin was attributed to the invention of mythical or historical personages, so with the direction of writing tradition was at pains to associate the last reform with a definite name. Thus we are assured by the Scholiast on Dionysius Thrax (Bekk. *Anecd.* ii. pp. 786—788) that the left to right style of writing was invented by one Pronapides of Athens (called by Diodorus, iii. 67, τὸν Ὀμήρου διδάσκαλον).

vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, which were in a measure inherent in their sounds. The need of distinctive signs for long and short vowels was not felt at first; 5 and 16 (*hé* and *ayin*) were even used to express the pseudo-diphthongs *ei* and *ou*. The last sound indeed continued to be expressed by a single sign till quite late in the history of the alphabet, and it was not till several decades after the general reception of the Ionic alphabet that this monophthongal *ou* was universally expressed by *two* separate vowel signs in the same way as genuine diphthongs. The history of the *e*-sounds is briefly this. At a very early period, and probably before 600 B.C., the desire was felt in the EASTERN part of Hellas to distinguish long and short<sup>1</sup> *e*, and in these regions no. 8, which at first denoted the *spiritus asper*, began to be used as an expression of long *e*, while to no. 5 (*hé*) were left the functions of short *e* and the pseudo-diphthong. In Ionic this usage became dominant; there was naturally at first a transition period during which the *spiritus asper* gradually ceased to be expressed by a written symbol. The remaining alphabets with very slight exceptions adhered to the older usage, which in this and other respects was finally supplanted only by the general reception of the Ionic alphabet. Contemporaneously with the introduction of two signs for the *e*-sounds, and perhaps even earlier—before the end of the 7th century B.C.—(see the remarks in § 22, p. 38 and § 67, p. 164), a need was experienced for distinguishing the long and short *o*-sounds in the written character, and hence arose at several spots in these regions a second innovation. Of the various modes attempted, that of the Ionians eventually prevailed; by differentiation from the old sign *O*<sup>2</sup>, to which was left the value *o* and *ou*, they obtained a new sign *Ω*, which was destined to mark the long *o*-sound, and was assigned the last place in the alphabet. The history of the fifth vowel *u* (*v*) is more obscure. We have seen that *aleph*, *he* and *ayin* were turned without difficulty into *a*, *ε* and *o*: *yod* too readily became *i*, a fact which seems to show that the semi-vowel *y* had even at that early period totally disappeared from Greece: on the same principle *vau* (no. 6) might have served to express *v*, but as the older language still generally separated consonantal and vocalic *u*, it became necessary to invent a new sign *Υ* or *Ϝ* for the vowel, which took its place at the end of the series of the Phœnician characters.

<sup>1</sup> Or, more properly perhaps, 'open' and 'close' *e*. See Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16 sqq. Compare also § 33 *infra* (Naxos).

<sup>2</sup> But see what is said on p. 15 sq. (iv), *infra*.

But from what source the Greeks took their **Υ** (**V**) it is impossible to tell<sup>1</sup>. All we can say is that there is no known Greek alphabet which had not this sign and therefore did not at least consist of 23 signs. It seems then on this and other grounds highly probable that the invention or adoption of the *υ* was contemporaneous with the reception of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks; and that consequently the original Greek alphabet consisted of 23 signs, and (apart from minor details, which must be regarded as the innovations of a later time) is essentially the same as that which we find on the oldest inscriptions of Thera, Melos and Crete.

§ 6. **The sibilants**<sup>2</sup>. But of the 23 signs, which must thus have been adopted *en bloc* at or before the period to which these old inscriptions belong, only 21 can have been in actual use; for the rich supply of *sibilants*, by which the Phoenician alphabet was characterised, the Greek, dependent herein upon the phonetic characteristics of the language, was unable to take over in full for any individual dialect or locality.

These sibilants, the soft, *zayin* (no. 7), the hard, *samekh* (no. 15), the lingual, *tsade* (no. 18), the palatal, *shin* (no. 21), are believed to have had the values *dz*, *s*, *ts*, *sh*, respectively. One of the signs, that for *tsade*, though formerly thought to occur on no Greek inscription, has now been identified with the 18th letter, *Μ*<sup>3</sup>, on the recently discovered alphabet of Formello (§ 12), where it stands between *π* and *ϙ*; thus occupying the same relative position as in the Phoenician alphabet. But the name of *tsade* recalls *zeta* too clearly for the resemblance to be accidental. The shape of *zeta* however (always *Ɀ*) is unquestionably that of *zayin*, and *zayin* occupies the same relative place in the alphabet as *zeta*. A similar uncertainty prevails in regard to the disposal and identification of the two remaining Phoenician signs *samekh* and *shin*. Though *sigma*

<sup>1</sup> Professor Key thinks that it is the Hebrew form of *ayin* (*y*), which differs much in shape from the nearly perfect circle of the old Phoenician. But Prof. Key's remark is applicable only to the *later* Hebrew form of *ayin*; if any form had been borrowed it would surely have been the earlier. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 170 regards as accidental the resemblance of the *vau* on the Mesha inscription (*υ*) with the Greek **Υ**. See however below, § 11, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> A condensed summary of all that has been said and written on the subject of this section will be found in J. Müller's *Handb. d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, D. griech. Epigraphik, by G. Hinrichs, §§ 66—74.

<sup>3</sup> In the alphabet of Caere (p. 17) it has the form *Λ*. Cf. the inscription from Brundisium, p. 272, and the remarks on Pamphylian, § 121, p. 315.



had the sound (s) and is by some thought to have had the name of *samekh*<sup>1</sup>, and though there is no proof that it ever had the sound (sh) of *shin*, it is undoubted that the sign for *shin*, in the form  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$ <sup>2</sup>, was used, at least over a considerable extent of the Hellenic world, from a very early period solely to represent the one Greek sibilant known as *sigma*. On the other hand, in Ionic inscriptions as early as the 6th century, we find the form of the 15th Phoenician letter *samekh* utilised for the 15th Greek letter *xi*. Further, on the older Dorian inscriptions, and even on the Ionic (?) *βουστροφῆδόν* inscription of Chalcis (no. 167), the sign for *sigma* is not  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$ , but M.

Several difficulties then present themselves for solution.

(1) If *zeta* has the sign of *zayin* but the name of *tsade*, what became of the sign for *tsade*? (2) If  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$  represents the sign for *shin* but the name of *samekh*, while *samekh* itself was used for the compound *xi* = *ks*, whence came the sign M, known as *sigma*, on the older Dorian inscriptions? (3) How is the want of correspondence between name and sign in each case to be explained?

It seems highly probable (i) that the Greeks once had the sign, if not the sound, of a fourth sibilant, (ii) that it was once known as *san*, (iii) that this *san* represented the form, though not the name, of the 18th Phoenician letter *tsade*, (iv) that *san* was in fact no other than the sign M, (v) that this M coexisted in one branch of the alphabet with  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$  in the other, the two branches having each selected a different Phoenician sign to denote the sound or sounds which afterwards at least became *s*. Thus we find that in the 5th century B.C. a fourth sibilant still survived in dialectic use. According to Herodotus<sup>3</sup> the names of the Persians "all end with the same letter—the letter which is called *san* by the Dorians and *sigma* by the Ionians." Herodotus indeed says nothing about a difference of form, but his mention of a distinctive Dorian and Ionian usage makes it highly probable that we have in the M of the older Dorian

<sup>1</sup> "The name *samekh*, with the normal addition of the emphatic *aleph*, would become *samekha* or *samega* and then *sigma* by metathesis of the labial and the guttural," Taylor, *Alph.* II. 98. On the other hand it is contended that *σίγμα* ('the hissing letter') is a true Greek formation as related to *σίξω* = *σιγγω*.

<sup>2</sup> The identity is confirmed, if confirmation was needed, by the position which *σ* assumes on some of the older Naucratis inscriptions: see no. 142.

<sup>3</sup> I. 139 τὰ οὐνόματα.....τελευτῶσι πάντα εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν γράμμα, τὸ Δωριεὺς μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα. It is assumed above that *san* is *shin* in a Greek dress. Could the name *san* have been a confusion between *zayin* and *shin*?

inscriptions (of Thera, Crete, Corinth, Argos) what he understands by *san*<sup>1</sup> and in the  $\Sigma$  of the older Ionian inscriptions (of Miletos, Naxos, Samos, Athens) what he understands by *sigma*. Again, the numerical powers of the first seventeen Phoenician and Greek letters correspond; the 17th, *p*, represents 80 in both alphabets, but the 19th, *q*, stands for 100 in the Phoenician and for 90 in the Greek. The 18th Phoenician letter, a sibilant, which stood for 90, disappeared from the Greek alphabet, and may be identified with the lost *san*. This conjectural explanation is fully confirmed by the ancient abecedaria from Italy; for in these the place next after *p* is occupied by *M* in the alphabets of Formello, Bomarzo and Grosseto, and *M*<sup>2</sup> in the older alphabet of Caere (see p. 17). Lastly, on the want of correspondence between the Phoenician and the Greek names, Dr Taylor, rejecting all former solutions as disproved by the recently discovered abecedaria, remarks (*Alphabet*, II. 99) that the whole difficulty will disappear if we assume that a confusion and exchange of names took place between the two dental sibilants, *zayin* and *tsade*, which represented approximate sounds, and also between the two 'open' sibilants, *samekh* and *shin*. He explains the interchange of names as the result of the amalgamation of contiguous local alphabets in which the primitive characters had acquired different forms. "The literature of the more cultured but less numerous people becoming known to the other race, they would employ the characters of the literary alphabet, designating them however by the familiar names of the characters expressing the same sounds in their own alphabet. If, for instance, the *s* in one alphabet had been originally obtained from *samekh*, and in the other from *shin*, those who had been accustomed to call the hard sibilant *sigma*, would continue to apply this name to the character which expressed the same sound in the supplanting alphabet."

<sup>1</sup> Dr Taylor (*Alphabet*, II. 95) notes that this conclusion is confirmed by the name and form of the numeral *sampi* ( $\sigma\alpha\nu + \pi\iota$ ). The name is modern and seems to have been suggested by the resemblance to  $\pi$  of the 15th century form  $\rho$ . This however may be traced back through the minuscule numeral  $\rho$  (9th century MS), the uncial  $\rho$  (which stands for 900 on a Greek 2nd century papyrus), and the numismatic  $\rho$  ( $\rho$ ), found on coins of Mesembria from the 5th to the 2nd century B.C. (cf. no. 145 and § 75), to the lapidary type *M* and the *M* of the older alphabet of Caere (see p. 17).

<sup>2</sup> This form reversed, as it would be for the retrograde direction of Semitic writing, is readily identified with that of the 18th Phoenician letter. See the table, p. 5.

§ 7. **Koppa and Vau.** The *koppa* at first universally used before the vowels *o* and *u* was at a later period in most localities given up as entirely superfluous, and was retained in the general Greek alphabet only as a numeral sign with the value 90. The same was the case with the *vau*, the sound of which (though originally so rooted in the language that so far from its being utilized for a vowel sign an entirely new vowel sign was invented) nevertheless later in the different dialects under different circumstances and at different times gradually died out. In some regions however (see pp. 50, 271) it outlived for a considerable period the reception of the Ionic alphabet in which it had first of all begun to lose its life as a sound. The sign which thus became superfluous continued to be used as an expression for the number 6.

§ 8. **Changes of form in the letters, (i) temporal, (ii) local.** The other changes, which in the course of time the 23 original letters underwent, concern more particularly not their value but their form, and are of no essential significance. One obvious change was in the position of the letters. At first, as we have seen (§ 4), the universal direction of writing was from right to left or *retrograde*; this was varied after a time by the *βoustrophηδόν* style; but with the disuse of these two styles and the gradual prevalence of the right to left direction of writing, the alteration in the position of the letters became permanent. Again, as the use of writing became more general the several signs assumed a more regular and clearly marked character; the forms were simplified, as was notably the case with the *iota*, originally crooked like its Phœnician predecessor, the *yod*, but afterwards straight. Thus there arose during these periods of transition many slightly varying formations, which are mostly of temporary value and of no decisive and specific importance for any one of the individual alphabets. They rather characterise the *time* during which they were in force than stamp any particular *locality*; e.g. Α, Ε, Θ, are nearly always<sup>1</sup> of greater antiquity than Α, Ε, Ο, and the same may be said of their respective relations in whatever locality they occur. On the other hand a few of these forms have an exclusively *local* value, e.g. the *beta*-form C of the

<sup>1</sup> In fact it is only in the very late times that we find used indiscriminately at the same period, and even in one and the same inscription, forms properly characteristic of different periods, such as Α, Α, Λ; Ε, Ε; Ο, Θ, Θ.

islands Ceos, Paros, &c., the Corinthian  $\sqcap$  ( $\beta$ ) and  $\text{B}$  ( $\epsilon$ ), the Attic, Boeotian and Chalcidian  $\text{L}$  ( $\lambda$ ), and the Argive  $\text{t}$  ( $\lambda$ ).

§ 9. **Evolution of guttural and labial aspirates.** This older alphabet of 23 signs did not long suffice for its requirements, for it did not contain a complete and consistent representation of the Greek sound-system. Only the series of the dentals was completely represented; the labial and guttural series had no aspirate-signs. Further, the Greeks manifested a tendency to express the union of a mute with a following sibilant, as a combined and indivisible sound, which required a corresponding sign. The union of a dental with a sibilant found its expression in the  $\text{I}$ , which had taken upon itself this as well as other functions; but for the labial and guttural series there were no such composite signs. At first the labial aspirate was expressed by the combination  $\pi h$  and the guttural aspirate by  $\kappa h$ , and the required sibilant compounds by juxtaposition of the signs representing their phonetic elements ( $\kappa\sigma$  and  $\pi\sigma$ , or  $\chi\sigma$  and  $\phi\sigma$ ), as is seen (e.g.) in the inscriptions of Thera and Melos; but after a time this clumsy method was given up and the alphabet was enriched by the adoption of three new signs  $\times$  ( $+$ ),  $\phi$ ,  $\psi$  ( $\Psi$ ), which took their place in the alphabet after the  $\vee$ . This expansion must have been effected at a very early period<sup>1</sup>, for with the exception of the alphabet of Thera, Melos and Crete, we know no Greek alphabet which does not already possess some or all of these signs.

§ 10. **Division into Eastern and Western alphabets based on the forms and order of the signs for  $\xi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ .** Here may be said to begin the unsolved problem in the history of the Greek alphabet. These signs have a different order and value in the different districts. It has accordingly been found convenient to distinguish two main divisions of the Greek alphabets, the **Eastern** and the **Western**. The **Eastern**, which includes on the mainland of Greece proper only the alphabets of Corinth, Megara and Argos, arranges them in the order  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ , giving  $\times$  the value of  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$  of  $\psi$ , and expressing the sound of  $\xi$  by the sign  $\Xi$  or  $\text{H}$  (*samekh*) standing between  $\nu$  and  $\omicron$  in the alphabetical order. The **Western** division, comprehending most of Greece proper and its Western

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 172) thinks that the expansion must have been complete even before the end of the 8th century B.C., as we may infer from the presence of the new signs in the alphabet of Chalcis and its colonies, and from the early date assigned to the foundation of the latter.

colonies, retains indeed the  $\Xi$  in the form  $\boxplus$  but only as a superfluous letter, places  $\chi$  before  $\phi$  with the value  $\xi$ , gives to  $\psi$  the value  $\chi$ , and for  $\psi$  continues to use the old combination  $\phi\sigma$ : two alphabets only of this group, the (Ozolian) Locrian and the Arcadian, express the  $\psi$  by a special sign,  $\star$ , which is obviously a product of differentiation and not an old invention. Between these two groups but in closer connexion with the Eastern, a middle position is taken up by those alphabets, which, like the Attic, possess the  $\phi$  and  $\chi$ , the latter with the value  $\chi$ , but express  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  not by special signs, but in more ancient style by  $\chi\sigma$  and  $\phi\sigma$ . It is possible of course that they actually possess the signs  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  but do not yet use them, just as in the Western group the Boeotian possesses the sign  $+$  with the value  $\xi$  and occasionally uses it, but to the end continues to denote the sound also by  $\chi\sigma$  (cf. § 88).

§ 11. **Attempted solutions of the problem.** How then are we to account for the identity which exists in the form of these three signs,  $\chi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\psi$ , in both alphabet-groups in spite of the different arrangement and the fundamentally different value of two of them,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ ? Of the various contending hypotheses it must suffice to quote the following.

(i) Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 173 sq.), maintaining an attitude of caution, holds that this identity of form in the three signs can hardly be accidental. We must therefore assume that they were invented probably all at the same time and in any case at one spot, from which they have spread over the whole region: and that consequently since the two which are used with different values could not have had this double significance from the very first, one of these values must be the original, the other the product of arbitrary alteration. Further, since the different sequence of the  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  in the alphabets of the different groups plainly stands in a causal connexion with this change of meaning of the  $\chi$ , this variation in its turn can only be explained by treating the one order as the original, the other as altered and secondary. The only question is, which of the two groups, the Eastern or the Western, represents most truly the original value and the original order of these three signs.

(ii) An alternative and bolder hypothesis, by no means free from difficulty, is advanced by Dr Taylor (*Alphabet*, II. 90 sqq.). He maintains that the characters of one alphabet were not adopted

in another as symbols of totally different sounds, but that in each case the forms in question were independent differentiations which in process of time became accidentally similar. According to this view the  $\times (+) = \chi$  of the East was merely a differentiation of *kappa* ( $\text{ⲕ}, \times, +$ ); and in the West the loop of *koppa* is opened so as to yield the successive forms  $\Psi, \psi, \downarrow$ . In either case then we shall have a simplification of the compound expressions  $\text{ⲕⲉ}, \varphi\text{ⲉ}$ , which are both used on the inscriptions of Thera to denote  $\chi$ . Similarly he thinks that both characters for  $\xi$ , the Western as well as the Eastern, were obtained by differentiation from *samekh*; the primitive forms  $\Xi$  or  $\Xi$  (see the Table, p. 5 *supra*) yielding  $+$  or  $\times$  almost as readily (?) as they yielded  $\Xi$ . Lastly, the  $\Psi$ , which with the value of  $\psi$  is confined to the Ionian alphabet, may well have been evolved from  $\phi$ , and may thus be just such a simplification of  $\phi\xi$  (which as well as  $\Gamma\xi$  was used to denote  $\psi$ ) as the Eastern  $\times$  and the Western  $\downarrow$  were conjectured to be of  $\text{ⲕⲉ}$  and  $\varphi\text{ⲉ}$  respectively. The best however that can be said of these conclusions is that the changes are possible; they are at any rate not proven.

(iii) A further contribution towards an explanation of the evolution or invention of the "complementary" signs comes from M. Clermont-Ganneau<sup>1</sup>. Here we have not space for more than a mere résumé of his results, and a few remarks on the more obvious of the objections, which suggest themselves. M. Clermont-Ganneau takes his stand upon the *forms* of the Mesha monument, as adequately supplying all the necessary material. He then proceeds upon the assumption that two principles guided the Greeks in the formation of their additional characters; (1) *the principle of contiguity*, by which he means that they always had recourse to the letters nearest at hand in the parent Phœnician alphabet to supply their new needs; (2) *the principle that in all their complementary signs they reproduce the archaic forms of the Phœnician types*. Thus he argues that  $\Upsilon$  came from  $\Upsilon$ , the Semitic *vau* (as it appears on the stèle of Mesha), which it had in the first instance represented;  $\Upsilon$  was reserved by the Greeks for the sound  $v$  and placed at the end of the alphabet, i.e. at the head of the complementary series, the  $F$  having usurped its place in the order and having inherited its name *vau*; the

<sup>1</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Origine des caractères complémentaires de l'alphabet grec*,  $\Upsilon, \Phi, \times, \Psi, \Omega$ ; In the *Mélanges Graux*, Paris, Thorin 1884, pp. 415—460; B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Arch.* 1884, p. 286 sqq. Cf. I. Taylor, *Acad.* 1884, No. 567, p. 188, No. 571, p. 261.

*digamma* ( $\varphi$ ), however, did not come from *vau*, but from the letter  $\epsilon$ , which immediately precedes it. Again, the sign  $\phi$  is no other than the sign for *koppa*, which was chosen both because it was unused and because it was next to  $\pi$ ; the form of *koppa* which the Greeks selected was the archaic form. Thirdly, the sign for  $\chi$  ( $=\chi$ ) is merely one of the forms of *tau*; the *tau* was chosen because, as closing the series, it was the sign nearest to the complementary series; the sign for  $\chi$  + ( $=\chi$ ) is the most ancient form of *tau*. Fourthly, the  $\psi$  ( $=\psi$ ), like all the additional letters, must be sought in the ancient Phoenician alphabet; it was simply a  $\Upsilon$  differentiated by an added vertical bar. Here M. Clermont-Ganneau appeals to alphabets of the Locrians and Arcadians, who, he thinks, in order to represent the sound *ps* had recourse not to the  $\Upsilon$  (for they had already derived from it their  $\Psi$ ), but to the next readiest to hand of the complementary signs, i.e.  $\chi$ , which they similarly crossed with a vertical bar. Lastly, the  $\Omega$  is a differentiated form of the Phoenician  $\bigcirc$ ; the last in order of the complementary series, it is also the most recent.

Against these views it has been urged by Dr Taylor (*Acad.* II. cc.), that (1) it is an elementary canon of palaeographical science that no changes in alphabetic signs are due to arbitrary invention but are effected in every case by slow and unconscious differentiation; (2) it is inadmissible as a general proposition, that any alphabetical character could radically change its phonetic value; for example that the archaic form of the Phoenician *tau* could be used to express the sound of  $\chi$ . It is no answer to this objection to point to the different values of  $\chi$  and  $\psi$  in the Eastern and Western alphabets; the origin of these signs is too obscure to serve as a basis of comparison. Nor can the changed use of the sign for *spiritus asper* to denote  $\eta$  be cited; it is possible that the name of the letter itself ( $\eta\tau\alpha$ ) suggested the change in usage. The same objection applies in part to Dr Taylor's attempted derivation (*Alphabet*, II. p. 89) of  $\phi$  from  $\theta$ , which he supposes to have been effected in an Aeolic region, where the sounds *ph* and *th* were easily confused or interchanged. Perhaps, however, the most apt criticism of M. Clermont-Ganneau's views is to be found in the words of S. Reinach (*Traité d'épigr. grecque*, 200), who, while expressing a general approval of the theory, nevertheless cautiously adds, 'l'auteur a peut-être le tort d'attribuer aux Grecs des plus anciens temps la subtilité et l'esprit de combinaison qui n'appartiennent qu'à lui.'

(iv) Lastly, W. Deecke (Baumeister, *Denkm.* p. 51), laying stress on the remarkable resemblance of the Greek  $\Upsilon$ ,  $\Phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\Psi$  to certain of the Cypriote syllabic characters (see note on p. 310), maintains that the Greek supplementary characters were derived from these. The resemblance is certainly striking, and the conjecture receives some confirmation from the phonetic values of the Cypriote signs. Thus  $\Upsilon$  denotes *u*,  $\Omega$  stands for *pu* and *ph(u)*,  $\ast$

for *ku* and *kh(u)*,  $\mu \psi \varphi$  for *se*. Mr E. A. Gardner (*J. H. S.*, 1886, Vol. VII. p. 233 sq.), giving a general support to Deecke's views, is inclined to complete the account by deriving  $\Omega$  not from  $\circ$ , but from the Cypriote sign for *ko*, which takes the forms  $\wedge \cap \sqcap$ . He justly urges that in the trade between Miletus and Naucratis, where he argues that  $\Omega$  was in use before the end of the 7th century (§ 67), Cyprus must have been a frequent stopping place for the Greek merchants<sup>1</sup>.

§ 12. **Alphabetic order. The abecedaria.** In the preceding sections it has been tacitly assumed that there was an ancient fixed 'alphabetic' order of the letters, and that this order was identical in the Phoenician and in the derived alphabets, at least so far as the stock of letters was common to both the latter and the former. It is now time to state the evidence on which this assumption rests.

There are four methods (Taylor, *Alphabet*, i. 185) by which the arrangement of the letters in ancient alphabets can usually be ascertained: (1) by means of actual alphabets or 'abecedaria', (2) from the values attached to the letters when used as numerals, (3) by means of acrostic composition, (4) from evidence afforded by alphabetic transmissions, i.e. derived alphabets. While only the last method of proof is available for settling the order of the ancient Phoenician alphabet and while the order of the derived Semitic alphabets, as for instance Hebrew, is adequately inferred from the numerical values of the letters or from acrostic compositions, such as Psalms 119, 111 and 145, the first four chapters of Lamentations, Proverbs xxxi. 10—31, and the imperfectly acrostic Psalms 37, 9 and 10, 25 and 34: the Greek order on the other hand is proved beyond question by the discovery of abecedaria of undoubtedly high antiquity. The alphabets of Formello and Caere have already been alluded to (§ 6); we now subjoin a detailed account of these and other abecedaria.

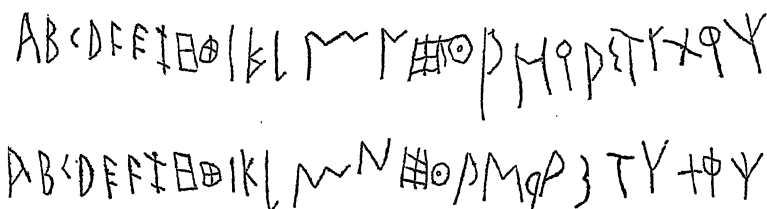
*The Formello Alphabet.* On a plain amphora-shaped vase of black ware, about 6½ inches in height, discovered in 1882 in a tomb at Formello, near *Vetii*, by Prince Chigi. Mommsen, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 91 sqq.; Bréal, *Mélanges*

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<sup>1</sup> G. Hirschfeld (*Rh. Mus.* XLII. 225), while vigorously combating Mr Gardner's general conclusions as to the inscriptions from Naucratis, agrees with him in the derivation of the  $\Omega$  and in his reference to Cyprus in this connexion.



de l'École Française de Rome, vol. II. pl. 6; *Ac. d. Inscr.* Mar. 17, 1882; *Phil. Woch.* II. 17, p. 538. Cf. *Acad.* 1882, Apr. 15 and 29; *Rev. Crit.* 1882, Apr. 4. Taylor, *Alph.* II. 73 sq.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 134 sqq.



Besides the Greek alphabet, written from left to right, which is given twice and contains the letters

$\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon \zeta \eta \theta \iota \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \xi \omicron \pi \rho \sigma \tau \upsilon + (= \xi) \phi \psi (= \chi)$ ,

the vase has an Etruscan inscription (retrograde, as always), perhaps indicating the ownership, together with a syllabary or spelling exercise. The two alphabets are nearly identical in detail: in the first E and F have been interchanged, doubtless by mistake, and  $\pi$  and  $\rho$  approach more nearly to the usual forms. In the Formello alphabet, as well as in those of Caere and Colle, the  $\nu$  is followed by a symbol which occurs in no Greek inscription, and which we shall see reason to identify as the descendant of the Phoenician *samēkh*. Further, as in the alphabet of Caere, the order of the signs for  $\nu \xi \phi \chi$  is that which we have above noted to be peculiar to the *Western* series of alphabets. The  $\Xi = \sigma$  is in the second example written retrograde, an arrangement which, like that of the  $\beta$  in the alphabet of Caere, indicates a period of fluctuation in the direction of writing. Lastly in the sign M following the  $\pi$  we have already (§ 6) learnt to recognise the Phoenician *shin* or Greek *san*.

*The Alphabet of Caere.* On a small crust-like vase of plain black ware. Height  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. Found in 1836 by Galassi (the 'Galassi' vase) at Cervetri, the ancient Caere, in an Etruscan tomb. It is now in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome. Lepsius, *Ann. d. Inst.* VIII. 1836, p. 186 sq., tab. C 1; *Mus. Etrusc. Gregor.* II. tab. 103; Mommsen, *Unterital. Dial.* p. 8. 14; CIG 8342; IGA 534; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 134 sqq.; Taylor, *Alph.* II. 75.



A Greek alphabet is engraved round the base and an Etruscan syllabary (with which we are not here concerned) runs in spiral windings round the body. The alphabet is injured by a fracture, which has partially obliterated the signs for  $\lambda$  and  $\mu$ . The surviving portion is as follows:

$\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon \zeta \eta \theta \iota \kappa \dots \nu \boxplus \omicron \pi \vee \rho \sigma \tau \upsilon + (= \xi) \phi \psi (= \chi)$

The traces are said to show that the  $\lambda$  had the same form as in the Formello alphabet and that the  $\mu$  had the peculiar shape  $\wedge$ , but no such inference is possible from the facsimile. The  $\nu$  is strangely enough represented by M and the *san* by an apparently abbreviated form  $\vee$  (cf. the inscription from Brundisium, p. 272).

*The Alphabet of Colle.* This and a syllabary were found in 1698, among Etruscan inscriptions, painted on the rock wall of a tomb at Colle, near Sienna. The alphabet is complete only as far as  $\omicron$ ; the remaining letters were too faint to be deciphered. Bellori, *Picturae antiquae*, App. tab. xi. p. 202 sq.; Buonarota, *Addit. ad Dempsteri librum de Etruria regali*, p. 36, tab. LXXXII.; Lepsius, *Ann. d. Inst.* viii. 1836, p. 195 sq. tab. C 3; Mommsen, *Unterit. Dial.* p. 8 sq.; CIG 6183; IGA 535. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 134 sqq.

AB C D E G I  $\boxplus$  O I K L  $\wedge$   $\vee$   $\boxplus$  O -----

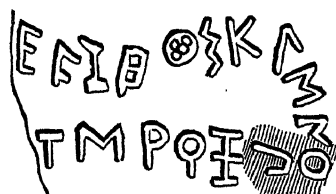
The surviving letters are  $\alpha \beta \zeta \delta \epsilon \gamma \zeta \eta \theta \iota \kappa \lambda \mu \nu \boxplus \omicron \dots$

The forms for F ( $\sqcap$  not F) and  $\gamma$  appear to have accidentally changed places; the | (instead of  $\sqcap$ ) for  $\zeta$  must rather be attributed to mistake than be considered a new form.

*The 'Cepolla' Alphabet.* This was said to have been found in 1805 by Luigi Cepolla near Basta in Calabria. It is unfortunately very incorrectly copied and was in fact interpreted and translated by Cepolla as an inscription! The possibility of restoring it will be more conveniently discussed later (see no. 268 and § 102); here it may suffice to say that Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 157) recognises in it the Tarentine model of the Messapian alphabet, while Deecke (*Rh. Mus.* 36, 576) and Baumeister (*Denkm.* p. 54) claim it for the Ionic group. Cf. Mommsen, *Unterit. Dial.* p. 51.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. an incomplete abecedarium of Amorgos, no. 159 b.

*Corinthian Alphabet.* On one of the numerous pottery fragments discovered at Corinth. Compare below the section on the archaic Corinthian inscriptions (§ 49 and note).



... ε F ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ο π ξ ρ σ τ ... Note the strange position of ξ, i.e. *samekh* of the mother alphabet, after π, i.e. in place of *tsade*, while *tsade* (*san*) is in the place belonging to *shin* (*sigma*). Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 103. Cf. the remarks, p. 306, on an alphabet of Metapontum.

*Ionic Alphabet.* On a fragment from a stelè of white marble, all the edges broken. Height, 4½ in.; breadth, 3½ in. Found at the temple of Apollo, *Calymna*, by Mr Newton. BMI 123.

Δ Ε  
Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ  
Ν Ξ Ο Π  
Ρ Ξ Τ Υ  
Φ Χ Ψ

δ ε . . θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ

Mr Newton thinks that the tablet was probably votive, perhaps an offering by a teacher. The characters are those of the fifth century B.C.

§ 13. **Remarks on the abecedaria.** The affinities of the alphabets represented by these abecedaria will be discussed more fittingly under the head of the inscriptions from the localities to which they severally belong. Here we will merely anticipate by pointing out (1) that the alphabets from Formello and Cervetri are shown by the order and form of the signs for ξ φ χ to belong to the Western group and by the forms of γ and λ to be of Chalcidian origin<sup>1</sup>; (2) the alphabet from *Calymna* is similarly proved to belong to the Eastern group by the order of the signs for φ χ ψ; (3) the place of origin taken in conjunction with the crooked *iota* sufficiently identify the

<sup>1</sup> The same remarks apply with certainty (in spite of its incomplete state) to the example from Colle, which to judge from the forms of F and θ is of a somewhat later date than the alphabets from Formello and Cervetri.

fragment of a Corinthian alphabet, which we may without hesitation conclude to have continued in the order  $\nu \phi \chi \psi$ .

We have already (§ 6) emphasised the unique interest attaching to the discovery of the alphabet from Formello; besides enabling us to determine the alphabetic position and the form of the ancient Greek letter representing the *san* (*shin*), it is the only complete abecedarium extant which contains the archaic Greek forms of every one of the 22 Phoenician letters arranged precisely in the received Semitic order. The alphabets of both Formello and Caere further determine beyond controversy, what without their evidence must have been only matter of inference, the order of the final letters in the Western group of alphabets. Similarly, the tablet from Calymna establishes the order observed in the Eastern group. About this indeed there had been little doubt; the later numerical values assigned to the letters and the evidence of alphabetic transmission were enough in themselves to prove that the arrangement which has survived to our day was the original one. The special value therefore of this fragment from Calymna lies in its being the most ancient extant *Ionic* abecedarium. Ross (*Inscr. inedl.* II. no. 137) gives an instance from Amorgos of a complete *Ionic* abecedarium (shown by the form  $\Sigma$  to be of a comparatively late date) repeated 23 times on the back of an inscribed marble.

The Italic alphabets, as represented by those found at Formello, Cervetri and Colle, are, as we have said, of Chalcidian origin. And this conclusion is not invalidated by the presence of the symbol  $\boxplus$ , nor by that of  $M$  (the  $\nabla$  of Caere), which appear on no extant inscription in the Chalcidian alphabet. For, as Kirchhoff has shown (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 136), the first of these signs stands in the position, which in the Phoenician mother-alphabet is assigned to *samekh* and which according to tradition—now verified by the abecedarium found at Calymna—was occupied by the  $\Xi$  or  $\boxplus$  (Argive) in the alphabets of the Eastern group. These forms may be merely a simplification of the more complicated symbol  $\boxplus$ , and it would not then be necessary to regard the Argive variety as an *Ionic*  $\Xi$  placed sideways<sup>1</sup>. The Eastern alphabets, as we know,

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 85; cf. ed. 4, p. 136. But in face of the form which *samekh* takes on the Baal Lebanon and Mesha inscriptions (p. 5 *supra*) it is difficult to believe that the form of *Ionic*  $\xi$  was not directly transferred, unless indeed the more complicated form should yet be discovered on old Phoenician inscriptions.

used their  $\Xi$  or  $\mathbb{H}$  to denote  $\xi$ , but in those of Formello, Caere (and Colle), this cannot be so, for  $\xi$  is represented in them by the special sign  $+$ . And as in extant inscriptions of the Western group there is not the slightest trace of any other use of the symbol, we can only assume that just as in the Ionic alphabet the *digamma* (the later 'stigma') and the *koppa*, long after they had ceased to be used for letters, survived in the alphabetic list, to be utilised only at a much later period as numeral signs, so in this alphabet, which does not for this reason cease to be Chalcidian, the  $\mathbb{H}$  lay dormant as a superfluous sign which had been taken over with the rest from the mother-alphabet. The same explanation will account for the other superfluous sign, the  $\mathbb{M}$  of Formello (the  $\mathbb{V}$  of Caere).

It will have been noticed that *koppa*, which on the hypothesis of the derivation of the alphabet from a Chalcidian source should have been present, is nevertheless absent from the alphabet of Caere. But that its absence is certainly only accidental is clear from its appearance in the alphabet of Formello<sup>1</sup>.

## ii. Inscriptions illustrating the history and development of the Greek Alphabet from the earliest times to the end of the fifth century B.C.

§ 14. Geographical and chronological arrangement. The principle of classification adopted is primarily geographical and will correspond in the main to the division of alphabets which has been given above as that of Kirchhoff (§ 3). But in our examination of the inscriptions under the head of the individual localities we have so far departed from Kirchhoff's method in that we take the oldest, or presumably oldest, and not the youngest, documents first, and trace the development of the alphabet in each case through the later inscriptions down to the time when the epichoric alphabet

<sup>1</sup> In the Etruscan syllabary above alluded to the *koppa* does not appear in its natural position, but is relegated to the last line ( $\mathbb{Y}i \mathbb{Y}a \mathbb{Y}u \mathbb{Y}e$ ) and follows  $\mathbb{Y}$  ( $=\chi$ ), occupying the place assigned in the Etruscan alphabet to the sign 8 ( $=f$ ). The composer of the syllabary seems to have found out the accidental omission in the alphabet, not at once, but at least in time to add it in the syllabary at the end. Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 127) rejects as altogether untenable the view of Mommsen that the  $\mathbb{Y}$  is here identical with, but an older form of, the Etruscan 8.

was supplanted by the Ionic variety. And though there is no *à priori* reason why we should give preference to the Eastern over the Western group, or *vice versa*; yet, as it happens that in one branch of the Eastern group, comprising the islands of the Aegean sea, we find the nearest approximation to the Phoenician mother-alphabet, in the inscriptions of Thera, Melos and Crete, where the 'non-Phoenician' letters have hardly begun to exist, we have given the foremost place to these and other islands of the Aegean. Some however, such as Samos and Chios, stand in a different category as having afforded no inscriptions, even of the earliest times from which they have come down to us, unaffected by the influence of the Ionic alphabet. An intermediate position between the usage of the Aegean Islands and that of the Ionic localities is occupied by the alphabets of Attica, Argos, Corinth and certain other places on the mainland of Hellas, in some of which the alphabet is all but Ionic in character. From these the transition is natural and easy to those alphabets in which we recognise a more or less complete Ionicism; these are to be sought in the coast towns of Asia Minor, in Rhodes, Samos, and the Ionic colonies. Lastly, as a division *sui generis* and separated by well-marked characteristics from any of the others, we give the inscriptions illustrative of the Western group, those belonging to the mainland of Hellas generally, with Euboea and the Chalcidian colonies.

## EASTERN GROUP.

### A. The Islands of the Aegean Sea.

THE R.A.

§ 15. **Inscriptions.** These consist of 20 short archaic inscriptions found by Prokesch on rocks and tombs in 1835, and a few others discovered and published later, besides three (nos. 5, 6 *a*, *b*) of a distinctly less ancient stamp. They are written in some cases *retrograde*, in others *βονστροφηδόν*, and in the remainder from Left to Right. Nearly all of them are given in reduced fac-simile below.

Boeckh *Abhandl. d. Ak. zu Berl.* phil.-hist. class, 1836, p. 41 sqq. Franz *El.* Nos. 1—20. Rang. 1 (with plate). Ross *Inscr. inedd.* II. p. 82, No. 199; 'Εφemu. ἀρχ. 429; Rang. 3; Le Bas *Tab.* v. 7. Ross *ibid.* No. 201 *a* and *b*; Rang. 355; *Bull. inst. arch.* 1842, p. 173; Ross *op. cit.* III. p. 10, No. 247; id. *Arch. Aufs.* I. p. 52; Ahrens *Philol.* I. p. 184; Welcker *Rh. M.* 1843, p. 443; Le Bas *Tab.* v. 12. 'Εφemu. ἀρχ. 437; Rang. 2; Le Bas *Tab.* v. 6; Weil *Mitth.* II. 72. Hogg *Trans. R. Soc. Lit. N. S.* v. p. 27 (from a bad copy); Michaelis *Ann. dell' inst. arch.* 1864, p. 259 tab. R. 3. Weil *Mitth.* II. 76. See also Kirchhoff *Stud.* 4 p. 60 sqq.: Cauer 141—146: Roehl IGA, many of whose copies are taken from Ross's journal.

1. Inscribed on various rocks and rude stones. One (l) is written in letters 0.08 m. long on an oblong block of hard white unpolished volcanic stone supported by three small feet; such blocks were placed beneath the heads of bodies in tombs.

α. IGA 436. ΜΟΤΑΤΑΓΕ Ἐπάγατος ἐποίη.  
ΕΞΟΓΕ

b. IGA 437.

ME130T

... τοκλής.

c. IGA 438.

Ἰάρων.

d. IGA 439.

Prokesch:

Ross:

.... ν[Υ] ἡ ων ?

e. IGA 440.

Μ ΑΥΓΕΝ

Ἐ[ρ]μάς ?

f. IGA 441.

ΜΟΜΟΥΥΔ ΓΞ Κερδύνομος.

g. IGA 442.

οΙΥΘΓΟΤΖΔ Ψ Κριτοφύλου.

h. IGA 443.

Φίλαιος.

i. IGA 444.

Ἐαρ(ρ)υμάχ[α].

Weil:

k. IGA 445.

[Λ?]ανίκης ?

l. IGA 446, 7.

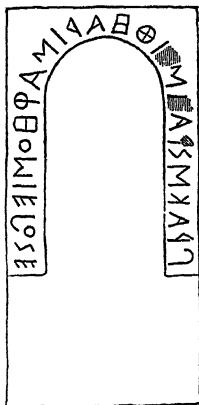
ΣΜΞΘΜΟΥΘΓΑ Ἀπρωνός ἡμι.  
(or Ἀβρωνός ἡμι ?)

m. IGA 448.

Τελεσίλα.



n. IGA 449.



Πραξιλα ἡμ[ι]· Θαρ(ρ)ύμαχος ἐποίει.

o. IGA 450. <sup>M</sup>  
οξκινδοφγα ιτ οϛ . . . . ς[']ο Γλαύρου—

f. The word appears to contain the positive κερδύ-s of κερδίων, -ιστος. For the formation cf. Hom. *Od.* 18. 216 κέρδε' ἐνώμας, 20. 257 κέρδεα νωμών. (Fick *G. G. A.* 1888, p. 127.)

l. The second letter according to Collitz (*Herm.* xxii. 136) must be a Theraean β; cf. no. 4 m, where he thinks that the side-stroke is accidentally omitted. The form recalls the Byzantine β noticed in § 55. For the absence of the *spiritus asper* in ἡμ cf. 1 c above, and see no. 130 i (Abou-Symbel), where similarly ηε appears to be merely a mistake for η in ἡ(ε)λασε (Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 486).

m. We may read either Τελέσι(λ)α, i.e. a woman's name; or Τελεσίλα, genitive, i.e. (the tomb) of Telesilas.

n. For the use of | as a mark of punctuation cf. the note on no. 11 b.

2. IGA 451. A black stone 1 m. × 0.6 m. × 0.3 m. inscribed on five sides. Now at Athens.

α.



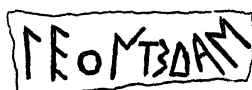
Ῥηξάνωρ,  
Ἀρχαγέτας,  
Προκλήης,  
Κλεαγόρας Περαιεύς.

b.



Ἀγλῶν, Περίλας, Μάλη[ο[s].

c.



Λεοντίδας.

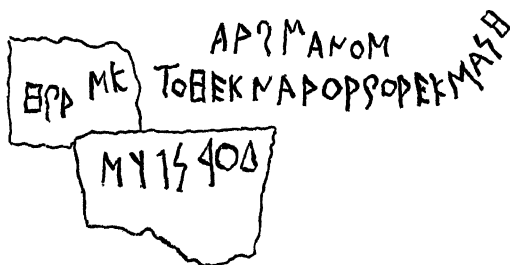
d.



Ὀρθοκλής.

a. Περαιεύς, apparently, an inhabitant of Peraia, an otherwise unknown place, in Thera. The names may be those of former kings, as Ἀρχαγέτας and (if the conjecture of its Phoenician origin is right) Μάλη[ος: cf. P. and B., s. v.

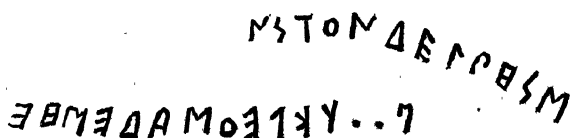
3. IGA 452. On two stones, probably originally joined.



Ἀρίσα[μ]ος Ἰα[ρ—] του ἐξα[π]ό[λ]ιορ ἐξ αἰ[ας?], Δωρι[ε]ύς.

4. On various rocks and stones.

a. IGA 453.



[Μ]ύτων Δέλφης, Π[ολ]υκλέος ἀδελ[π]ήε[οι].

b. IGA 454.

ΓΥΟΓΤΑΣ  
ΘΜ

Ἰατροκλῆς.

c. IGA 455.

.. ΔΥΖΔ}ΞΒ?  
ΡΟΡΝΟΜ

Φειδιπ(π)ιδ[as]  
πόρνος.

d. IGA 456.

ΓΜΑΟΜΤ  
ΞΜΘΚΡΘ  
ΜΘΤΞΘΟΑΓ

Ἰσαος Τιμοκ[λεί(?)δα] παοῦ θετ[ό]ς.

e. IGA 457.

ΑΞΤΟΝΟ  
ΑΥ

[Δ]αιτονό[μ]α?

f. IGA 458.

ΦΘΞΥΜΟΜ

ΦΟΦΥΜΟΜ

ΥόΦυνος or ΥώΦυνος (?). On the form of F see p. 49.

g. IGA 459.

ΠΟΛΥΤΙΜΑ

Πολυτίμα.

h. IGA 460.

ΞΡΑΜΞΚΡΘΜ

Ἐρασικλῆς.


i. IGA 461.

ΡΜΘΝ

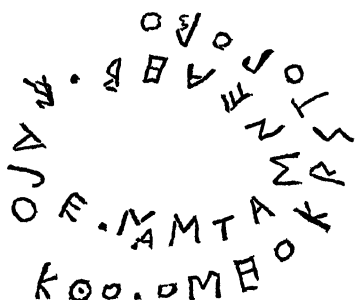
Ψήν.

j. IGA 462. ΡΕΣΜΑΓ Πεισαγ[όρας].

k. IGA 463.  Θαρ(ρ)υπτόλεμος.

l. IGA 465.   
... [Ε]ὕμεν[ις] κα[τὰ] γ[ενεάν]. . . .

m. IGA 466. Engraved round a conical stone.



Κώ[θι]ος ὁ Κριτο[β]ού[λ]ου ἀπὸ Ε[ὐ]μνάστας νεα(ρ)ηβ[ώ]ν.

d. Boeckh: 'Ισάος τ[οῦ] 'Ισοκ[λείδ]αο θετ[έ]ος; but the article τοῦ and the genitive termination αο are both open to objection. If Roehl's reading is right, the meaning would seem to be: "Isaacs adopted son of his kinsman, Timocleidas."

m. The transcription is Roehl's; but (1) there does not seem to be room for two missing letters in 'Ε. νάστας; (2) νεαῖβων is a perfectly legitimate form; cf., as regards sense, πρώθιος and ἀπρίως ἡβᾶν Crat. Πυρ. "Kothios, son of Critobulus, from Eunaste (perhaps a tribe or place), on having just reached man's estate (dedicated this)." W. R. The expression νεαρὰν ἡβην occurs in no. 36 (Attic).

5. A column of Parian marble 1.58 m. long, 0.99 m. in circumference at the lower end, 0.83 m. at the upper. The inscription is on the 18 flat flutings, which appear to have been once wholly covered with writing; but now only the lower part is legible. Line 1 adjoins line 18; the writing has vanished from line 9. IGA 471 and Add. The column appears to have been brought to

Thera, where it was seen by Ross, from some other place, possibly Cos; see the Appendix, p. 322.

	Ο·ΥΕΙΤΞ
	ΙΟΔΑΝ·
	Ι·ΟΙΞΟ)ΠΟ
	ΟΣ:ΗΟΚΤ·
5	ΙΑΑ ΙΙΙΠΔΟ·
	ΚΑΔΞΙΟΝ:ΗΟC⊥
	ΟΙΡΠΑΟ
	ΒΟ··
10	ΟΙ ΕΡ
	ΙΤΙΟΝΛΥΛΘΙΡ·
	ΡΒΑΝ··ΙCΟ
	ΑΥΠΠ:ΥΟΠΙ
	ΠΕΞΗΕΝΙΠΕΝΠ
15	ΑΤΠΤΟΥΙΟ:ΟΙΤ
	ΗΞΥΒΥΔΞΔΥ
	Τ(Π:ΙΟ)ΠΟΙΜ
	ΟΝ:ΞΠΥΡΟ·

2. 3 [']ο δα[μυ]ουργός 4. 5 [μῆ μέλον(?)]ος ἡ ὀκτ[ώ]. | [τ]ὸ δέ  
 6 κάδειον? 11 [κ]ριθ[ᾱ]ν [δ]υοῖ[ν] 12 [κᾱ]ρυα 14. 15 ἡ  
 ἐνὶ πένπ[τ] [φ?], οἷνον τετα[ρτ-] 16. 17 [τὰ ν(?)]εαρά δὲ δα-  
 μουργοί 18 σφυρο-?

The inscription seems to be a fragment of a law regulating prices. Roehl conj. that σφυρός[?] l. 18, which is also the Syracusan form (Cramer, *An. Ox.* i. 362), may be for πυρός. In favour of the suggested Coan origin of the inscription may be quoted the words *κριθῶν τρία ἡμέδιμνα καὶ σφυ[ρ]ῶν [τ]ρεῖς τεταρτῆς* in an inscription of Cos, *B. C. H.* v. (1881) 216.

6 a. On a tomb cut in the rock, above the place called  $\delta\chi\epsilon\nu\delta\rho\alpha$ . Ross, *Reisen auf den griech. Inseln* i. p. 181; *Ann. dell' inst. arch.* 1841, p. 18; *Monumenti* Vol. III. tab. xxv. 5; *Arch. Aufs.* p. 420; *Inscr. ined.* II. no. 200; CIG 2476 i, Rang. 2224; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 64 sq.; IGA 469.

⊕ Ε Ο ⊕ Ε Μ Ι Ο Σ Θεοθέμιος : i.e. (the tomb) of Theothemis.

b. On a stone at Contochori. Weil, *Mith.* II. p. 76; IGA 470.

Δ Α Ι Θ Ι Ο Υ Δ αἰφ[ρ]ων.

§ 16. **The Alphabet.** The inscriptions<sup>1</sup> fall at once chronologically into two groups, distinguished respectively by the crooked and the straight form of the *iota*. In the second group, moreover, represented only by nos. 6 a, b, individual letters exhibit more regular forms or later usage, as Ε beside ξ and ζ beside Μ. In the alphabet then as represented by the older stratum we note (1) the absence of ξ, ψ, φ, χ, which are represented by κσ, πσ, πh, κh or 9h respectively; in fact of the non-Phoenician characters only Υ appears; (2) *iota* is crooked and irregular; (3) σ is Μ; (4) μ is Μ; (5) θ has its old form ⊕ or ⊗ and twice (no. 1 i, n) is even expressed by θh; (6) there is no Ω; the symbol Ο or Θ represents the sounds of ο, ου, ω; but (7) Η stands for η as well as for h, though η is represented by ξ in Πηξάνωρ (no. 2 a); (8) α has the crossbar oblique, Λ; (9) ε has its oldest form ξ; (10) in none of the inscriptions does the sign for *digamma* appear, but probably this is only accidental; though at the time when the inscriptions were written its use must have been very limited, for not only name-forms like Λεοντίδας, Περίλας, Κλεαγόρας and the formations in -κλῆς show that the *sound* in the middle of words had all but vanished, but also when initial, before consonants (Πηξάνωρ) as well as before vowels (Ὅρθοκλῆς, Ἰσαός) it had already begun to lose its place. A limited initial use therefore is the most that can be assumed. A peculiar sign for *beta* probably occurs in Ἀβρωνος (?), no. 1 l (see the note *ad loc.*), Κριτο[β]ούλου, no. 4 m. The sign for *zeta* is accidentally absent.

*Relation to other Alphabets.* (a) In the absence of the non-Phoenician φ, χ, ψ, ω, the alphabet of the oldest Theraean inscriptions resembles that of the oldest Melian and Cretan inscriptions. In several important particulars the Theraean alphabet surpasses in antiquity that of the famous Abou-Symbol inscriptions (130 a—i),

<sup>1</sup> No account is here taken of no. 5, which though found in Thera may not belong to the island, and is only provisionally placed here.

which possibly represent a Rhodian alphabet (see § 63). Thus we have

in <i>Thera</i>	Crooked iota	San M	$\phi, \chi, \psi$ absent.
at <i>Abou-Symbel</i>	Straight iota	Sigma $\varsigma$	$\phi, \chi, \psi$ present.

Again, though in the Ionic alphabet of the inscriptions found at Naucratis (132 *a—g*) many forms are quite as old as those of Thera, or even older, the absence of the non-Phoenician signs entitles the Theraean inscriptions to a yet higher antiquity.

(*b*) If Kirchhoff is right in his view that the more correct copies establish the usage of O for o, ov, and  $\odot$  for  $\omega$ , the Theraean in this tendency to differentiation resembles its neighbour the Melian, which as will be seen attempts, though in another way, to differentiate the long and short O-sounds. We shall have to note a similar peculiarity in the inscriptions belonging to the island group of Paros, Siphnos and Thasos (§§ 28—31).

§ 17. **Approximate age of the inscriptions.** The contents of the inscriptions afford no clue. In the older group the similarity of the character shows them all to belong to about the same epoch. We have seen that in regard of the forms they are relatively more ancient than the Abou-Symbel inscriptions (130 *a—i*), the date of which is not later than 589 B.C.; and that they appear to be older than the oldest of the Naucratis inscriptions (132 *a—g*). Whether these latter are rightly referred (§ 67) to the last quarter of the 7th century may be matter of doubt, but, as we shall see later (*Note*, &c., p. 52 sqq.), we have at any rate a fairly safe criterion in the comparison with the older Cretan inscriptions, assigned with probability to about the middle of the 7th century B.C.

§ 18. **Subsequent history to the reception of the Ionic alphabet.** Here the data are few. The only inscriptions extant of the intervening period are nos. 6 *a, b*. The form of the  $\theta$  shows that the latest of these is comparatively ancient; on the other hand the change of form in the *iota* and the sign for *spiritus asper*, and  $\varsigma$  instead of M for  $\sigma$ , betray a considerable advance from the standpoint of the oldest inscriptions; but just the characteristic letters which would measure the extent of the advance towards the Ionic stage are wanting<sup>1</sup>. The gap is however in some degree filled up by the more exact knowledge which we have of the neighbouring Melian alphabet which in the oldest stages is almost identical with the Theraean.

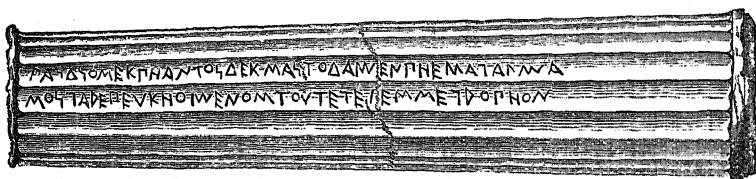
<sup>1</sup> On the alphabet of the Theraean colony, Cyrene, in this intermediate period see the Appendix, p. 321.

## MELOS.

§ 19. **Inscriptions.** These divide themselves into four groups, illustrating four successive stages or periods in the development of the alphabet in Melos.

*First period.*

7. The metrical dedication on the well-known column of Parian marble, 1.5 m. long. Brought from Melos in 1755 to the Nani collection at Venice. First edited by Zanetti, *Due antichissime greche iscrizioni*, Venice 1755, afterwards by many others whom Boeckh enumerates CIG 3. See also Keil, *Philol. Suppl.* II. p. 564; Welcker, *Rh. M.* vii 1848 p. 383; Bergk, *Jahrbh. f. Cl. Ph.* 1859 I. p. 190 sqq.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 66 sqq.; IGA 412; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* no. 5, who says that he does not know where the monument now is.



Παῖ Διός, Ἐκφάντῳ δέξαι τόδ' ἀμενφές ἄγαλμα,  
σοὶ γὰρ ἐπευχόμενος τοῦτ' ἐτέλεσσε γρόφων.

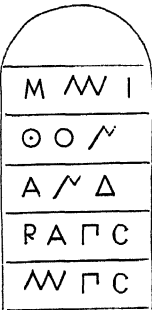

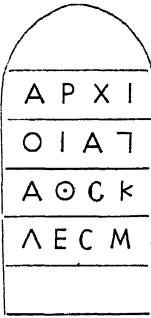
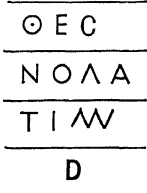
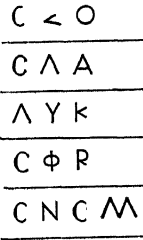
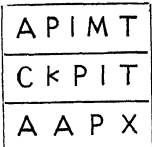
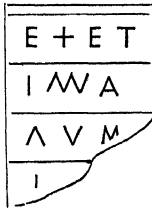

Παῖ Διός: acc. to Roehl, Athena is meant: acc. to others it is Apollo, the ἀρχηγέτης of the Dorians, whose worship had been extended to Melos as well as to Thera and Cyrene, especially from Amyclae, whence according to Mueller (*Orchom.* 476, cf. 316, 318) the Laconians came to Melos. Welcker l. c. understands Artemis or Hecate, making Ἐκφάντῳ vocative from Ἐκφάντῳ, assuming for her a function like that of Ilithyia *Il.* xix. 103, ἐκφαίνει φῶσδε: but this seems fanciful. With Ἐκφάντῳ the sense is 'accept from Ecphantus': for the syntax, cf. no. 261. The name occurs on an Attic inscription (no. 67 below) and is known from other sources also: an Ecphantus was father of Musaeus (*Suid. Μουσαῖος*, *Eudoc.* p. 303): there was a Pythagorean Ecphantus; and *Dem. de Cor.* 474. 26 mentions a Thasian Ecphantus. ἄγαλμα: possibly a statue resting on the column, though the column itself may have been the ἄγαλμα. The word is applied to a tripod in two inscr. *Hdt.* v. 60, 61: cf. *Paus.* x. 7. 3. In l. 2 both ἐπευχόμενος and ἐτέλεσσε seem to show that the



*ἀγαλμα* is not an ordinary *votive* offering; else the formula would be *εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκε*. 'Ἐτέλεσσε γρόφων is 'carved and completed', or possibly, if the offering was really a statue on the top of the column, 'painted and completed'. On the Dorism γρόφων = γράφων cf. no. 113 (where however, as here, it may be a proper name Γρόφων) and *Tab. Her.* i. 36, 55 = CIG 5774—5 (*κοθαρός*). Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 22.

**B.** A number of tomb-inscriptions, most of them arranged by Ross *Inscr. inedd.* iii. p. 1 sqq., and to be found with others since discovered in IGA 413—435. These are given below in three groups representing severally the second, third and fourth periods. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 66 sqq.

*Second period.*

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>
			
<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>
			

*g*

Δ Α Λ V C Κ Ρ Ε Ο Ν  
Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ Ε

*Third period.**j*

Δ	Α	Μ
Α	Γ	Σ
Ρ	Α	Τ
Ε	Μ	Υ
Ρ	Ι	Α
		Σ

*k*

Μ	Ε	Λ
Β	Γ	Γ
Σ	Σ	Ε
Υ	Χ	Ε
Λ		Α

*l*

Ε	Ι	Ε	Φ
Γ	Ε	Τ	Α
Σ	Α	Λ	Ε
Ξ	Ι	Γ	Σ
·	Ι	Σ	Σ

*m*

Α	Ρ	Ι	Σ
Τ	Ο	Μ	
Η	Δ	Η	Σ
Φ	Ι	Λ	Ε
Ο	Ν	Σ	Σ

*n*

Μ	Ε	Λ	Ε
Κ	Κ	Α	Τ
Ο	Ι	Δ	Ε
Ι	Λ	Σ	

*Fourth period.**o*

·	Ω	Σ	Ι	Κ
·	Α	Τ	Η	Σ
·	Α	Υ	Β	
Ζ	Λ	Ι	Δ	Α

*p*

Π	Α	Υ	Σ
Ι	Κ	Λ	Θ
Σ	Α	Υ	Τ
Ο	Φ	Ρ	Α

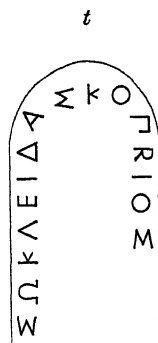
*q*

Α	Ν	Δ	
Ρ	Ο	Π	Ε
Ι	Θ	Η	Σ
Κ	Υ	Δ	
Ι	Μ	Ο	



s

ΑΚΟΥΣΑ  
ΓΟΡΑΣ  
ΣΤΡΟΜΒΙΟΣ



- |                          |                                  |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a Σμίθων Ἀνδραπόμπου.    | k Μέλ[ι]ππος Εὐχέλα.             |
| b Τυχάρετα Βρουκίλωνος.  | l Ε[ύ]ε[ρ]γέτας Ἀλεξιπό[λ]ιος.   |
| c Ἀρχιφῶ Ἀγαθοκλέος.     | m Ἀριστ[ο]μήδης Φιλέωνος.        |
| d Θεο(ν)ῶ (?) Λατίμ[ου]? | n Μενεκ[ρ]ατῶ Δείνου οὐ Δεινο... |
| e Ὀ[ρθ]όλα Λυκόφρονος.   | o [Σ]ωσικ[ρ]άτης[Σ?] αὐβωλίδα.   |
| f Ἀριστοκρίτα Ἀρχ...     | p Πausικλῆς Αὐτόφρα.             |
| g Δαμοκρέων ἀνέθηκε.     | q Ἀνδροπεΐθης Κυδίμου.           |
| h Ἐχετίμα Λυσι...        | r Χαίρεσις Ἐρίφου.               |
| i Εὐδαμος Λάμπωνος.      | s Ἀκουσαγόρας Στρόμβιος.         |
| j Δαμαγόρα Τεμβριάου.    | t Σωκλείδας Κόπριος.             |

a. The α in Ἀνδραπόμπου, for Ἀνδροπ., is noteworthy.

c, n. For the feminine nominatives in -ψ (if the transcription is right) cf. no. 109 b.

**§ bis.** Three short inscriptions discovered in 1885 in the excavations at *Naucratis*. The first two are on brown vases with short conical bases; the third on the base of a similar vase. They are nos. 237, 239, 354 in the plates of the official publication. For further remarks on the discoveries at *Naucratis* and the *temenos* of the Milesian Apollo see § 60 below.

a. / ^ D C Φ N □ Σ : Μ Ξ Α Ν Ξ ⊗ □ Κ Ξ Τ Α Γ C [..] Ἰ Λ Α Σ Ι Ο Ι

b. Ψ Ε Μ Ι C Ξ □ Μ Ι Κ

c. Δ Α Μ C

a. Χαρόφνης με ἀνέθηκε τὰ πό[λλων] τῷ Μ[ε]λασίῳ. For the form Χαρόφνης, cf. Ἀντίγνους on an inscription in *J. H. S.* Vol. vi. p. 251.

b. Θεοθ[ε]μίος ἡμὶ κ[αὶ τοῦ δέινος] ἀνάθημα? Being on the bowl in a conspicuous place, this must refer to a dedication. The name *Theothemis* occurs in *Thera* (cf. no. 6 a), but we might also read *Ζηρόθεμης*.

c. Δαμο —. Being on the bottom, this is clearly an abbreviation of the owner's name: perhaps he dedicated a cup which he had had in use.

§ 20. **The Alphabet.** (i) The period represented by the Nani inscription (no. 7) is obviously the oldest. Signs for  $\beta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$  and *koppa* are absent, there being no occasion for their use in the inscription; but we may safely assume them to have belonged to the alphabet at this stage. With regard to the *digamma* there is less certainty, and the remarks made on it in the case of the Theraean alphabet apply here also. Note further that (1)  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\xi$  are represented by  $\pi h$ ,  $\kappa h$  and  $\kappa \sigma$  respectively; and doubtless therefore  $\psi$  by  $\pi \sigma$ ; (2) *iota* is crooked; (3)  $\sigma$  is  $\wedge$ ; (4)  $\mu$  is  $\wedge \wedge$ ; (5)  $\circ$  stands for  $o$  and  $\omega$ , probably also for the pseudo-diphthong *ov*, while in  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau$  the diphthong is written  $\circ\vee$ ; (6) we have the open form of  $H$ : it stands for the *spiritus asper*, and probably as in the Theraean alphabet for  $\eta$  also; (7)  $\alpha$  has the oblique crossbar,  $\Delta$ ; (8)  $\epsilon$  is  $\xi$ ; (9)  $\gamma$  is  $\neg$ , perhaps a survival of  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\omicron\nu$  times.

(ii) The second period is marked by (1)  $\Lambda$  instead of  $\Delta$ ; (2)  $E$  instead of  $\xi$ ; (3) the straight *iota*; (4) the introduction of the non-Phoenician signs  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$  (and probably also  $\xi$  and  $\psi$ , the former of which happens to appear only in group 3, and the latter in none of the groups); (5) the use of differentiating signs  $\circ$  and  $C$ , the former for  $\omega$ , the latter for  $o$  and for the *ov*, which comes from compensation or contraction; (6) the  $\gamma$  as in the first period pointing to the left,  $\neg$ ; (7) the sign  $\vee$  or  $\wedge$  for  $\beta$ , characteristic of the alphabet.

(iii) In the third period (1) the older form of  $\sigma$  gives place to  $\Sigma$ ; (2)  $\mu$  is represented by  $M$  or  $\mathcal{M}$ ; (3)  $\gamma$  is indifferently  $\neg$  or  $\neg$ . (The crooked *iota* of inscr. *k* is certainly an error.)

(iv) (1) The Ionic letters are in full use; the  $\omega$  is denoted by  $\Omega$ , and  $\circ$  stands for  $o$  and *ov*; (2)  $\beta$  has the normal form,  $B$ . In inscr. *p* there appears to be a strange survival of the closed form of  $\eta$ ; but it is more probably a mistake of the engraver or the copier.

§ 21. **Relation to other Alphabets.** The alphabet of the Nani column may be regarded as almost identical with that of the Theraean inscriptions. Apart from the unimportant fact that the older Melian has only  $\circ$  and not  $\circ$ ,  $\odot$  like the Theraean, the essential difference is confined to the two signs for  $\mu$  and  $\eta$ . Melos has the older  $\wedge \wedge$ , but Thera the closed  $\boxminus$ . As the former

extends to the **second** period of Melian, it is less valuable as a criterion of relative age than the  $\square$ , from which we may infer the priority of the Theraean inscriptions.

§ 22. **Age of the inscriptions.** The foregoing division into periods enables us with certainty to fix the relative age of the alphabets represented by them. The absolute age is more difficult to determine. Melos, as we know, was in 415 B.C. after the annihilation or expulsion of the Doric population occupied by Attic cleruchs and remained in their possession to the end of the Peloponnesian War, when they in their turn had to give place to the remnant of the ancient population, restored by Lysander (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 9, Plutarch, *Lys.* 14). Inscriptions therefore of Melos in Doric dialect and archaic alphabet, i. e. groups 2 and 3, belong to the time before 415 B.C.; those, on the other hand, which are indeed in the Doric dialect, but are written in Ionic alphabet, i. e. inscriptions of group 4, we should be inclined to assign to the period subsequent to the Peloponnesian War. (One consideration, however, might seem to show that group 4 also should be placed before 415 B.C. The inscriptions of groups 2 and 3 are remarkable for a simple kind of embellishment in the horizontal lines between the writing, and this is evidently a characteristic of Melian inscriptions. Now those of group 4 share the same peculiarity, and as even group 3 only wants  $\beta$  and  $\Omega$  to make its alphabet quite Ionic in character, there is no difficulty in assuming the Ionic characters to have established themselves in the island before 415 B.C.; but it is just as easy to suppose that the restored Doric population after the Peloponnesian War resumed the ancient peculiarity of writing their tomb-inscriptions with horizontal interlineation.) A safer criterion is afforded by the older coins of Melos. The oldest of them, shown by their style as well as by their as yet incuse stamp to be by no means later than about Ol. 80 (459 B.C.), have the legend  $\text{I} \wedge \Delta \text{M}$ ,  $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{M}}$   $\text{I} \wedge$ , or  $\text{M} \text{A}$ , and to judge from the form of the  $\text{M}$  belong to the third or fourth period of the alphabet. Whatever then may be the conclusion arrived at with regard to the beginning of the fourth period, so much at least is certain, that the first and second periods which still have  $\wedge \wedge$  are very considerably older than Ol. 80, for legends with the younger  $\text{M}$  reach back beyond that date. The oldest inscriptions, therefore, we may safely assign to at least as early a date as the **sixth** century B.C.

The **first** period, that of the Nani column, may be placed in the first half of the century, if not earlier; its alphabet, however, as well as the engraving and art, is of a later stamp than that of the Theraean inscriptions. The **second** period may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century. The appearance of the  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$  ( $\xi$  and  $\psi$ ), in it may be due to the influence of the Ionic Alphabet, which had long possessed them; though if, as Kirchhoff maintains (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 27), the  $\Omega$  had come into use (at Miletus) probably as early as the latter part of the 7th century, it is strange that this sign also was not borrowed. Its absence is an argument for the firm hold which the differentiation into O and C had obtained in the Melian alphabet. Again this differentiation once established delayed the immediate reception of the  $\Omega$ ; for this is absent also from the **third** period, which we may assign to the interval between the Persian Wars and 415 B.C. It is probable then that the **fourth** period, marked by complete assimilation to the Ionic (the reception of  $\Omega$  and use of O for o and ou), as well as by the exchange of  $\Upsilon$  for B, must be dated much later, or a little, though not much, after the end of the Peloponnesian War.

§ 23. The inscriptions given under no. 8 *bis* are doubtfully classed as Melian, mainly on the ground of the characteristic symbol for the short o-sound; but it is impossible to assign them very definitely to any one of the four periods given above. To judge merely from the sign for  $\theta$  and the peculiar sign for  $\eta$  we should ascribe them to a period earlier than the second, but the forms of  $\mu$  and  $\sigma$  would seem to forbid the assumption of so early a date, if we were not assured that from the position in which these inscriptions were found there is good reason for believing them to be earlier than the Persian invasion of Egypt (525 B.C.). Foreign influences may have modified the distinctive Melian characteristics in the hands of the engraver.

## CRETA.

§ 24. **Inscriptions.** So numerous have been the archaic inscriptions lately discovered in Crete, that it would be impossible in a work of this kind to give more than a representative selection. The localities in which the inscriptions have been found are Gortyn, Lyttos, Axos, Eleutherna and other places. Below we shall content ourselves with noticing (*a*) a few fragments out of upwards of 80 discovered at the spot called 'ς τσῆ βίγλαις at Gortyn, nearly all of them retrograde, (*b*) a fragment of the now famous twelve-column-long βουτροφηδόν inscription found at Gortyn; inscriptions from (*c*) Lyttos, (*d*) Axos, (*e*) Eleutherna, (*f*) Eremopolis; and (*g*) coins from Gortyn and other places. A solitary inscription from Cnossos and one from the district of Olus will be found *Mus. Ital.* II. (1886) pp. 175, 176.

## GORTYN.

9 *a-f*. Inscriptions copied by F. Halbherr in 1885 at 'ς τσῆ βίγλαις from blocks of stone, which apparently once belonged to a more ancient building (probably a temple), but were subsequently used in the construction of an edifice dating from a period later than the Roman conquest of the island. What remains of this edifice consists of two parallel walls united at one extremity by a wall in the form of an apse. The inscriptions are probably parts of isolated decrees or laws promulgated on various occasions, and do not form a complete *corpus* of laws such as we have in the monster inscription, no. 9 *g*. The letters, which are accurately and carefully cut, vary in height from 0.06 m. in some fragments to 0.24 m. in others. D. Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* 1886, Vol. II. 1. 189 sqq. For the commentaries see the Appendix, *infra*, p. 326 sqq.

9 *a*. (*Mus. Ital.*, I. c., nos. 5-6.)



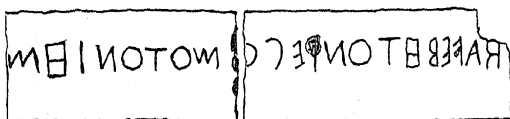
. . . . λ]εβήτας Fεξ τὸ(ν?) . . . . See the Note &c. p. 52 sqq.

9 b. (*Mus. Ital.*, l.c., nos. 37—38.)



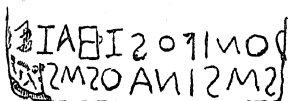
. . . . (μ?)ες μινέντα έν . . . . .

9 c. (*Mus. Ital.*, l.c., nos. 43—44.)



. . . . [δέ]κα? λεβήτων, έπώμοτον ήμ[εν] . . . .

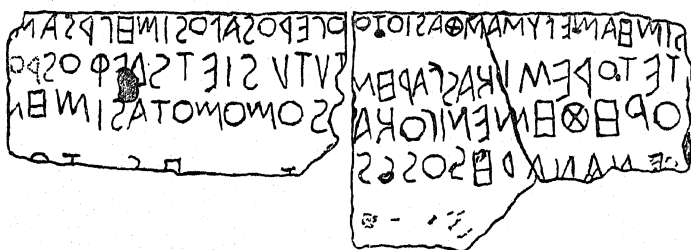
9 d. (*Mus. Ital.*, l.c., no. 51.)



. . . . Γον Φοιζήαζε . . . .

. . . . το]ίσι ναοίσι . . . .

9 e. (*Mus. Ital.*, l.c., nos. 53—54.)



. . . ι άμεφύσασθαι ὅζοοπερ οἱ ἄλ(λ)οι, μή πριάσ[θαι] . . . .

. . . τέτορες καὶ Φαρήν τυτυῖ ἔτι δέ φοῖρο[ς] . . . .

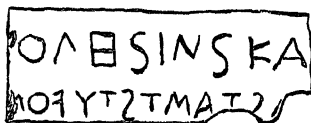
. δια]πορηθῆμεν ποκό(?), [ο]ἱ ὁμωμόται μή [σ] . . . .

and in thinner characters (the difference is not well shown in the facsimile):

. . . έν ἀν[δ]ρηώ [π]ι . . . . [τ] . . . . [ηι] . . . . [το] . . . .



9 f. (*Mus. Ital.*, l.c., no. 59.)

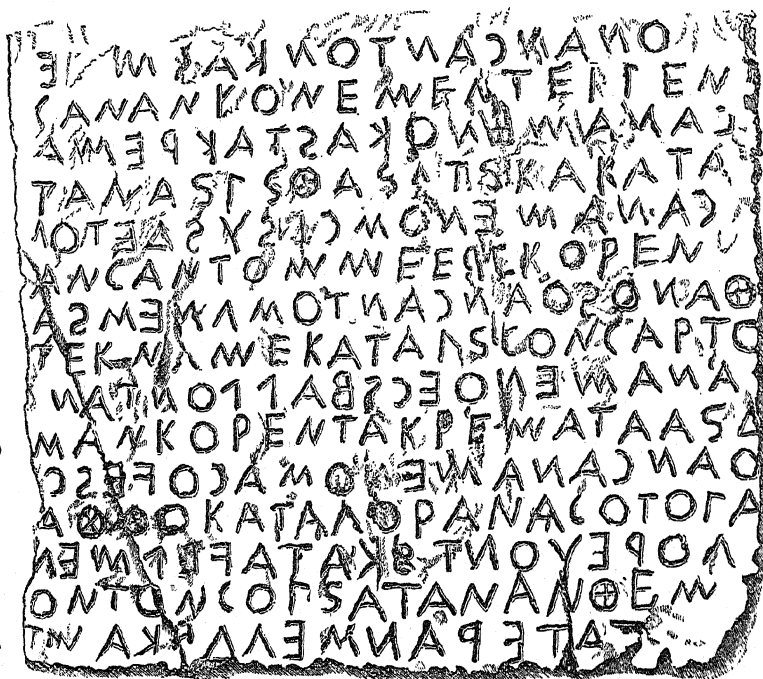


... μ]ωλῆ νικα ...  
 ... [σ]ιτας τιτύFo[σ] ...

9 g. A marble slab inscribed *βουστροφηδόν* (L. 0.60 m.; H. 0.50 m.) was found by G. Perrott and L. Thénon in 1857 in the wall of a mill on the site of the ancient Gortyn and brought in 1858 to the Louvre. [L. Thénon, *Rev. Arch.* (1868) viii p. 441 sqq. (with a photograph); Voretzsch, *Jahrb. f. Cl. Ph.* (1869) 99, p. 665 sqq.; J. Savelsberg, *ib.* p. 679 sqq. (with a lithograph); W. Froehner, *Les inscr. Grecques du Louvre*, 1873, no. 93; Bréal, *Rev. Cr.* 1878 no. 31, p. 79: *id.*, *Journ. d. Sav.*, Aug. 1878; *id.*, *Comptes rendus de l'ac. d. inscr.* 1878, p. 139 sq.; Caillemer, *Études s. les ant. jur. d'Ath.: le droit de succession légitime à Ath.*, 1879 p. 130 sqq.; IGA 476, from a photograph.] In 1879 a fragment was discovered by Haussoullier in the wall of a house near the mill alluded to. The inscription on this fragment contained kindred matter to that of the slab first found. Both fragments had come from the bed of a sluice that flowed from the mill, the stream of which had been carried through and over an ancient wall, at a spot not far from the classic river *Lethaeus*. In July, 1884, Dr Halbherr turned off the water for two days and copied from this wall four columns which were evidently the continuation and completion of the fragments known before. Subsequently, Dr E. Fabricius, overcoming the objections raised by the owner of the land, ran a trench along the wall (which turned out to be circular and probably was a substructure of some mass of buildings) as far as the inscription extended. It was engraved on the concave surface of this heavy wall of grayish limestone, formed of squared blocks accurately fitted in archaic fashion without cement. Eight more columns of writing were recovered. Each column consists of 53, 54 or 55 lines covering four layers of stone (in height about 5 feet in all) and engraved without regard to the joints of the stone. The letters retain traces of red colouring, which however probably dates from a later period than the engraving itself. The inscription is complete except at the top of the 9th, 10th and 12th columns. The columns read in succession from right to left. The whole document contains about 17000 letters and is by far the longest yet discovered of Greek archaic inscriptions. It contains provisions of private law, relating to the conduct of cases, fines, divorce, property of wife, marriage of a widow, laws of succession to property and various other topics. The language is of the harshest Cretan Doric. [E. Fabricius, *Mith.* ix. (1885) pp. 362—384.]

Another block containing two columns each of 16 lines was found recently in the same neighbourhood as the last (Comparetti, *op. cit.* pp. 49, 50, '*Iscrizione del muro settentrionale*'). It resembles the longer inscription in general character, differing from it only in the addition of Η=η.

As a fair specimen of the whole we subjoin in facsimile the first discovered fragment, which is now in the Louvre. It formed originally the top stone of column xi. For the commentary on the whole text see D. Comparetti, *Leggi antiche della città di Gortyna*, Firenze, 1885, with a complete facsimile; F. Bücheler and E. Zitelmann, *Rh. Mus.* (1885) N. F., Bd. 40 (*Ergänzungsheft*); R. Dareste, *B. C. H.* ix. (1885) 301—317. On the date see below, *Note &c.* p. 52 sqq.



1. 2 [...]ον ἀνφαντὸν καὶ μ[η] ἐπ[ι]άναν[κ]ον ἡμεν τέλλεν  
τ[ὰ τῶ-]
3. 4 [ἀν]φαναμένω καὶ τὰ χρήματ' ἀναιλ[ή]θαι ἂ τί κα κατα-  
[λίπη-]
5. 6 [ι ὁ ἀν]φανάμενος· πλίνι δὲ τὸν | ἀνφαντὸμ μὴ ἐπιχω-  
ρῆν. [Αἰ δὲ]
7. 8 [ἀπο]θάνοι ὁ ἀνφαντὸς γνήσια | τέκνα μὴ καταλιπὼν, παρ  
τὸ[υς τῶ-]
9. 10 [ἀνφ]αναμένω ἐπιβαλλόνταν|ς ἀνχωρῆν τὰ χρήματα. Αἰ  
δ[έ κα-]

11. 12 [λῆ?] ὁ ἀνφανόμενος, ἀποφειπ|άθθω κατ' ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τῷ  
λά[ω δ],

13. 14 [ἀπα]γορεύοντι, καταφελμέν|ων τῶν πολιατᾶν· ἀνθέμ[εν  
δε]

15. 16 [.....σ]τατήρανς ἐδ δικαστ[ήριον etc.]

l. 4 ANAIIΘAI

# LYTTOS.

**10 a.** A stone found inserted above the window of a dwelling-house at Xydhá, near the ancient *Lyttos*. H. 0.185 m.; L. 0.73 m. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* ix. 1885, p. 5; Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* 1886, Vol. II. 1, p. 171, no. 1. In both this and the next inscription the | is a mark of punctuation.



..... [ε]σ[τα] ..... [οξ]οι ἄνωθεν γα .....

..... ε [π]ροφει[π]έμεν ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ .....

..... [ν] [ἀ]μευσόνται ἀμφοτερο .....

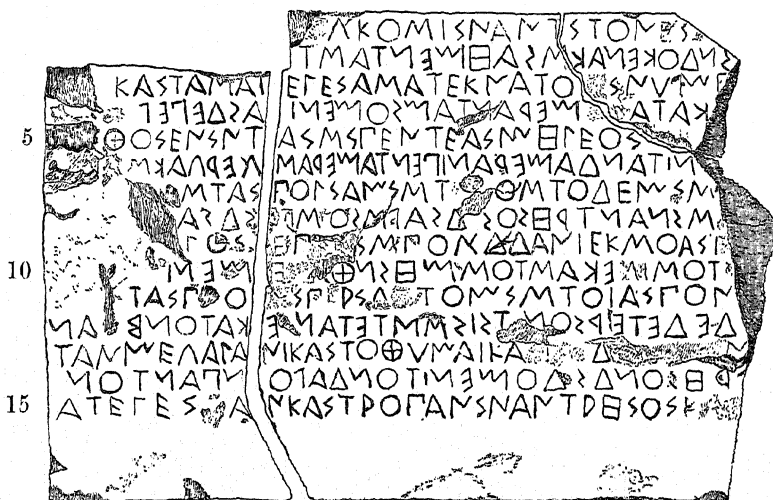
**10 b.** An inscription on a block of stone now forming part of an arch inside a house at Xydhá; first copied by Spratt, *Travels and researches in Crete*, 1865, Vol. I., Tab. I., no. 11; IGA 478; better copies in *B. C. H.* ix. (1885) p. 1 sqq. and *Mus. Ital.* II. (1886) p. 171, no. 2.

Θ Δ Ζ Δ Α Χ Μ Α Ι Ι	... ας κα διδο ....
Λ Ε Ν Ε Ν Τ Η Κ Ε	..... μεν πεντήκ[οντα] ...
Δ Α Ζ Ο Τ Υ Μ Ζ Λ	..... αι σὺν τῷ ἀδε[λφῷ] ...
Λ Υ Ν Τ Ο Σ Μ Σ Ν Ε	..... σὺν τοῖσι ἐ[πιβάλλονσι?]
5 Ξ Ι Ζ Τ Μ Ο Μ Χ Ξ Ψ	.... [π]αρέξωντι ο .....
Μ Ι Ξ Κ Α Λ Ε Μ Θ	..... ς . ἐπαγέσθ[αι] .....
Μ Ο Δ Χ Ι Ι Ο Ζ Ψ	.... μιο ..... ος ...
Θ Ν Τ Σ Ι Τ Ρ Σ Ν Λ	... οντι τρὶν[ς] ....
Α Ξ Α Χ Ε Δ Ζ Α Ι Θ Ζ	.... ιω . αἰ δέ κα πα .....
10 Ο Κ Α Ψ Α Σ Τ Ψ	..... οκα . μαίτυρ .....

ΘΥΟΤΙΜΟΥΞΥΛΛ	.... [α]μενος τὸν ο ....
ΙΟΤΕΡΟΙΚΥ	..... ὀτέρω κυ ....
ΤΙΙΥΑΤΟΜΟΝ	.... [δμ]ωμότας η ....
ΜΤΟΦΟΣΚΑΟΛ	.... ς τῷ Φοικέο[ς]
15 ΙΟΖΥΙΥΔΛΥ	.... [σ]υλὴν καὶ ὁ[β] ...
ΕΟΜΙΤΟΚΕCΥ	.... [ν]εος τόκ' ἔφυ[γεν] ....
ΤΙΛΗΜΖΥΘΖ	.... ι θυρὶς ἡ γ. τ ....
ΚΑΣΘΝΜΗΛΕ	.... [δυ]καίους ἡμε[ν] ....
ΥΙΖΑΘΜ	.... σθαι ν ....
20 ΛΕΛΛΞ..Ο.Ε	.... μεν δὲ [τ]ὸ ἐ ....

## ΑΧΟΣ.

11 a. Several inscribed blocks (of which two are given here) were found scattered on the slope N.W. of the acropolis of *Axos*. Of the two fragments shown below the larger measures in height 1.72 m.; the smaller 1.53 m.; the length of the two combined is about 2.58 m.; height of the letters 0.07—0.09 m. They form part of a larger inscription. Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* II. (1886) p. 130, nos. 1—2; further fragments of the same inscription follow.

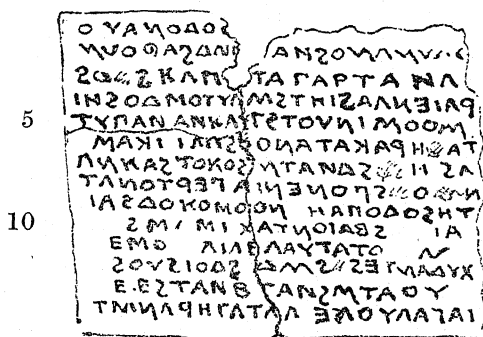


..... Εκος ἵναντι τῶν . ι . . . .

2 ἐν δοκῇν ἄξια ἡμεν τὰς τ[ροπὰς] ?

- καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας ἀ' τεχνᾶτο ἰν ὑμε[ναίφ  
 4 κατ' ἀμέραν [ξ]αμιῶμεν . αἱ δ' ἐπέλ-  
 θοιεν ἰν ταῖσι πέντε αἱ μὴ λείοι  
 6 ν τὰνδ' ἀμερᾶν πέντ' ἀμέρας Φεργαξά-  
 σται πόλι ἀμίστως, τῷ δὲ μισ[τῷ]  
 8 τᾶς ἰν ἀντρηίφ διάλσιος . [F]ιδία[ι αἱ  
 καλ]έοι ἐπὶ σποφδδάν ἐκς ὧ αἱ  
 10 ἀF]τῶς Φεκάστως, μὴ ἰνθέμεν  
 τᾶ πό[λ]ι . περὶ δ[ε] τῷ μιστῷ αἱ φων[ιωντι  
 12 τῷ]δε δὲ τελίωντι ἱςς τε τὰν ἐκατόμβαν  
 τὰν μεγάληαν καὶ τὸ θῦμα κα[ι] [πε]δ[α]πά[ν]ν[σας σποδάς  
 14 [ἀντ]ρήιον διδόμεν τῶν δ' ἄλ(λ)ων πάντων  
 ἀτέλειαν καὶ τροπὰν ἰν ἀντρηίφ [κα]

11 b. An inscription copied by Spratt at Axos in 1865. Spratt, *op. cit.* II. 77, 424 sq. no. 5, Tab. II. 5; IGA 480; Comparetti, *Riv. d. Fil.* XII. 145 sqq. (cf. Teza, *ibid.* XI. 340 sqq.); *id. Mus. Ital.* Vol. II. (1886) p. 151, no. 10.



- ον ἀ(π)οδό(μ)εν ? η . . . . .  
 συνγνωίη αὐτὸς τοῖς δ' ἱαρό(ν)σ-  
 ι, ὅτι κα πε(ρ)ώνται ? παρ τὰ ἡγ-  
 ραμένα, αἱ μὴ τις αὐτὸς δοίη μ-  
 5 (ήτ)' ὑπ' ἀνάγκας, τιτωμφέσθω ? σ-  
 τατήρα κατὰν θυσίαν Φεκάστ-  
 αν καὶ τῷ κρίως, τὰν δι[πλη]ία-  
 ν πορτιπωνέν δ' ἄπερ τὸν ἄλ-  
 (λ)ον . αἱ δ' ὁ κοσμίων μὴ ἀποδοίη τ-

- 10 ἀ ἐπιβάλλ(λ)οντα (FίσFας?) τι(τ)ωυ-  
(F)έσθω?. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς  
Κυδαντείοις δίδομε(ν) τ(ρ)ίτω-  
ι Fέτει τὰν βωλὰν ἰς τὰ θύ-  
ματα δυνώδεκα στατήρας.

The transcription in the text is that of Comparetti (ll. cc.); it became possible through the discovery of a copy made by Francesco Barozzi in 1577, published by Teza (l. c.). For the subject-matter and commentary see App. p. 333.

As regards the individual letters, note that  $\Lambda = \gamma$ ,  $\text{V} = F$ ,  $H = \eta$ ,  $\text{Z} = \iota$ ,  $\Gamma = \lambda$ ,  $O = o$ ,  $\omega$  and  $\theta$ , though probably the last had a cross in the middle,  $\Pi = \pi$ ,  $M = \sigma$ :  $\xi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$  are missing. But the most noteworthy feature of the inscription is the mode of representing  $\mu$ . Comparetti has shown conclusively that the |, which Roehl and others took to be merely a mark of punctuation, stands in fact for  $\mu$ . In the remaining archaic Cretan inscriptions the  $\mu$  is the clumsiest of all the letters, and it may be that the people of Axos adopted the simpler form for the sake of brevity and to avoid the confusion of  $\text{V} = \mu$  with  $M = \sigma$ . Compare the Corinthian and Achaean use of | for  $\gamma$  (§§ 49, 115). In the inscriptions of Lyttos, nos. 10 a, b, there appears however to be no other explanation of the | than that it is a mark of punctuation.

#### ELEUTHERNA.

**12.** Two blocks found with others near the acropolis of *Eleutherna*. They had been used in the construction of a building apparently of the Roman or Byzantine period. One block (a) measures in height 0.25 m., in length 0.54 m., in thickness 0.13 m., the letters are 0.025—0.03 m. in height. The dimensions of the next block (b) are: H. 0.23 m.; L. 0.50 m.; Th. 0.12 m.: height of letters 0.03 m. Under the letters in both inscriptions are distinct traces of lines intended to assist the engraver. D. Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* Vol. II. (1886) p. 162 sq., nos. 2, 3.

a.



- 2 . . . . . ο]δῶ (τ)οῖς ἀλλοπο[λιάταις<sup>1</sup> . . . . .  
. . . . . κ' ὄρκον τιθέμεν τὸ[ν] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> For the termination cf. no. 9 g, x. 35.



## COINS.

14 a. An ancient coin of *Gortyn* in the Kön. Münz-cabinet at Berlin: comp. Leake *N. H. Ins.* p. 18, where the interpretation is incorrect. Inscribed retrograde following the rim of the coin.

Λ Ο Κ Υ  
 Ν  
 Μ  
 Ο  
 Μ  
 Ν  
 Τ Ρ Ο Λ

Γόρτυνος τὸ παῖμα.

No satisfactory explanation has been offered of the word *παῖμα*. It has been suggested (v. Sallet, *Ztschr. f. Numism.* i. 1874, p. 281; cf. Friedländer, *ib.* p. 293; *A. Z.* xxxi. 1874, p. 101) that *παῖμα*; *παῖω* :: *κόμμα* (coin) : *κόπτω*. Head (*Hist. Num.* 394) compares *ΞΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ* on a coin of Seuthes, king of the Thracian *Odryssae* (*ib.* p. 240); so *ΚΟΤΥΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ* 'the striking of *Cotys*' (*ib.* p. 243).

b. *Phaestos* 1. (Circa 450—400 B.C.) *Δ Μ Ρ Α Δ Ο Τ Μ Δ Ο Τ Μ Ρ Α [Δ]*. *Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*. Like the last, written on the four sides of a square.—2. *Ζ Τ Μ Ζ Α Δ*. *Φαιστ[ίων]*.—3 (circa 400—300 B.C.). *Ν Ο Χ Ι Τ Μ Ι Α Δ*. *Φαιστοκόν*.—4. *Φ Α Ι Ξ Τ Ι Ο Ν* or *(Ω Ν)*. *Φαιστίων*.—5. *Ο β ν*. *Ξ Ο Μ Α Χ Λ Ε*. *Rev.* *Φ Α Ι Ξ Τ*. *Φέλιχανος*—*Φαιστ[ίων]*. c. *Rhaucos*. *PAYKION* (retrogr.). *Ῥαυκίων*. d. *Lyttes* (circa 450—330 B.C. or later). 1. *Λ Υ Τ Τ Σ Ο Ν*. *Λυττίων*.—2. *Λ Υ Τ Τ Ι Ο Ν*. *Λυττίων*. e. *Knossos* (circa 400—350 B.C.). *Κ Ν Ο Ξ Ι Ο Ν*. *Κνωσίων*. f. *Axos*. 1. Archaic. *Λ Α Κ Μ Σ Ο Ν*, *Λ Α Κ Μ Ι Ο Ν*. *Faξίων* (Halbherr, *Mith.* xi. p. 84 sqq.: erroneously attributed to *Naxos*, *Ztschr. f. Num.* xiii. 1885, p. 125 sqq.). 2. Later. *Φ Α Ξ Ι Ο Ν*, *Λ Α Ξ Ι Ο Ν*.

§ 25. **The Alphabet in its oldest stages.** A survey of these inscriptions will show that the alphabet, like the calendar and the dialect, varied to a large extent with the individual Cretan towns. Certain characteristics indeed are common to all the localities in the archaic stages: (1) the non-Phoenician signs ξ, φ, χ, ψ are absent—the sounds of φ, χ, as well as the *tenues*, are represented by π, κ (*Π Ο Ν Ε Ν* = *φωνεῖν*, no. 11 a 11: *Κ Ρ Ε Μ Α Τ Α* = *χρήματα*, no. 9 g 3, &c.); ξ is expressed by κς (*Ε Κ Ξ* = *ἐξ* or *ξέ*, no. 9 a), ψ by πς (*Π Σ Α Π Ι Δ Ο Ν Σ Ι* = *ψηφίζουσι*, *Mus. Ital.* Vol. II. p. 227, no. 82, 1,



*Gortyn*.—(2) *digamma* is present in various forms; (3)  $\square$  may or may not be present, but, if present, it stands for  $\eta$ , not for  $h$ ; a fact which would seem to show that the use of this sign for the *spiritus asper*, and perhaps the sound itself, had become obsolete before the period to which the oldest of our inscriptions belong; (4) *iota* has the crooked form; (5)  $\sigma$  is  $M$ , or *san*.

But when we examine the inscriptions from the point of view of chronology or topography we find a great variety of details. These will be most conveniently set forth under the head of their respective localities.

*Gortyn*. We discern in the archaic stage two distinct periods. In the older, represented by nos. 9 *a*—*f*, the alphabet is as follows:

$\alpha$	A A $\Delta$	$\eta$	$\square$	$\omicron$	$\bigcirc$
$\beta$	$\wp$ $\updownarrow$	$\theta$	$\otimes \oplus$	$\pi$	$\supset (?) \updownarrow$
$\gamma$	$\wedge$	$\iota$	$\zeta$	$\varphi$	$\Phi$
$\delta$	$\Delta$	$\kappa$	$\times > \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{H}$	$\rho$	$\varphi \varphi$
$\epsilon$	$\exists \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{H}$	$\lambda$	$\updownarrow$	$\sigma$	$M$
$F$	$\updownarrow \updownarrow \updownarrow \updownarrow$	$\mu$	$\mathfrak{W}$	$\tau$	$T$
$\zeta$	$\Gamma$	$\nu$	$\mathfrak{V}$	$\upsilon$	$\vee \Upsilon$

Most of the inscriptions, even those of more than one line, are retrograde. The sign  $\updownarrow$  is a mark of punctuation, as in the inscriptions of Lyttos, nos. 10 *a*, *b*. The forms of  $\beta$  and  $F$  are unique; the first presents a striking approximation to the second Phoenician letter (see the Table, p. 5); the second recalls exactly, and confirms the transcription of, the Theraean form in no. 4 *f*. The  $\zeta$  is in full use. There is no sign for *spiritus asper*;  $\square$  stands for  $\eta$ . The sign for  $\mu$  very closely resembles the Phoenician type (Table, p. 5, no. 13). The signs for  $\pi$  and *koppa* are exactly as in Thera (cf. at least no. 4 *f*). The same form of *koppa* recurs at Phlius (cf. no. 112 *b*, *c*). A later period is represented by the long Gortyn inscription, no. 9 *g*. In it  $\beta$  has the normal form;  $\epsilon$  and  $F$  have the more familiar rectangular forms;  $\mu$  has its five strokes equal;  $\pi$  is semi-circular; there is no *koppa*, which seems therefore to have gone out of use, as the frequent occurrence of  $\kappa$  before  $\upsilon$  and  $\omicron$  shows. But  $\Gamma$  and  $\square$  are strangely absent; all the *e*-sounds are expressed by  $E$ ; and the place of  $\zeta$  is throughout supplied, when medial, by  $\delta\delta$

(δικάδδεν = δικάζειν, 9 g, I. 20, &c.), when initial by δ ([πα]τρὸς δῶντος = πατρὸς ζῶντος, 9 g, VII. 22). In other inscriptions of Gortyn however (e.g. in the one cited under no. 9 g, p. 41) Η is used, and for η. Sometimes Θ and Τ appear to be used indifferently to denote the *tenuis*, e.g. θύκαραθα = τύχα ἀγαθῇ, *Mus. Ital.* II. (1886) p. 231, nos. 83—84. So conversely Τ for Θ in no. 11 a, 7, μιστῶ = μισθῶ.

*Lyttois.* The alphabet conforms in the main to that found in the Gortyn inscriptions of the second stratum, and in the possession of η (in the closed form in no. 10 a, in the open form in no. 10 b) it resembles the smaller of the inscriptions noted under no. 9 g, while on the other hand it has Ι like the older of the Gortyn inscriptions, which also have Ε. The principal differences between the alphabet of Gortyn and that of Lyttos are these. At Lyttos (1) the | is used as a mark of punctuation: it occurs indeed at Gortyn, but not in the group of inscriptions corresponding to those of Lyttos; (2) the sign for o has a second circlet in the middle: this is so in every case, but in some is not visible owing to the corrosion of the stone; (3) the sign for υ is consistently Υ and not V.

*Axos.* The mark, which principally distinguishes this variety of the alphabet, is the form of the *digamma*, Λ, which recurs also in the inscriptions of Eleutherna. The persistence of the *digamma* in this locality appears from its remaining, in the forms F and Γ, on the coins of Axos even to the period subsequent to the reception of the Ionic alphabet. Another distinguishing feature of this alphabet of Axos is the form of π, Π, obviously a later variety than the forms which have been noticed at Gortyn. The angular (ς) instead of the curved (S) form of *iota* constitutes a minor difference. In no. 11 b the curved form is found. The remarkable way in which the μ is represented in the last named inscription has already been noticed. The Ι and Ε (= η) are in use at Axos, as in the older stratum of inscriptions at Gortyn.

*Eleutherna.* The few fragments which have come to light suffice to distinguish the alphabet of Eleutherna from that of all the other Cretan towns, so far as we can learn from inscriptions hitherto discovered. In common with the alphabet of Axos it has the remarkable sign for *digamma*, Λ, and like it has also Π and ς,

instead of C and S. But for  $\epsilon$  we find  $\text{𐀓}$ , and for  $\eta$  we have  $\text{𐀔}$  or  $\text{𐀕}$ . The former occurs in no other known Greek alphabet (except that of Onossos, where however for  $\eta$  we have  $\text{𐀖}$ ); the latter, at least in the second variety, we have met with, in an inscription of a much later period, at Rhegium (no. 180) and also in the recent discoveries at Naukratis (see § 67)<sup>1</sup>. The resemblance of the first variety to the eighth Phœnician letter on the Moabite stone (see the Table, p. 5) is too striking to be overlooked. And even for the  $\text{𐀓} = \epsilon$  there are not wanting Phœnician parallels (Lenormant, *Essay*, &c. tab. II.). A minor characteristic of the inscriptions of Eleutherna is the tendency to angularity in the signs for  $\beta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\rho$ , as well as in the *iota*. The  $\pi$  sometimes has an acute and an obtuse angle, instead of two right angles (see the facsimile, no. 12 a).

*Eremopolis*. In general character there is little to distinguish this short inscription from the other archaic inscriptions, but the presence of the  $\phi$  marks a decided advance upon those inscriptions which have only the non-Phœnician signs. The form (or perhaps rather position) of the  $\gamma$  differs from that of the normal Cretan  $\text{𐀗}$ .

§ 26. **Later stages of the Alphabet.** Coins of Phaestos together with the younger coins of Lyttos and Rhaukos show that the alphabet in course of time adopted the simple *iota*, but kept the *san*, as in later coins of Phaestos, in which also the non-Phœnician signs begin to appear. Like the *san* too, the older  $\mu$  survived to the time when the non-Phœnician  $\phi$  was in use: see the Fish-inscription, no. 13, proved by the retrograde direction as well as the style of the writing to be of considerable antiquity. As in the Melian alphabet so here we may assume that the introduction of  $\chi$  or  $\text{𐀘} = \chi$ ,  $\Xi = \xi$ , and perhaps  $\Psi = \psi$  was simultaneous with that of  $\phi$ . The substitution of  $\Sigma$  for  $M$ , as on the coin of Onossos, 14 e, was probably later.

§ 27. **Relative age of the inscriptions.** We have seen reason above (§ 25) to recognise two groups, an earlier, and a later, in the inscriptions of Gortyn. Of the inscriptions from other places none appear entitled by their general totality of signs to be ranked in

<sup>1</sup> The variety with three horizontal strokes (as in the Baal Lebanon inscriptions, Table, p. 5) is used by the Etruscans ( $=h$ ), who also use  $\text{𐀔}$  (Tomb of Perugia) and  $\text{𐀕}$  (mirrors) (Corssen, *Ueb. d. Spr. d. Etr.* i. Tab. III.).

antiquity with the earlier Gortyn group; but perhaps the peculiar *digamma* of Axos and Eleutherna, and the peculiar  $\epsilon$  of the latter place, show that the inscriptions in which they occur hold an intermediate position as regards age—or at least as regards development of alphabet—between the earlier and the later period of Gortyn. To this later period should also belong the oldest coin-legends (as, e.g., no. 14 *a*, *b* 1). It is maintained by numismatists (see W. Wroth, *Numism. Chron.* 1884, p. 7; cf. B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 383) that perhaps no Cretan coins can be assigned to a date much anterior to the Persian Wars, or about 480 B.C. In this case the alphabet must have remained almost stationary—on coins at least—for upwards of a hundred years, if any weight is to be attached to the arguments given below (*Note on the date, &c.*), for assigning the long Gortyn code of law to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century.

A further advance in the development of the alphabet we have seen (§ 25) in those coin-legends (for with the exception of no. 13 there are no extant inscriptions) which have  $\phi$  for C and  $\iota$  for S, one or both. But even these, if judged from the standpoint of palaeography alone, do not appear to be separated from the preceding group by a wide interval of years. The authority of numismatists however would force us to conclude that the pre-Ionic alphabet lingered on coins, if not on inscriptions generally, in Crete to a period considerably later than 400 B.C.

#### NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE CRETAN INSCRIPTIONS.

IN conjecturing the approximate date of the older Theraean inscriptions we had to depend almost entirely upon a comparison, from a palaeographical standpoint, between these and inscriptions such as those found at Abou-Symbel, the date of which it is possible to determine on other grounds. But with these archaic Cretan inscriptions the case is very different and we are not wholly dependent for our conclusions upon palaeographical comparisons. The question of their date is intimately connected with another question, that of the introduction of coined money into the various states of Greece or at least into Crete. For there is this startling contrast between the earlier and the later group of the Gortyn inscriptions, that in the later the use of coined money is fully

recognised, and under the well-known names of staters, drachmas and obols; in the earlier, in spite of the large number of fragments, which are evidently the remains of various public and private laws<sup>1</sup>, there is no hint of such use. On the other hand, certain definite computations and estimates appear to be made by means of λέβητες. The numbers 20, 50 or 100 λέβητες are apparently used with the same precision as in the later period 20, 50 or 100 staters. Once too (*Mus. Ital.* II. p. 195, no. 39, [τρί-π]οδα ἕνα) the τρίπους seems to be used as a unit of value. That the λέβητες (or τρίποδες) are not merely ἀναθήματα is clear from the general subject and from expressions like κατιστάμεν, κατιστάω, &c. In frg. 81 (*Mus. Ital.* II. p. 222) we have a complete formula: [ῥ] κα δικά[ζ]εν ἀφ' αὐτῶς ἐπαίρη πέντε λεβήτας καταστάσαι. It must be remembered that these inscriptions are public documents; the λέβητες &c. must therefore have represented a definite value. We have in fact here in Crete a usage anterior to that of money properly so called<sup>2</sup>.

Here we are naturally led to the comparison of the λέβητες and τρίποδες, which in Homer figure not only as objects of use, but also as representing value, and among other objects of exchange these are most frequently mentioned and come most to the front. Sometimes they are quoted in large numbers: e.g., in *Il.* ix. 120 sqq. Agamemnon offers, in order to appease the anger of Achilles, 10 talents of gold, 7 τρίποδες, 20 λέβητες, &c.; and Priam, in *Il.* xxiv. 228 sqq., offers for the ransom of Hector's body 10 talents of gold, 2 τρίποδες, 4 λέβητες, &c. But in Homer these λέβητες and τρίποδες are not units of value; they do not perform the true function of money. The fixed and usual terms for the expression of value are always animals, especially oxen: an object is worth so many oxen—ἐννεάβοιος, δωδεκάβοιος, and this usage we might expect to be continued during the period of the earliest introduction of money proper<sup>3</sup>. And this period we find represented in these earliest inscriptions of Gortyn. The λέβητες and τρίποδες which in Homer have not a definite enough value to admit of their serving as units of measure, have at Gortyn reached this stage. We may further suppose that these λέβητες (and τρίποδες) at Gortyn were cast in the same size; for a unit of measure-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. frgg. 78, 81 (*Mus. Ital.* II. pp. 217, 222), the first of which makes mention of the κόσμος, while the second treats of adoption, ἀνφάνσις.

<sup>2</sup> Comparetti, l. c., rejects as improbable both of the following hypotheses; (1) that though, as we are told (Dosiadas ap. Athen. iv. p. 143 B), the Aeginetan coinage (with its staters, drachmas and obols) was introduced in very early times into Crete, yet at its first introduction the coins may not have been so named, but had local names, such as λέβητες and τρίποδες; (2) that the names λέβητες and τρίποδες were given to the coins from their type; as at Aegina the name tortoise and at Athens the name owl were given to coins. This however was only a popular or comic use.

<sup>3</sup> There is a trace of the practice in no. 9 e, which offers an example of exchange through the medium of animals.

ment is evidently presupposed in the law. But in that case, it may reasonably be asked, why were not more simple objects devised? It is indeed possible that further researches may bring to light actual coins, or pieces of metal, on which was stamped the figure of a *λέβης*. But meanwhile in default of such discovery we may hazard the suggestion that the expression 10, 50, &c. *λέβητες* was not used literally. Perhaps, when an object is said to cost 100 *λέβητες*, it is not meant that 100 *λέβητες* were actually given, but the term is merely a conventional way of expressing a value, which in practice could be translated into its equivalents in animals or any other objects. So in Homer when a slave is said to cost 20 oxen, it is not understood that 20 oxen were actually given, but objects of any kind (*κτέρα*) equivalent in value: cf. *Od.* i. 430 (of Eurycleia):

τήν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίλο κτέαρεςσιν εἴουσιν,  
πρωθήβην ἔτ' εἴουσιν, εἰκοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν.

There is no reason to suppose that Crete was much behind the rest of Greece in adopting the use of coined money; there is in fact every reason to suppose the contrary. Now there is a general consensus of authority that coined money was introduced into Greece in the first half of the seventh century: Phido of Argos is believed to have flourished about 660 B.C.<sup>1</sup> We may fairly refer these earlier inscriptions of Gortyn to a date, if not anterior to this, at any rate very near it or not much later; that is to say, to the second half of the seventh century, probably a short time before the actual introduction of coined money into Crete. And in fact it may have been the need of recognising by law this new element in commerce which led to the compilation represented in the long Gortyn inscription. All the old expressions—payments, fines, *λέβητες*, *τρίποδες*—had to be translated into staters, drachmas and obols; just as Solon in the case of some laws of Draco had to substitute a definite number of drachmas, where Draco spoke of oxen or cattle (*Plut. Sol.* 23). Between the older group of inscriptions and the compilation, or at least the completion, of the later Gortyn code we must allow as much as a generation to elapse; and we shall not be far wrong in referring the longer document or series of documents to about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century.

The date thus assigned to the older group is the same as that which we thought probable, on a less sure basis (§ 17), for the old Theraean

<sup>1</sup> Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* i. 140), following Unger (*Philol.* xxviii. 402 sqq.), throws back the date of Phido to the first half of the eighth century, relying mainly upon the statement of Paus. vi. 22, 2, that Phido was agonothetes in the 8th Olympiad (748 B.C.). He thinks however that the earliest date which can be assigned to the introduction of coinage into Greece is about 700 B.C., though a regular system of weights and measures existed in the Peloponnesus probably a considerable time before that date.

inscriptions. It might indeed be argued that the rudeness of style observable in the Theraean characters was a proof of higher antiquity than the more careful and regular writing of these Cretan documents. And it is true as a general principle that the ruder style in writing, as in art, is more ancient than the less rude. But we must not forget that while the Theraean examples are for the most part tomb inscriptions and of a *private* nature, these Cretan documents are *public* acts, and it is only natural that the utmost care should be observed in engraving them. Greater or less accuracy is in fact not a good criterion of relative antiquity. The evidence supplied by the alphabetic forms and by the direction of the writing is of far greater importance.

It is worth while noticing that the attribution of these inscriptions to the second half of the seventh century agrees very well with the traditions recorded by Strabo concerning the first appearance in Greece of written laws. According to Eusebius, Zaleucus legislated for the Epizephyrian Locrians in 660 B.C.; by Strabo (vi. 260), on the authority of Ephorus, he is said to have been a great reformer of ancient law, in that he fixed and defined penalties; *φησὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καινίσαι τοῦτο τὸν Ζάλευκον, ὅτι, τῶν πρότερον τὰς ζημίας τοῖς δικάσταῖς ἐπιτρεψάντων ὀρίξειν ἑκάστοις ἀδικήμασιν, ἐκείνος ἐν τοῖς νόμοις<sup>1</sup> διώρισεν*—a description which also applies accurately to the Cretan body of law before us, and, doubtless on the same authority, Strabo (vi. 259) says of the Locrians *πρῶτοι νόμοις ἐγγράφτοις χρῆσασθαι πεπιστευμένοι εἰσὶ*. If these facts may be accepted as historical, we may conclude that these earlier Cretan inscriptions were posterior to 660 B.C. Ephorus indeed, according to Strabo, observed that Zaleucus had drawn up his laws *ἐκ τῶν Κρητικῶν νομίμων καὶ Λακωνικῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτικῶν*, but the reference in any case is not to the *χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφτοις*, for he explicitly affirms that in this matter the Locrians were believed to be the first.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that in these Cretan inscriptions the word *νόμος*, in the sense of *law*, does not occur. Solon used *θεσμός*. In the long Gortyn inscription we have merely *τάδε τὰ γράμματα*. Cf. no. 9 g, xi. 20.

## PAROS, SIPHNOS AND THASOS.

## § 28. Inscriptions. A. Paros.

15. A metrical inscription of three lines written in the flutings of a column, belonging to the Olivieri collection at Pesaro. It had been brought in 1738 in a Greek ship to Ancona. The letters are about 0.02 m. in height, the inscribed space about 0.53—0.54 m. in length: the left half of the lines is perfect, the right has suffered by corrosion. Paciaudi, *Monum. Pelop.* 77 sqq.: CIG 24; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 79 sqq.; Kaibel, *E. G.* no. 750; IGA 402. A more correct copy is given, *A. Z.* xl. (1883) p. 391, by K. Purgold, who claims after re-examination of the original to have established the reading beyond doubt, and confirms the conjectures (Τελεστοδι[κη], Κριτωνίδεω) of previous editors.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΞΝΙΤΩΔΕΑΛΛΑΤΜΑΤΕΙΞΤΩΔΙ  
 ΑΞΦΑΡΙΩΜΗΤΗΡΘΕΡΣΕΛΕΩΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ  
 ΤΩΠΑΡΙΩΓΩΙΗΜΑΚΡΙΤΟΜΙΔΕΘΕΥΤΟΜ

Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τόδε ἄγαλμα Τελεστοδι[κη ἀνέθηκεν]  
 Ἀσφαλίου μήτηρ, Θερσέλεω θυγάτηρ.  
 Τοῦ Παρίου ποίημα Κριτωνίδεω εὐχομ[αί εἶναι].

The dialect of the inscription is decidedly not Doric, as the μήτηρ of the second line shows. Consequently ΤΩΠΑΡΙΩ in the third line can only be read as τοῦ Παρίου. In agreement with this is the fact that in σοὶ and τόδε (l. 1) and ποίημα (l. 3) the ο, and in the genitive Ἀσφαλίου (from Ἀσφάλιος not Ἀσφαλίας) the sound ου, appear also written with Ω. The addition of the artist's name in a metrical line is unusual. For the name Τελεστοδική cf. no. 17.

16. A βουστοροφῶδον inscription of five lines on a piece of tufa-stone (L. 0.40 m.: B. 0.30 m.) found in Paros in 1860, inserted into the wall of a church τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων in the village of Παροικία. The letters are for the most part well preserved. Rhusopulos, *Ann. d. inst.* 1862, p. 52 sq.;



Lenormant, *C. R.* 1866, p. 166 sq.: Olympios, 'Αθην. v. p. 4 sqq. tab. n. 1: Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 81: IGA 400.

ΑΣΟΛΛΕΞΕ  
ΩΔΥΑΙΑΔ  
ΩΛΤΩΤΗΞΕΟ  
ΑΥΑΙΑΙΩΞΑΥ  
ΙΚΑΠΟΙΗΞΕΛ

'Ασων [τ]εσ(σ)ε|ρακαιεβδο[μ|η]ϊοντούτης ἐὰν [τ]ὰς οἰκία[ς]  
ἐ|[χσε]ποίησεν.

The name 'Ασων occurs on another inscription 'Αθην. v. p. 6.

17. A metrical dedication of eight lines (four verses) found in the wall of a church at *Spelaeum* in Paros. B. 0.30 m.: H. 0.90 m. Olympios, 'Αθην. v. p. 8, no. 3; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 81; Kaibel 750 a; IGA 401.

ΔΗΜΩΚΥΔΗΣΤΩΔΑΛΛΑΜΑΤΕ  
ΡΕΣΤΩΔΙΚΗΤΑΠΩΚΩΙΝΟΝ  
ΕΥΧΞΑΜΕΝΩΙΣΤΗΞΑΝΓΑΔ  
ΘΕΝΟΙΑΔΤΕΜΙΔΙ  
5 ΞΕΜΝΟΙΕΝΙΠΑΠΕΔΟΙΚΩ  
ΔΗΙΔΙΩΞΑΙΑΙΩΧΩΙΩ  
ΤΟΝΛΕΝΕΗΝΣΙΩΤΩΝΤΑ  
ΥΧΞΕΝΑΠΗΜΩΞΥΝΗ

Δημοκύδης τόδ' ἄγαλμα Τε|λεστοδίκη τ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν |  
εὐξάμενοι στήσαν παρ|θένφ 'Αρτέμιδι, |  
σεμνῶ ἐνὶ ζαπέδφ, κού|ρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. |  
τῶν γεγενῆν βίον τ' α|ὕξ' ἐν ἀπημοσύνη.

Δημοκύδης: the penultimate is short, as in the late epitaph of Thucydides, *A. P.* ix. 583, Θουκυδίδην 'Ολόρου Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος. ἀπὸ κοινῶν: perhaps we should supply δαπανῶν 'at their joint expense'. ζαπέδφ: apparently only found in Xenophanes: for the ζα=δια (δα), see G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* §§ 146, 260.

**18.** Three short inscriptions found in *Paros*. 'Αθην. v. p. 33, 34, (a) tab. 32, (b) 33, (c) 34, minuscule only; IGA 403—5.

(a) ΕΘΗΚΕΝ [αυ]έθηκεν.

(b) ΩΣΚΥΝΘΙΣ 'Οσκυνθίς (?).

(c) 'Αφρωδότης, i.e. 'Αφροδίτης.

**19.** Two boundary stones. 'Αθην. v. p. 33, tab. i. no. 27; IGA 406; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 82, note.

ΗΟΡΟΣ  
ΤΟΙΕΡΟ ὅρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

## B. Siphnos.

**20.** An archaic rock-inscription. CIG 2423 c; Ross, *Inscr. inedd.* III. p. 5; Lebas, tab. vi. 14; IGA 399.

ΝΥΦΕΩΝ (Νυμφέων) ἱερόν.  
ΗΙΕΡΩΝ

## C. Thasos.

**21.** Two archaic inscriptions from the old town-wall. Conze, *Reise auf d. Ins. &c.* 1860, p. 12, tab. iv. 14, 15; IGA 378.

(a) ΠΑΡΜ[ένων].  
(b) ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΕΕ Παρμένων με ἐ[ποίησε].

**22.** On an ancient votive relief, now in the Louvre. Found by E. Miller in 1864. See id., *Arch. des missions scientifiques* 1865, p. 511 sqq.; id., *Rev. Arch.* 1865, II. 438 sqq.; id., *C. R.* 1865, p. 405, 1866, p. 167 sq. Adert and Miller, *Rev. Arch.* 1866, I. p. 419 sqq.; Michaelis, *A. Z.* 1867, p. 1 sqq., tab. CCXVII.; IGA 379.

α

ΝΥΜΦΗΞΙΝΚΑΠΩΓΓΟΝΙΝΥΜΦΗΛΕΤΗΙΘΗΓΥΚΑΙΑΡΞ  
ΕΝΑΜCΩΓΗΠΡΩΞΕΡΔΕΝΩΙΝΩΝΘΕΜΙΞΩΝΔΕΧΩΙΡΩΝ  
ΩΝΓΑΙΟΜΙΞΕΤΑΙ

β

ΧΑΡΙΞΙΝΑΙΛΑΩΝΘΕΜΙΞΩΝΔΕΧΩΙΙΩΝ

a. Νύμφησιν καπόλλωνι νυμφηγέτῃ θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν, ἀμ βούλῃ, προσέρδειν ὅν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον. οὐ παιωνίζεται.

b. Χάρισιν αἶγα οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖ[ρ]ον.

The inscription contains regulations for the cultus of Apollo, the Nymphs, and the Charites; and to this cultus the memorial was dedicated. The dialect is Ionic, as we should have expected in a colony of Paros: hence προσέρδειν, not προσέρδεν. Besides Apollo, lord of the Nymphs, the Nymphs themselves and the Charites, is represented on the relief, in an unmistakable form, Hermes. Apollo appears not uncommonly as lord of the Nymphs, though the title νυμφηγέτης beside the previously known μουσηγέτης and μοιρηγέτης (Paus. 10. 24. 4) is new. In the capacity of νυμφηγέτης he is also called νόμιος (Michaelis, *Arch. Z.* 1. c.). Possibly the choice of sex allowed in the victims to be offered is best explained by the different sex of the deities named, with reference to the general rule, *dis feminis feminas, mares maribus hostias immolare* (Arnob. 7. 19; an exception is found in the Laconian inscr. of Misithra, CIG 1464). Why the sheep and the sucking-pig should not be acceptable to Apollo and the Nymphs, nor the goat and sucking-pig to the Charites, we have no means of knowing, especially as on the Eleusinian inscr., similarly containing regulations for ritual (no. 65), a goat is offered to the Charites with Hermes. Possibly such varying regulations were local, and this may be the reason for the prohibition of the Paean peculiar to Apollo. In a 1. 2 ἀμ=ᾶ ἄν, unless with Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 126), who compares the Attic ἀνῆρ, we take it to be for ὁ ἄν.

23. A marble found near the harbour of Limenas. *B. C. H.* vi. (1882) p. 443.

ΠΕΙΘΟΞ  
ΙΗΡΟΝ

Πειθοῦς ἱερόν.

Peitho, whose name is often considered an epithet of Aphrodite, appears here as a distinct divinity. Aphrodite-Peitho is mentioned in several inscriptions (Heuzey, *Ep. de la Mac.*, p. 428; Conze, *Lesbos*, pl. 4). *B. C. H.* 1. c.

24. A white marble base found at *Olympia*, 0.53 m. × 0.295 m. × 0.78 m. *A. Z.* xxxv. p. 189; xxxvii. p. 212 sq.; IGA 380.

ΙΟΛΙΞΟΛ

ΙΞΟΛ VΞ

ΛΕΜΕ VΞ

ΛΕ ΓVΞ

VΞΑΚΟΛΙΤΕΙ Λ ΗΓVΞ

ΙΓVΞ Λ ΗΓVΞ

ΛΟΙΓVΞ ΗΓVΞ

ΟΙΓV

ΛΚΡΑΤΙΟ

[Some of the letters given are incomplete on the stone, but there is no doubt of the reading.]

[Θεαγένης Τιμοσθένης]	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ]
[Θάσιος ἐνίκησε τάδε]	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ]
[Ὀλυμπίη πύξ]	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ]
[Ὀλυμπίη πανκράτι]ον	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ]
5 [Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Ἴσθμ[οῖ π]ύξ
[Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Νεμέ[η π]ύξ
[Πυθοῖ π]ύξ ἀκονιτεῖ	Νε[μέη] πύξ
[Ἴσθμο]ῖ πύξ	Ν[εμέη] πύξ
[Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ	Νεμέ[η] πύξ
10 [Ἴσθμ]οῖ πύξ	[Νεμέη πύξ]
[καὶ πα]νκράτιο[v]	[Νεμέη πύξ]
	[Νεμέη πύξ] 15

It seems highly probable that we have here the actual list of the victories won by Theagenes of Thasos as enumerated by Pausanias vi. 11, 2, and read by him on the east front of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. He details two Olympian (the date of the victory in the pancratium was Ol. 75=480 B.C.), three Pythian, ten Isthmian and nine Nemean victories. Such a digression is with him so unusual that it would appear to have been suggested by nothing else than the reading of the list itself on the statue-base. Treu (*A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 212 sq.) has shown that there is room on the stone for the mention of all these victories, together with an additional line (acc. to Roehl three lines) for the name and description of the victor.

The Ionic dialect<sup>1</sup> accords very well with this conclusion, which would make it necessary to assume that the alphabet used in Thasos had become almost completely Ionic by the middle of the 5th century B.C., though the form of the  $\Lambda$  and perhaps of the  $\nabla$  forbid us to assign a date as late as the general reception of the Ionic alphabet.—The orthography *ἀκονιτεῖ* deserves notice. As the inscription belongs to a time in which the interchange of  $\iota$  and  $\epsilon$  does not occur, the diphthong must be recognised as the proper form against the testimony of Apollonius (*de adv.* p. 571, 4) and Herodian (*περὶ δεικνόνων*, p. 374, *Lehrs*, ii. 19, 19, *Lentz*).

§ 29. **The Alphabet.** The inscription ὅρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, on the two boundary stones (no. 19), obviously belongs to the later period when

<sup>1</sup> On the gradual decay and final suppression of Ionic in Thasos see F. Bechtel, *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*, Göttingen, 1884 (*Abhandl. d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Gött.* Bd. 32).

the Ionic alphabet began to prevail. Possibly the H as the sign of the *spiritus asper*, which is absent from *ἱεροῦ*, is an instance of an archaism not uncommon on Attic boundary stones of a later period<sup>1</sup>.

The common characteristic which stamps the non-Ionicised inscriptions (including that of Siphnos, the alphabet of which may be presumed to be identical with that of Paros) is seen at once to be the remarkable differentiation of the o-sounds, in a manner the exact opposite to that of the Ionic alphabet. For here O or ⊙ = ω, Ω = o and ou. Thus again, as before in Melos, we observe an early tendency in the islands of the Aegean to make a difference in the signs for the o-sounds. For Paros note (1) the presence of the non-Phoenician φ and χ, as well as the υ, thus pointing to an advance upon the earliest stage of the alphabets hitherto examined: for ξ we have χσ, and consequently without doubt for ψ, which is accidentally wanting, φσ. (2) *Iota* is straight<sup>2</sup>; (3) μ is Μ; (4) θ is ⊗ on most, but ⊙ on one inscription, no. 17, which is presumably therefore later; (5) ε except in no. 17 has its oldest form; (6) Η stands for η and has the open form; (7) γ is ∧ and Λ; (8) λ is λ; (9) *koppa* before o is in use in the oldest *βουστροφηδόν* inscr., no. 16; lastly (10) the form C for β is characteristic. It is common to Paros with Siphnos and Thasos, and appears also on inscriptions of Naxos.

Besides coinciding in the use of the o-sounds and the form of β, the older alphabets of Paros and Siphnos were probably in other respects also identical, for differences in the form of individual letters such as ▷ and R for ρ are unessential; and though the Η in the Parian inscriptions always denotes η, while in the Siphnos inscription, no. 20, it occurs only as the rough breathing, this may be due only to a certain fluctuation of usage, and it is to be noted that in the Parian inscriptions there is only one opportunity for the rough breathing (*-εβδομηῶντρούρης*) and in that of Siphnos none for the η. A colony went from Paros to Thasos in the 7th century B.C. We should naturally expect to find in general the same alphabet in

<sup>1</sup> In no. 23 it is more likely that the Η is a mistake for Ε than that it is a misplaced *spiritus asper*; for the contracted form *ἱρόν* is not found on inscriptions before the fourth century B.C. (Erman, *Stud.* v. 297).

<sup>2</sup> As in fact we shall find it henceforward in the Eastern group except in the ancient Attic inscription, no. 34.

use in Thasos, and accordingly the inscriptions prove that the alphabet in use in the island in the 5th century B.C. was the same as the Parian; for the inscriptions no. 21 *a*, *b* would appear to be at least as ancient as the older coins of the island with the legend  $\odot\Lambda\Xi\mid\Omega$ , which are older than 450 B.C. Kirchhoff observes that in the very old Macedonian coins of the Letaeans and Orrheskians the style shows traces of Thasian influence. Nor is this inference disproved by the alphabet of the legends  $\Psi\mid\Omega\mid\Lambda$  and  $\Psi\mid\Omega\mid\chi\mid\Omega$  or  $\text{OPPH}\chi\mid\Omega$ ; for the fluctuation and incorrectness in the application of the signs H and E, O and  $\Omega$  in the case of productions of non-national Hellenic art is not decisive<sup>1</sup>.

§ 30. **Age of the inscriptions.** The forms of the *iota*, the  $\mu$ , and the  $\sigma$  all point to a later date than that of the old inscriptions of Thera, Melos and Crete. And in the inscriptions of this Paros-Siphnos-Thasos group we recognise an earlier and a later stratum, distinguished respectively by the older and younger form of *theta*,  $\otimes$  and  $\odot$ . The legends on coins of Siphnos ( $\Phi\mid\chi$ , *circ.* 500—400 B.C., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 419) attest a *βουστροφηδόν* period. The inscription on the base (no. 24) detailing the athletic victories is already, as has been said, in the Ionic character ( $\text{Νεμέη, πύξ}$ ).

If the monument really commemorates Theagenes, as has been assumed above, it cannot be of a much later date than 480 B.C. The effect of this conclusion would be to throw back the inscriptions in non-Ionic character to the earlier years of the fifth and the oldest of these to the sixth century B.C.

§ 31. *Note.* It will be convenient to add here an inscription on a marble base found at *Delos* in two fragments. The restoration of the text is by no means satisfactory, but it appears certain that the inscription exhibits (1) the same peculiarity in the differentiation of the signs for the *o*-sounds which we have found in the inscriptions from Paros, Siphnos and Thasos, (2) the form of *beta*, C, which

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Ichnae in Lower Macedonia (*circ.* 480 B.C.) have the legends  $\mid\mid\chi\mid\text{ΝΑΙ}\mid\Omega$  (the Western  $\chi$  is remarkable),  $\mid\text{ΝΑΙ}\mid\Omega$ , or  $\mid\text{ΝΑ}\Omega$  (retrogr.). Coins of the Bisaltae (*circ.* 500—480 B.C.) have peculiarities like C and < for B,  $\mid$  and  $\perp$  for  $\Lambda$  &c., e.g.  $\text{C}\mid\chi\text{ΑΤΙΚΟ}\chi$ ,  $\text{C}\mid\chi\text{ΑΤΙΚΩ}\Omega$ , < $\mid\chi\text{Ε}\mid$ ,  $\text{B}\mid\chi\text{ΑΑΤΙΚΩ}\Omega$  (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 178 sq.).

recurs in Paros, Thasos, Ceos, Naxos, (3) the same fluctuation in the use of  $H = h$  or  $\eta$  in the word  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\beta\acute{o}[\lambda\omicron\upsilon?]$  which we shall notice in the Naxian inscription, no. 25, also from Delos; that therefore (4) the alphabet, in spite of the Chian origin of the persons commemorated, is not that of Chios, but belongs to the island-group, Delos, Paros, Thasos, &c.

**24 a.** Two fragments of a marble base found (*a* in 1880, *b* in 1881) at *Delos*. The inscribed face measures 0.14 m. in height, 0.275 m. in breadth. *a.* Homolle, *B. C. H.* v. (1881) 272 sqq.; IGA 380 *a*; Furtwaengler, *A. Z.* (1882) p. 324. *b.* Homolle, *B. C. H.* vii. (1883) p. 254 sqq.; Brunn, *Sb. bayr. Ak.* (1884) p. 523 note; Schoell, *Aufs. f. E. Curtius*, p. 123 sq.; cf. Blass, *D. Littzg.* (1883) p. 1728; Loewy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* no. 1 and p. xvii; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 83 sq.



Μικκι . . . . . μα καλο-(? ω-) . . . .  
 .. ρχερμος β ? . . . . τ ? εισιν '(ε)κηβό . . . .  
 ωι Χίφ, Μελα . . . ος πατρώϊον ἄσ . . . .

The restoration given by Loewy (after others) is as follows:

Μικκι[άδης τε ἄ]μα καλὸ[ν ἔτευξεν ἄγαλμα καὶ υἱὸς]  
 [᾽Α]ρχερμος - - - ησιιν ἐκηβό[λου Ἀπόλλωνος ?]  
 οἱ Χίφ, Μέ[λαν]ος πατρώϊον ἄσ[τυ νέμοντες]

Blass l.c. proposes in ll. 2, 3 ὡ' ἐκηβό[λος Ἰοχέαιρα] (cf. no. 25) [τ]ῷ Χίφ Μέλα[ν]ος πατρώϊον ἄσ[τυ κομισσῆ] (= 'recover'), referring τῷ Χίφ to Archermos, whom he considers to be the dedicator, his father Micciades being perhaps the artificer of the monument. But even so the  $\omicron$  of καλο- remains a difficulty. Roehl, *Bursian's Jahresh.* xxxii. (1883, iii.) p. 14, reads β[ουλῆ]σιν in l. 2, but the letter before Ε| seems to be Τ or Ι. (In the uncertainty of the signs for the *e*- (and *o*-) sounds it is unsafe to affirm that the Ε| could not stand for  $\eta$ .) Schoell and Kirchhoff reject νέμοντες in l. 3 and suggest λιπόντες; they argue that as the alphabet is not that of Chios, the writer (or the descendants of Melas) had probably migrated to Delos or one of the islands above grouped with it. But the assumption (i) is not necessary, for we find elsewhere examples of inscriptions which are not in the native alphabet of the writer (cf. 230 bis); and (ii) seems to be refuted by the statement of Pliny xxxvi. 11, that the sons of

Archermos, Bupalos and Athenis, practised their art in Chios, as their father and grandfather had done before them. Pliny's words are: "Quum hi (Dipoenus et Scyllis) essent, iam fuerat in Chio insula Melas Sculptor, dein filius eius Micciades ac deinde nepos Archermus, cuius filii Bupalus et Athenis vel clarissimi in ea scientia fuere Hipponactis poetae aetate, quem certum est LX Olympiade fuisse... Complura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere sicut in Delo... Patris quoque eorum (sc. Archermi) et Deli fuere opera et in Lesbo insula." If then the sons of Archermos flourished in the lifetime of Hipponax or about Ol. 60=540 B.C., we can hardly date the 'floruit' of Archermos later than 560 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the best place to notice an inscription found in the Acropolis of Athens, engraved on the flutings of a column (Π. Καββαδίας, 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1886, 3, p. 134 sq.):

ΣΤΕΔ ΜΟΞΕΡΟΙΒΞΕΝΟΤΙ  
ΘΕΚΕΝΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙΠΟΝΟΤC

[Ἀρ]χερμος ἐποίησεν ὁ Χ[ρ]ος]  
[ὁ δαῖνα ἀνέ]θηκεν Ἀθηναίᾳ Πολιούχ[φ].

The alphabet is a puzzle. The  $\Xi$  (can it be a mistake?) and the  $\Theta$  are said never to occur together on an Attic stone inscription (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 95). The form of  $\lambda$  shows that the alphabet cannot be the pure Attic, and in any case the inscription appears to be of too late a stamp to be referred to the period of our Archermos.



## NAXOS.

## § 32. Inscriptions.

25. On the left side of an archaic bretas representing Artemis found at *Delos*. The letters are 0.02 m. in height: the lines are written *βουστροφηδόν*, the letters in the last line being inverted, as in the Dveinias inscr. of Corinth, no. 85. Homolle, *B. C. H.* III. 1879, p. 3 sqq. tab. 1.; Fränkel, *A. Z.* XXXVII. 1879, p. 85 sqq.; Jebb, *J. H. S.* I. 1880, p. 59 sqq.; Dittenberger, *Herm.* xv. p. 229; IGA 407.

ΜΚΑΝΔΡΗΜΑΜΕΘΕΚΕΜΕΚΕΘΟΤΟΠΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΕΠΙΥΟΡΘΔΕΙΠΟ  
 ΘΤΥΝΙΣ411ΔΙΟΤΥΝΙΔΟΦ/ΥΟΒ/ΥΟΒ1ΑΧΟΧΟΞΠΕΟΚΕΒΑΥΟΤΟΒΟΤΒΔ  
 ΘΒΒΑΒΙΟΠΒΛΟΧΟΖΛ

Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκεν (ε)κηβόλφ ιοχεαίρη,  
 γούρη Δεινοδίκω τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔξοχος ἀλ(λ)έων,  
 Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνήτη, Φράξου δ' ἄλοχος μ...

ΗΚΗΒΟΛΟΙ may be an error for ΗΕΚΗΒ, but cf. no. 24 a l. 1. *ιοχεαίρη*, Curtius, *G. E.* no. 203, rather favours the connexion with *χέω* &c., comparing *Il.* 15. 590, *βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο*. The names *Νικάνδρη*, *Δεινοδίκης*, *Φράξος* (?) are new. (The φ in *Φράξος* is the only obscure letter in the inscription.) With *Φράξος* Roehl compares *Χάραξ*, *Χάραξος*, *Φάραξ*. The masc. *Νικάνδρος* is common enough. *ἀλ(λ)έων*: for the single λ comp. *ἀλ(λ)οθεν* in the Tettichos inscr. no. 36; *ἀλ(λ)α* on a stele from the wall of Themistocles (Kaibel, *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 34, p. 181), and for other instances see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 287. *ἀλλέων* is fre-

quent in Herodotus; i. 24, 133, 170, &c.; so ἀλληλέων, iv. 113, &c. For the end of the third line there are two alternatives, (1) μ[ε] sc. ἐποίησεν with the name of the sculptor, (2) μ[η], which Fränkel is inclined to adopt.

**26.** Found at Rhoudiais on the fragment of a column which serves for the foot of an altar table, in the small chapel of Haghio Psyma or Akepsima, in the S.W. part of *Naxos*. The darkness of the place where it stands and the corrosion of the stone make it difficult to obtain an approximately correct copy. The letters are about 0.035 m. in height. M. Clerc, *B. C. H.* ix. (1885) p. 493 sqq.

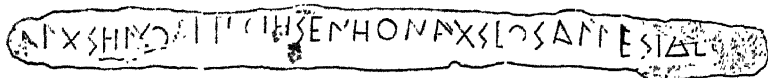
V O                      · O : E L I Z H Λ  
   ↓ . . ↓                      · Δ K  
                                     V 7  
                                     . . 7  
 C v . Δ I                      V O  
                                     V S Δ  
                                     O V V Λ C  
                                     Δ 7  
                                     O V S C  
                                     V O : Z H Z I T  
                                     H I E H D  
                                     C V O ^ O  
 V O                      ⊕ E L E ^ E  
 V Z Z V V V I Δ Z E V  
   V I Z H V Z · ^ K O M A + Z  
   I A K Z O K + Z Z I A Δ O I  
   V ⊕ H V H I

Without a more complete copy it is useless to attempt a transcription. In l. 1 we appear to have ἐπὶ σῆμα[α]?, in l. 14 [δμ]ύρεν...?, in ll. 16, 17 [τ]ῶδ' Αἰσχυρος καὶ Ἀθήνη. The lines are disposed longitudinally in the flutings which they occupy the whole way round, so that it is difficult to tell where the inscription begins or ends. The lines are incomplete on the right. The arrangement by which the letters of some of the lines are inverted may be compared with that of the Theraean inscription, no. 5.



FIO, OFATIES on a vase found in Magna Graecia, probably painted in Chalcis, or some Chalcidian colony: ΓΑΡΥΦΩΝΕΣ (see below, no. 191 c) on a Volcentine amphora CIG 7582, Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 126, (2) on Rhegine inscriptions (nos. 180, 181) Φουκίων, σαφοί. The evidence from the name of Velia, founded from Phocaea, circ. 540 B.C. (on coins YEΛΗ), only holds good (if at all) for the usage of Phocaea. On the whole subject cf. further Tudeer, *De digamno*, &c., p. 5 sqq.; Monro, *Hom. Gr.* § 405; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* §§ 150, 233. Blass (*Ausspr.* 65) attributes the spelling *dfu-* to the endeavour to represent the sound *au* more suitably than by *a + u*.

28. On a bas-relief of ancient style found at Rhomaïko, a village not far from Orchomenus, on the road to Chaeronea. Clarke, *Travels*, &c. II. 2, p. 148 sqq.; Dodwell, *Tour*, &c. I. 243 sqq.; Conze and Michaelis, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 81, tab. x 3; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 87 sqq.; Michaelis, *A. Z.* 1865, p. 118 sqq. and *Arch. Anz.* 1867, p. 110; Conze, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*, p. 31 sqq. tab. xi. 1; Koerte, *Mith.* III. 1878, p. 316; IGA 410.



Ἀλξήν[ωρ ἐ]ποίησεν ὁ Νάξι[ο]ς· ἀλλ' ἐσίδ[εσθε].

Note here that the Naxian peculiarity (§ 33) in the use of the symbols Η and Ε is no longer observed.

29. On a rock at Anlonitza in Naxos. Two short inscriptions on opposite sides of the same stone. Rose, *Inscr. praef.* p. VIII. n. 6; CIG 2422: Leb. V. A. 2157; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 90; IGA 411; a more accurate copy by M. Clerc, *B. C. H.* IX. (1885) p. 495.

ΑΔΑΞΦΟΡΩΔ	Δωροφέα.
ΥΩΙΡΑΧ	Καριώνη Λοφίου.
ΗΛΟΦΙΟ	

The engraver had obviously begun the second name, but finding that there was no room started again below. M. Clerc observes that there is no doubt of the φ in Δωροφέα; cf. the form φεών=θεών on an inscription from Dodona (Ca. 250; cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 211).

§ 33. The Alphabet. The inscriptions before us fall into three periods. That on the bretas of Artemis, no. 25, is shown at once to be the oldest by its use of the symbol Η; next come nos. 26—28; no. 29 a, b clearly belong to the Ionic period. Disregarding the latter then we may sum up the characteristics of the older Naxian alphabet as follows. (1) The non-Phoenician φ, χ are present; in no. 25 φ is followed by the spiritus asper, just as in the θ of

the Theraean  $\Theta\alpha\rho(\rho)\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , no. 1  $n$ ;  $\xi$  in no. 25 is denoted by the remarkable combination  $h\sigma$ , and in the second period by  $\chi\sigma$ ; whence we may infer that  $\phi\sigma$  represented  $\psi$ ; (2)  $\sigma$  has the form  $\zeta$ , but the four-stroke form seems to occur in the earlier inscriptions, nos. 25, 26  $a$ , where its position in a retrograde line is to be noted; (3)  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$  are  $M$ ,  $N$ ; (4)  $\theta$  is  $\oplus$ ; (5) *koppa* is in use; (6)  $\gamma$  is  $\wedge$ ; (7)  $\lambda$  is  $\wedge$ ; (8)  $\beta$  is  $C$ , as in Paros; (9) there is no  $\Omega$ : the  $O$  stands for  $o$ ,  $ou$ ,  $\omega$ ; (10)  $\epsilon$  has its oldest form and in the second period denotes  $\epsilon$  (non-diphthongal) as well as  $e$ ; (11)  $H$  in its older or younger form is of varied usage. As *spiritus asper* it survives to the second period ( $\delta$  no. 28); we have already noted its combination to form  $\phi$  and  $\xi$ . But further, in no. 25 it may express either the long or short  $e$ -sound, *but only when either of them represents an original Greek  $\alpha$ -sound*; as in e.g.  $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\omega$  (Dor.  $\Delta\tilde{\alpha}\mu\omicron-$ ),  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$  both\* from  $\alpha$ -stems (for  $\xi\chi\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$  is of course feminine). Lastly, on the claims of the digamma to be admitted to the Naxian alphabet, see the note to no. 27.

§ 34. **Relation to other alphabets.** The Naxian alphabet occupies a peculiar position, indicating, as was the case with Paros, a development to a certain extent independent of that of the Ionic alphabet. Thus we find  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , but no  $\xi$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\omega$ ; and an unstable usage in the  $\sigma$ ,  $\zeta$  and  $\zeta$ . Further, the alphabet though resembling that of the Paros group in the form of  $\beta$ , yet differs from it and from the Ionic of Asia Minor not only in the peculiar usage of  $\Theta$  or  $H$  in representing the  $e$ -sounds but also in the treatment of the  $o$ -sounds. On the other hand the phonetic value with which the alphabets of Naxos and the Paros group use the sign  $X$  indicates a direct relation to the Ionic alphabet; but all other peculiarities noticed display such an eclectic arbitrariness that no chronological data from an epigraphical point of view can be obtained from a comparison of the stage of development of these alphabets with the various phases of the Ionic. That however the alphabet of Naxos must have become identical with the fully developed Ionic long before the end of the Peloponnesian War is clear from the two inscriptions given last (no. 29  $a$ ,  $b$ ) from Naxos itself. The Ionic character appears in the presence of the  $\Omega$ , the latest of the Ionic letters, whence we may fairly infer the previous or simultaneous adoption of  $\xi$  and  $\psi$ . But in spite of the  $\Omega$ , the form of the  $\Lambda$  and the  $\Xi$  and especially the retrograde or  $\beta\omicron\upsilon$ -

στροφηδὸν arrangement forbid us to assign a date much later than the Persian Wars.

§ 35. Further remarks on the age of the inscriptions. On the Artemis-inscription, no. 25, the use of  $\Xi$  is various and peculiar. Now in specimens of the Eastern alphabets dating from about the first quarter of the sixth century  $\Xi$  is already fixed to two uses, (a) as the long *e*, (b) occasionally as the *spiritus asper*. The fluctuating and seemingly tentative employments of  $\Xi$  in our inscription point to a time (probably before 600 B.C.) when its application still varied with individual or local caprice. A similar uncertainty is seen in the use of  $\varsigma$  and  $\xi$ . The inscriptions of the next group, nos. 26—28, cannot differ much in age. The relief, no. 28, is assigned by Conze and Michaelis, from the style of art, to the first half of the fifth century B.C.; and we may with probability assume that the inscription on the Delian base, no. 27, is older than the Delian Theoria of Nicias, which Boeckh assigns to Ol. 90. 4 (417 B.C.), but there is no reason why it should not be considerably older. Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 78) is inclined to place them at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

## CEOS.

### § 36. Inscriptions.

30. On a fragment of schistous stone found at Poiessa: H. 0.18 m.; L. 0.60 m. The letters are large but not very clear. Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 196 (1885).

· Ε Δ Ε Μ ς ο Δ Μ .  
 > | \

There are traces of another letter on the right of line 1 and on the left of line 2. The second letter from the left in l. 1 has a second horizontal bar, which may be a defect of the stone. Halbherr (l.c.) conjectures in l. 1 a nominative of a proper name with the rare termination  $\rightarrow\delta\sigma$  (with which he com-

parens the Boeotian *-νδας* and the rarer *-νδων* in *Μόνδων*, Keil, *Syll.* xix. p. 85) followed by a genitive beginning *Μηδε...* (cf. the name *Μήδειος* in a Cean inscription of Iulis 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 3209); in l. 2 *νικ[ήσας]* or *νικ[ήσας ἀνέθηκεν]*. Thus we should have a dedicatory inscription. If the conjectured *Μήδειος* were connected with root *μεδ* (*μέδομαι*) the vocalism would be in accordance with the peculiarity noted below; see nos. 32, 33.

**31 a.** On a small base, fractured below, of white marble, found in the wall of the ruined church τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων at Tzia (*Iulis*). Greatest height 0.185 m.: length 0.50 m. Height of letters 0.015—0.02 m. Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 200 (1885).

ΜΙΚΟΝ ΚΟΝΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΑΝΙΙΘΗΣΑΝ

*Μίκων Κ[ρ?]ύνικος ἀν[ή?]θησαν.*

This is Halbherr's transcription. For the omission of *καί* between the two names cf. no. 202 (Boeotian). The name *Κρύνικος* is new; and *Κούνικος* would be even more difficult to explain. But the most remarkable orthography is in the word *ἀν(ή)θησαν*. Is the use of the *η* to be regarded merely as an error, at all events in the second syllable of the word, or due to the same fluctuation in the use of the E-signs, which we have seen at Naxos (no. 25)? If the latter, the *η* exemplifies the reverse of the rule formulated in § 33; for the *e*-sound here should be represented by *Ε*.

**31 b.** An inser., containing merely four names, found on a block of a Cyclopien wall, at Πόλις among the ruins of *Carthaea* in *Ceos*. The letters are Ionic but the date is uncertain. We have not thought it worth while to give a fac-simile, which may be found in CIG 41; IGA 394, etc.

ΟΡΡΛΙΟΣ  
ΕΥΚΑΙΡΟΣ  
ΣΤΕΡΗΡΕΤΟΣ  
ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ

Οὐρ[ά]λιος (Boeckh Οὐρανός), Ἐνκαιρος, [Ε]εινήρετος (Boeckh Στενήρειος), Εὐδημος.

The third name seems to begin with Σ+, doubtless an error of the engraver for +Σ. Cf. no. 63.

**32.** A stone found at Tzia (*Iulis*). It seems to have consisted of four elegiac lines and to have contained the dedication of a statue of Athena. Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. d. Ak. z. Berl.* 1868, p. 1 sqq.; id. *Stud.* 91; IGA 398;

Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 221 sq. (1885), after a new squeeze by Halbherr, which establishes the reading Σίφνιος.

ΝΑΙΣ+ΡΥΣΑΙΛΙΔΕΟΣΟΡΙΜ....  
 ΣΗΥΣΙΘΝΙΟΣΑΝΚΙΔΑΜΑΣ  
 ΠΤΗΞΗΠΟΛ ΜΛΟΤΑΟΝΛΑ  
 ΝΛΤ

[Ελκόν' Ἀθη]ναίης Χρυσαιγίδ(~~del~~ ε)ος ὀβριμ[οπάτρης]  
 [ἀνθετο τὴν χρυ]σὴν Σίφνιος Ἀλκιδάμας  
 [ἦ γάρ?] κατήξ' ἡ Πολ[ιάς] ἀνάλωτα [φ]υλά[σσει]  
 ἀστῶν τέκ[να] τ[ίει δ' αὐτά τε καὶ πατέρας?]

The Ο = ο, ω; and on this ground Kirchhoff prefers (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 91) to assign the inscription to Ceos (§ 36 below) in spite of the fact that the dedicator is a Siphnian. κατήξε according to Comparetti (l. c.) is for καθήξε; he compares the Aeschylean use of καθήκω in the sense 'to enter battle'. His restoration however of the last two lines, with their halting versification, must by no means be considered final.

**32 a.** A stone mutilated below found at Tzia (*Iulis*) and now in the museum at Athens. It is inscribed on the front, which is adorned with a cymatium, on the right and on the back, the letters being arranged *στοιχηδόν*, except in *fragm.* a l. 17, where the letters are crowded, probably in order to admit the words *καθαρὴν εἶναι τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ*, accidentally omitted. The character of the inscr. is the perfect Ionic, exhibiting no peculiarities of *form* to render necessary a copy of the original text. We note however a peculiarity of usage in the representation of the *e*-sounds, which may be taken in connexion with the similar phenomenon in the Naxian and other inscrs. (e.g. no. 25 *supra*, 33 a, b, c *infra*). The η, when it comes from Greek ε, and the non-diphthongal ει are written Ε; the η, which comes from α or ε and α contracted, is expressed by Η. Thus l. 4 [Ε]ΠΙΒΑΕΜΑΤΙ, ΕΞΕΝΑΙ, but l. 11 ΣΙΩΠΗΙ, l. 17 ΘΥΗ. Two exceptions, to be attributed only to carelessness, are l. 17 ΔΙΑΠΑΝΘΗΙ, l. 23 ΘΑΝΗΙ. The inscr. contains sumptuary regulations with regard to funerals. Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 3527, 8, 9; Bergk, *Rh. M.* 1860, p. 467 sqq.; Koehler, *Mith.* i. 189 sqq., cf. Roehl, *ib.* p. 255; Dareste, *Nouvelle rev. hist. de droit français et étranger* II. n. 3—5; Dittenberger, *Herm.* xv. p. 225 sqq.; IGA 395; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 92.

**33.** Three short inscrs. exhibiting the same peculiarity as the last in the representation of the *e*-sounds. All were found in Ceos; a and b are in the museum at Athens; c seems to have disappeared. Koehler, *Mith.* i. p. 146 (b), 147 (a); Pittakis, *Eph. Arch.* 3022 (b); Rang. 1184 (b); IGA 396—8.

(a) ΚΛΕΝΟΓΕΝΕΣΚΥΔΙΓΕΝΕΟΣ  
 ΙΣΤΙΗΙ:ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ

Κλεινογένης Κυδιγένεος Ἰστίη ἀνέθηκεν.



(b) ΘΕΟΚΥΔΕΣ: ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΥ  
ΦΡΟΔΙΘΙΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΑΡΞΑΣ

Θεοκύδης Ἀρισταίχμου [Ἀ]φροδίτῃ ἀνέθηκεν ἄρξας. We should have expected ANEΘΕΚΕΝ.

(c) ὩΥΔΕΣΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΥΑΣΚ/  
[Θεοκ]ύδης Ἀρισταίχμου Ἀσκ[ληπίω].

A Cean inscr. CIG 2363 b which Roehl thinks is later than the above three, shows in any case how constant was this discrimination of the *e*-sounds on the island: thus we find *Ξεινοκράτ*Es, *ΜΕνοφάν*Es (or *Κλεινοφ*-), *Διευτρέφ*Es, but *-ιδ*Es (ter), *-σι*Es, *-νιτ*Es, *Ἡγέας*, *Ἡγεσικλ*-, *Ἀρίμω*Ητος, *Εύκτ*Ημων. See another example (an inscription found at Poiessa) *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 195 (1885).

§ 37. The Alphabet. We readily detect in the inscriptions before us an earlier and a later period, the second marked by the use of ξ, the earlier by ζ and by the βουστροφηδόν style in no. 31. It is probable that in the earlier period the alphabet agreed closely with that of Paros and Naxos. The form of β (if no. 32 is really Cean) was C, and + had the value χ. There is unfortunately only the doubtful evidence of no. 31 b that ξ and ψ were, as in Paros and Naxos, χσ and φσ; at the period of no. 33 b the single sign for ξ (and certainly ψ) had come into use<sup>1</sup>. As in Naxos long and short *o* are not distinguished. On the peculiarity in the usage of H and E, similar to that of Naxos, see the notes to nos. 31 sqq. In no. 32, contrary to this usage, E stands for η in [Ἀθη]ναίης (cf. no. 33 b, where conversely H = η in ἀνέθηκεν).

# ANDROS. ACANTHUS.

§ 38. There are no old inscriptions of Andros; but a coin of its colony Acanthus, with the legend AKANΘION, shows that its alphabet as far as regards the manner in which the long *o*-sound was expressed was not at the same stage as the Ionic.

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the third line in no. 32 is too doubtful to enable us to assert positively the presence of a sign for ξ.

ὅς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν πάντων ἀταλάτατα παίζει  
τοῦ τόδε . . . .

Of the last six letters nothing can be made: K, M and perhaps Y are distinguishable. The inscription is shown to be Attic (1) by the form of the contracted genitive *ὀρχηστῶν*, compared with the uncontracted *ὀρχηστῶν*, *ὀρχηστῶν* and the contracted *ὀρχηστῶν* of other dialects, (2) by the use of X for χ. The crooked *iota* has hitherto been found on no Attic inscription, and its occurrence here, together with the ancient stamp of all the other characters and the retrograde direction, compels us to place the date at least as far back as the seventh century B.C. A more remarkable feature than the crooked *iota* is the *lambda*, not in the form L, which it assumes on all Attic inscriptions not yet influenced by the Ionic alphabet, but in the form ʃ (Λ, ʌ) common to most of the remaining alphabets. Kirchhoff (*Mitth.* l.c.) is inclined to conclude that the Attic alphabet in process of time gave up the one form (ʃ) for the other (L), and that the change is to be attributed to Chalcidian influence.

*Period II.* The end of the seventh and possibly the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

35. Two fragments which with every probability Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 82) determined to belong to the same inscription. CIA i. 355 (from copies, not facsimile impressions). Fragn. a was by chance discovered again and published B. C. H. i. (1877) p. 52, where it is described as *Col d'une grande jarre*. CIA i. Suppl. p. 40.

(a)

(b)

KΞΛ:ΔΙΟΣΛΛΑΥΦC	ΟΦ ΔΠΙΔΙΦΟΡΞΙ
----------------	------------------

Φου[φαγός μ' ἀνέτη]κεν Διδος γ[λ]αυφώπιδι γούρη.

The inscription is written *βουτροφηδόν* and contains three examples of *koppa* before Ο. It is thus noteworthy as one of the only two Attic inscriptions (except those painted on vases<sup>1</sup>) extant which preserve this letter. (The instances on vases are of less weight as being possibly archaising imitations.) We cannot however with any certainty assign a date: the forms of Λ, Ξ, Σ are undoubted marks of high antiquity; but just the crucial letters, the θ and the sign for spiritus asper, are unfortunately absent. The θ however in the older form is present on the other inscription alluded to (written *βουτροφηδόν* on a base of porous stone), of which only the following fragments survive (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 82; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 16):

(a)

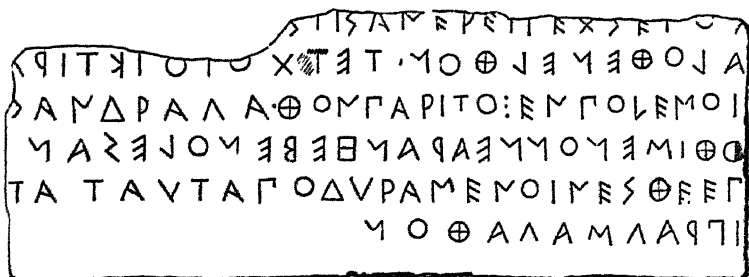
ΙΟΦ  
 ΣΛΑΘ

(b) ΛΥΟ-

<sup>1</sup> Vase-inscriptions will be found CIG 8155.

The inscription seems to be votive: (a) 1. 1 *κούρ[η]*, 1. 2 *[δωρ]ον* 'Αθ[ηναία].  
Fragm. (b) may contain the artist's name.

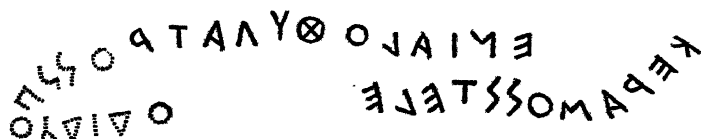
36. A base 0.705 m. in breadth found at Sepolia. CIA I. 463.



[Εἰτ' ἀσπό]ς τις ἀνὴρ εἶτε ξένος | ἄλ(λ)οθεν ἐλθών,  
Τέτ(τ)[ι]χον οἰκτίρα[ς], ἀνδρ' ἀγαθόν, παρίτω,  
ἐν πολέμῳ | φθίμενον, νεαρὰν ἡβην ὀλέσαντα.  
ταῦτ' ἀποδιδράμενοι νεῖσθε ἐπ' ἰ | πρῶγμ' ἀγαθόν.

On the single λ and τ in *ἀλ[λ]οθεν*, *Τέτ[τ]ιχον*, see the note to no. 25 (*Naxos*)  
and no. 231, A 1 (*Locris*).

37. A fragment of Pentelic marble irregularly cut, measuring 0.42 m. × 0.52 m.  
The inscription was seen complete and edited by Pittakis, *Eph.* 167; others  
only found it in a mutilated state. The dotted portions rest on the authority  
of Pittakis alone. CIA I. 467.



Ἐνιάλου, θυγατρὸς Σπουδίδου | κεραμ[έ]ως, στήλη.

38. A square base in which is fixed a sepulchral column, broken but re-  
taining traces of colours, found at Velanideza not far from the tomb of Aristion.  
The base measures 0 m. 285 × 0 m. 7 × 0 m. 44: the letters are 0 m. 05 in height.  
CIA I. 468.

ΛΥΞΕΑΙΕΜΘΑΔΕΞΕ  
ΜΑΓΑΤΕΡΞΕΜΟΜΕ  
ΠΕΘΕΚΕΜ

Λυσέα ἐνθάδε σή-  
μα πατὴρ Σήμων ἐ-  
πέθηκεν.



16 ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ  
 ΧΟΜΙΟΤΙΜΕ  
 ΡΑΤΕΟΣΤΟ  
 ΗΥΜΟΚΟΡ  
 5 ΣΙΟΚΡΗΤΗΡ  
 ΚΟΓΝΙΑΚΑΔΑ  
 ΡΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ:Κ  
 ΓΣΕΜΟΜΟΙΑ  
 ΡΥΤΑΝΗΙΟΝ  
 10 ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΣΥΚΕ  
 ΕΝΣΙΝ

5 ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ:ΕΙΜΙ:ΤΟΗ  
 ΟΧΟΑΠΟΤ:ΣΟΤΑΡΧΟΜΕ  
 ΜΕΣΙΟ:ΚΑΝΟ:ΚΡΑΤΕΡΑ  
 ΜΘΗΙΑΧ:ΜΟΤΑΤΣΙΓΑΧ  
 5 ΟΜ:ΕΣΠΡΥΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ:Ε  
 ΥΑΙΣ:ΑΜΕΜΜ:ΑΧΟΑ  
 ΕΥΣΙ:ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΠΡΑΙΤ  
 ΟΣΜ:ΜΕΜΙΑΔΕΝΕΜΟ  
 ΣΙΛΕΙΕΣ:ΚΑΙΜΕΠΟ  
 10 ΙΑΧ:ΣΟΠΟΣΙΑΗ:ΜΕΣΙΕ  
 ΗΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ

## 42.

## α. Ionic.

Φανοδίκου  
 εἰμὶ τοῦρμοκ-  
 ράτεος τοῦ  
 Προκουννη-  
 σίου· κρητῆρ-  
 α δὲ καὶ ὑποκ-  
 ρητήριον κ-  
 αὶ ἡθμὸν ἐς π-  
 ρυτανήιον  
 ἔδωκεν Συκε-  
 εὔσιν.

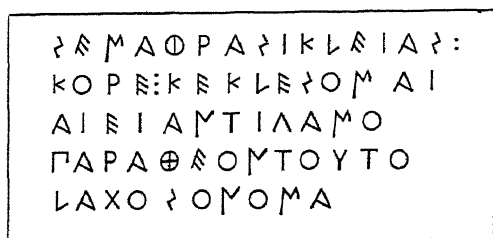
## β. Attic.

Φανοδίκου εἰμὶ τοῦ  
 ἐρμοκράτους τοῦ Προκο(ν)-  
 νησίου· καὶ γὰρ κρατήρα  
 κάπιστατον καὶ ἡθμ-  
 ῶν ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἔ-  
 δωκα μνήμα Σιγε-  
 εὔσι. Ἐὰν δέ τι πάσχ-  
 ω, μελεδαίνειν με, ὃ  
 Σιγείης. καὶ μ' ἐπό-  
 ειςεν Αἰσωπος καὶ  
 ἀδελφοί.

*Period III.* Represented by inscriptions assigned with probability to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.

**42 (146).** The Attic (lower) inscription on the marble from *Sigeion*, now in the British Museum. The upper inscription is Ionic. CIG 8; IGA 492; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 22 sqq.; cf. 95; Loeschke, *Mitth.* iv. 1879, 297 sqq.; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 4. For the explanation of the text, and the relation of the lower to the upper inscription, the reader is referred to the Appendix, p. 334 sq., where also reasons are given for assigning the monument to the first half or even the first quarter of the sixth century. Cf. the remarks on no. 45.

**43.** A stone measuring 0.255 m. × 0.565 m., inserted upside down in the wall of the church at Merenda, projecting 0.432 m. CIA i. 469 and *Add.*: less accurately CIG 28; Lolling, *Mitth.* i. 174 sq.; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 12.



Σῆμα Φρασικλείας | κούρη κεκλήσομαι | αἰεὶ,  
 ἀντὶ γάμου | παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο | λαχοῦς' ὄνομα.

There is no doubt about the reading though some of the letters are not as perfect as the use of type might imply. On the left face Lolling, l.c., has recognised letters which he restores thus: [Ἀρι]στίων Πάρι[ος μ' ἐπ]ό[η]σε: cf. nos. 44 frg. 2 and 44 a. The position of ϝ marks a period of transition from the retrograde style.

**44.** Two fragments of a base of Pentelic marble: the similarity of the writing seems to show that they belonged to the same monument. The larger measures 0.10 m. × 0.87 m. × 0.30 m. CIA i. 466; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 11.

a

ΝΤΙΛΟΤΥ.ΡΟΤΙΣΞΜΑΛΛΑΘΟ  
 ΑΙΣΟΦΘΟΝΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ

b

ΜΟΙΤΙΣΙΔΑ  
 ΜΑΧΑΟΠΞΜ

Fragm. 1. [Ἀν]τιλόχου ποτὶ σῆμ' ἀγαθοῦ | [κ]αὶ σώφρονος  
 ἀνδρός | ..... (There are traces of a third line on the stone.)

Fragm. 2. Ἀριστίων | μ' ἐπόησεν.

Cf. the notes to nos. 43, 44 a. Non-Attic forms like ποτὶ need cause no surprise on a metrical inscription. The precise meaning may have been fixed by a lost line.

44 a. A base of Parian marble found in 1873 near the Dipylon: now in the Mus. Archaeol. Soc. Kirchhoff and E. Curtius, *Abhandl. d. Ak. z. Berl.* 1873, p. 153 sqq.; CIA Suppl. 477 b; Lolling, *Mitth.* i. p. 175; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 395.

ΣΕΛΛΑΠΑΤΕΡΚΛΕΞ  
 ΒΟΛΟΣ:ΑΠΟΘΘΙΜΞ  
 ΝΟΙΧΣΞΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΙ  
 ΘΕΚΕΤΟΔΑΜΤΑΡΕΤΕΣ  
 ΕΔΕΣΑΟΦΡΟΣΥΜΞΣ

Σῆμα πατὴρ Κλείβουλος ἀποφθιμένῳ Ξενοφάντῳ |  
 θῆκε τόδ' αὐτ' ἀρετῆς | ἥδ' ἐ σαοφροσύνης.

On the longer side are the letters ΑΡΙΟΣ, which Lolling, l. c., expands to [Ἀριστίων Π]άριος | [μ' ἐπόησε]: cf. nos. 43, 44. On Κλείβουλος and similar forms see Baunack, *Curt. Stud.* x. 120—123, and Schneider, *De dial. Megar.*, Gissae, 1882, p. 41 sq. The former maintains that they are abbreviations (Κλειτό-βουλος) like Ἀρκίς[το]γίμος, Παλα[μο]μήδης, &c.; the latter assumes two stem-forms \*Κλεῖες and \*Κλεῖος, whence come the pairs Κλειγένης: Κλεογένης, Κλειδαμος (-δημος): Κλεόδαμος (-δημος) &c. Cf. Ahr. ii. 218; Cauer, *Curt. Stud.* viii. 257. The reading Κλείβουλος rests on the assumption that there is no Ο in the space at the end of the first line. Cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 137.

*Period IV.* The second and third quarters of the sixth century.

45. Four fragments of Pentelic marble found in the Acropolis in 1884: the original stone was 0.215 m. in height, 0.13 m. in thickness, and probably about 0.870 m. in length; the left half alone survives. Koehler, *Mitth.* ix. (1884) p. 117 sqq.

Ε Δ Ο + Σ Ε Ν Τ Ο Ι Δ Ε Μ Ο Ι ·  
 Ο Ι Κ Ε Ν Ε Α Σ Α Λ Α Μ Ι Ν Ι  
 Σ Ι Τ Γ Ι Ε Ν Κ Α Ι Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ  
 Ε Μ Ι Ο Ν Ε Α Μ Ε Ο Ι Κ  
 5 Ν Δ Ε . . Σ Θ Ο Ι Α Π Ο Τ Ι  
 Ι Σ Θ Ο Ν Τ Α Η Ε Κ Α Τ Ε Ι  
 Ε Σ Δ Μ Ο Σ Ι Ο  
 Ρ + Ο Τ Α Ε Α Ν  
 Α Δ Ε Ο Π Ι Α Π  
 10 Ρ Ι Α Ο Ν Τ Α : Δ Ρ  
 Ν Δ Ε Ο Ν Α Ρ + C  
 Ε Ν : Ι Τ Ε Σ Β



[ʹE]δοξεν τῷ δήμῳ [τοὺς λαχόντας]  
 οἰκεῖν ἐ[ν] Σαλαμῖνι [ξὺν Ἀθηναίοι-]  
 σι τ[ελ]εῖν καὶ στρατ[εύειν] ἄρουραν δ-]  
 ἐ μ[ισθ]οῦν, ἐὰ(μ) μὴ οἰκ[ῇ] ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐά-]  
 5 ν δὲ [μ]ισθοῖ, ἀποτί[νειν] τοῦ ξτους τὸν μ-]  
 ισθοῦντα ἐκατέ[ρ] . . . . .  
 ἐς δ[η]μοσι[ον] . . . . . ἄ-]  
 ρχο[ν]τα ἢ ἄν[δρα] ιδιώτην τ-]  
 ἂ δὲ [ῥ]ώπια π . . . . . [τ-]  
 10 ρια[κ]οντα δρα[χμ] . . . . . ἐς τὸ-]  
 ν δὴ[μ]ον ἄρχ[οντα] ἢ ἄνδρα ιδιώτ-]  
 [η]ν [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς β[ουλῆς].

The writing is more irregular in the arrangement than in the form of the letters. Lines 1—6 are *στοιχηδόν*, the letters of the remainder straggling as if to fill up the space. In the first lines the letters are 16 m. high, below they become smaller and the interval between the lines narrower. The letters were originally coloured red.

The restorations in the text are due to Koehler, l. c. The document seems to be a decree of the people relating to the occupation of Salamis by cleruchs. It is ordained that they are to pay taxes and serve in the army. In case they elect not to reside in the island, they are to lease their allotment, doubtless to the old inhabitants (cf. Grote, *H. G.* ch. 50, on Lesbos), the lessees to pay a sum to the treasury. [Or it may be that the *lessor* is to pay this sum, as a kind of absentee-tax, on the arable land which he lets out, and (τὰ δὲ ῥώπια π[ωλεῖν] κ.τ.λ.) he is to put up for sale before the βουλὴ the brushwood for the people to buy at a price of thirty drachmas. For ἐς τὸν δῆμον cf. Hdlt. VIII. 105 ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ Ἐφέσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. W. R.] If the date inferred by Koehler, 570—560 B.C., is correct, the inscription presents an example of an Athenian decree of the people earlier by nearly a century than any hitherto known, and makes an important contribution to the history of the Athenian cleruch system, the earliest known example of which was that of the 4000 settlers sent out to occupy the land of the Euboeans, after the defeat of the latter, not long subsequent to the expulsion of the Pisistratids. This inscription proves its existence upon the subjugation of Salamis (between 575 and 559 B.C., Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterth.* VI.<sup>3</sup> 244 sqq.), and apparently in a form very similar to the later usages.

The inscription offers the oldest, perhaps accidental, Attic example of the *στοιχηδόν* style, in which the letters when scanned upwards or downwards appear to be arranged in a series of vertical columns.

The date must be determined mainly upon epigraphical grounds. From this point of view (cf. the forms for α, ε, θ, μ, ν, χ) the inscription takes a middle place between that of the Sigeon monument, no. 42, and the dedication on the altar from the Pythion, no. 56, dating from the tyranny of Hippias 527—510 B.C., and probably from the later years of the period. The effect of

this comparison will be to set the date of the Sigeon inscription much farther back than that which has been hitherto assumed, and possibly as early as the opening years of the century. According to Duncker's calculation (*Gesch. d. Alterth.* vi.<sup>3</sup> p. 134 sq., cf. p. 466) it was about 610 B.C. that the Athenians first became possessed of Sigeion.

l. 3. τελειν κ.τ.λ.: the later (4th century) formula is *στρατεύεσθαι τὰς στρατῖδς καὶ τὰς εἰσφοράς εἰσφέρειν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων*: cf. CIA II. 176 (decree in honour of a Plataean benefactor, 330—29 B.C.). l. 4, 5. Similarly the cleruchs sent out to Lesbos after its subjugation in 427 B.C. do not appear to have been compelled to reside: see Thuc. III. 50, 2: cf. Foucart, *Mém. s. les col. Athéniennes*, p. 347. l. 6. ἐκατέ[ρ...]? Koehler suggests that the lands of each cleruch may have been divided into two portions, for which the payment to the treasury was fixed. l. 9. ῥώπια: possibly 'thickets': cf. ῥωπήϊα πυκνά, Hom. II. XIII. 199 etc. l. 11. ἄρχοντα ἢ ἄνδρα ιδιώτην seems to be for εἶτε ἄρχ. εἶτε ἄ. l. 18. The express mention of the officers of state as bound by the conditions, though it would be surprising in a later document, might not have been superfluous in the earlier days of the democracy.

l. 12. ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς is apparently the equivalent of ἐναντίον τῆς β. in later documents. It is remarkable that the formula in the opening lines is in the name of the People only. It may be that the Senate in the sixth century had not yet taken the leading part which it assumed after the reforms of Cleisthenes.

45 a. A fragment of white marble inserted into the wall of the chapel of S. John, at the village of Liopesi. Possibly it is of about the same date as the foregoing (see below). The mistakes are obviously those of the engraver and not due to the copyists. CIA I. 472.

ΣΤΡΑΤΟΔΕ:ΚΥΛΟΜ:ΠΑΙΔΟΙ  
ΕΠΕΘΕΚΕΜ:ΘΑΝΟΤΟΙ:ΜΤΕΜΑ  
ΘΙΛΕΜΟΣΥΜΕΣ:ΙΙΙ ΙΟ

Σῆμα τόδε Κύλων παῖδοι(ν) | ἐπέθηκεν θανό(ν)τοι(μ)  
μ[ν]ῆμα | φιλημοσύνης . . . . .

Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inschr.* p. 38, supposes the first μ of μνῆμα to serve also for the last letter of θανόντων; cf. no. 45. 4, ἐα(μ) μή, and the note on no. 231, A 1 (Appendix).

46. A fragment of Pentelic marble, found in the Acropolis. CIA I. 348.

ΕΧΡΕΚΕΤΟ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ	Ἐξήκεστο[s] . . . ἀνέθηκε . . .
---------------------	------------------------------------

There are traces of two more letters just on the line of fracture.

46 a. Engraved round a substructure which probably supported a *περιρραντήριον*: found buried in the rubbish heaps of the Parthenon; Koehler, *Mitth.* x. (1885) 77 sq.

Σ Μ Ι Κ Υ Θ Ε Π Λ Υ Ν Τ Ρ Ι Α Δ Ε Κ Α Τ Ε Ν Α Ν Θ Ε Κ Ε Ν

Σμικύθη πλύντρια δεκάτην ἀνέθηκεν.

Koehler remarks that the mention of the profession together with the name of the person is in Attic epigraphy, apart from Roman times, very rare. Three professions however must be excepted—those of the Physician, the Actor and the Washerman or Washerwoman. For the first cf. CIA II. 835 frg. c—l, l. 13; 836 frg. c—k, l. 17; 1149. For the last cf. the dedicatory inscription of the twelve *πλυνῆς* (underneath are two women) on the Nani relief (CIG 455) now at Berlin, from the first half of the 4th century; and the following epitaph:

Ο Ν Η Ξ Ι Μ Ο Σ

᾽Ονήσιμος

Π Λ Υ Ν Ε Υ Σ

πλύνευς.

(Koehler l. c.) The dedication by the *κναφεύς* Simon, CIA I. *Suppl.* 373 f., is of the same age as this Smicythe inscription. If it is surprising to find the Physician and Laundress treated as of equal rank, we must remember that both the one and the other were *βάνανσοι*. (Professions are added in certain lists, CIA II. 763 sqq. and p. 512, but the object of the lists appears to have been special and forms no exception to the rule enunciated above.)

47. Two fragments of a fluted column of Pentelic marble, found in the Acropolis. CIA I. 350.

(a)

(b)

Δ Λ  
Ι Θ Ι Δ Ι Κ Ε Μ Α Υ

Ε Ν Α Θ Ι Δ Ν Α Ι C  
Α Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Ο Ν Τ C

Two attempts at restoration have been made:

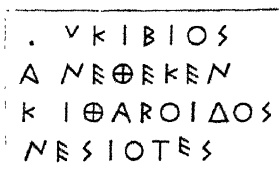
Ἰφιδίκη μ' ἀν[έθηκεν] Ἀφιδναίω[ν δ' ἀπὸ δήμου]  
[ἔστηκε' ἐν πόλει] Ἀθηναίων τό[δ' ἄγαλμα].

Or, taking in the αλ of the first fragment and making the upper and lower lines on each fragment correspond respectively,

\* Αλ[λοτε μὲν] ἐν Ἀφιδναίω[ν, νῦν δ' ἐν πόλει ἄκρα]  
Ἰφιδίκη μ' ἀν[έθηκεν] Ἀθηναίων τό[δ' ἄγαλμα].

The peculiar form of  $\phi$  in frg. *a* and *b* is merely the ordinary form tilted backwards, not a new variety: compare the  $\delta$  of frg. *a*, and the  $\nu$  of frg. *b*. Cf. note on no. 241.

48. A square base of Pentelic marble, found in the Acropolis. CIA I. 357.



[A]λκίβιος | ἀνέθηκεν | καθαρθὸς | νησιώτης.

The dedicator Alcibius here shows himself to be an islander: the last word can have no reference to the artist Nesiotes, as is clear from the palaeographical difference between this monument and nos. 67, 67*a*, of which Critios and Nesiotes are recorded as the authors.

49. A stone inserted into the exterior wall of the chapel of S. Demetrius at Ceratia. CIA I. 475.

ΜΟΙΘΑΝΟΣΕΣΕΙΜΙ  
ΜΑΜΥΡΙΝΕΣ

[Λοι]μὴ θανούσης εἰμὶ | [σῆ]μα Μυρ(ρ)ίνης.

50. A fragment of Pentelic marble. Said to have been found in the churchyard of S. Nicolas in the western extremity of Athens: H. 0.12 m.; L. 0.32 m.; T. 0.18 m. It appears to have been a tomb-inscription of two hexameters written in three lines. CIA I. 476.

ΣΕΜΟΘΑ  
ΣΟΙΚΑΤΕΘ  
ΗΘΡΟΣ

[Ἐνθα κασιγνήτη σῆμα X]σενόφα|[ντος ἀδελφός]  
[Ἐσδόχ]σφ κατέθ[ηκεν, ἐπεὶ πάρος ἄλλετ' ἀ]ώρος (cf. no. 58).

[The lower half of the letters in the last line is broken off.]

Period V. 535—510 B.C. (approximately).

51. A base of Pentelic marble (H. 0.11 m.; L. 0.48 m.; T. 0.26 m.) found in the Acropolis. CIA i. 349.

ΟΘΑΝΕΣ ΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ  
ΡΙΟΔΕΚΑΤΕΝΤΟΤΕΚΝΟΕΝΧ

.... οθάνης μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναία[ι....  
.... ρίου δεκάτην τοῦ τέκνου εὐχ[σαμένου.]

52. A column of Pentelic marble found in the Acropolis. CIA i. 351.

ΕΟΡΤΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΨΙΔΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΕΝ  
ΑΠΑΡΤΕΝΤΑΘΕΝΑΙ

Ἐόρτιος καὶ Ὀψιάδης ἀνεθέτην | ἀπαρχὴν τὰθηνάα.

Note the absence of *spiritus asper* in Ἐόρτιος: see § 43.

53. A fragment of a Doric column of Pentelic marble, now in the Br. Mus. The words are engraved in the fluting of the column. A. Z. 1873, N. F. Bd. 6, Heft 3, p. 103; CIA i. Suppl. 477 a.

ΣΜΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ  
ΞΕΜΑΛΛΑΘΟ

[Τοῦ δαίτος τέδ]ε σῆμ' ἀγαθοῦ [καὶ σάφρονος ἀνδρός.]

The first line contained the sculptor's name . . . . s μ' ἐποίησε.

54. A base of Pentelic marble, found in the Acropolis. CIA i. 358.

ΑΡΤΟΝΙΔΕΣ: ΕΒΔΟΜΙΑΣ: ΛΕΥΚΟΛΟΦΙΔΩ: ΑΝΕΘΕΤΕΝ

[The upper portions of some of the letters on the stone are lost.]

Ἀρχωνίδης, Ἐβδομίας Λευκολοφίδου ἀνεθέτην.

The Ω=ου (as in the Parian, Thasian and Siphnian alphabets) has crept into the Attic here rather by chance than by design. The accident only shows that the Athenians at that time were more familiar with other alphabets than might be inferred from the stable usage of public documents, and that the need for differentiation of the *o*-sounds was thus early felt. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 96.

55. A fragment of a base of Pentelic marble inserted in a wall at the church of S. Blasius, in the village of Menidi (*Acharnae*). CIA i. 360.

ΗΙΠΠΟΘΕΡΙΔΕ  
ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΝΣ:

Ἰπποθηρίδης[s] . . . | Ἡρακλέους . . .

Comp. Pausanias i. 31, 6, ἐστὶ δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυῖα καὶ Ἑρακλέα. The orthography of the pseudo-diphthong ου with two letters is remarkable in so old an inscription, though not uncommon in those of the 5th century.

56. Two fragments from the cymatium of an altar of Parian or Pentelic marble, dug up in 1877 on the right bank of the Ilissus. *Fragm. a* measures 0.66 m.; *fragm. b* 0.84 m. in length: breadth 0.555 m., thickness 0.17 m. *Eph. Ath.* May 7, 1877, p. 4; Mylona, *B. C. H.* i. p. 350; Kumanudes, *Ἀθ.* v. p. 149; *CIA* i. Suppl. 373 c; Hicks, no. 9; Heydemann, *Herm.* xiv. 317.

(a)

ΜΝΕΜΑΤΟΔΕΗΣΑΡΤΕΣΠΕΙΣΙΣΤ.....

(b)

ΥΙΟΣΘΕΚΕΝΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣΠΥ...ΕΝΤΕΜΕΝΕ

Μνημα τόδε ἥς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος Ἰππίου] υἱὸς  
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυ[θίου] ἐν τεμένει.

The inscription is the one cited by Thucydides vi. 54, where he says that it was only 'dimly legible' (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι). As the letters are clearly cut and perfectly legible now, it is probable that he refers to the fading of the colour with which the letters had been painted in. The other alternative (which Kirchhoff, *CIA* i. c., rejects) is that the inscription was restored in Roman times; at any rate before that time the Athenians would not have been likely to renew a memorial recalling the Pisistratid times. The date must fall between 527 and 510 B.C., probably in the latter part of the period.

Period VI. Circa Ol. 68 = 508 B.C.

57. Two fragments of a large base of poros-stone from the wall of Themistocles, found in 1832. Thucydides, i. 93, in noting the hasty manner in which the wall was completed, mentions that πολλὰ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι ἐργασμένοι were utilised for the work. The left-hand fragment is from a more accurate copy than the right. *CIA* i. 479.

(a)

Σ Ε Μ Α Φ Ι  
Ε Ο Ε Κ Ε Μ  
Ο Ε Σ Κ Α Θ

(b)

Ο Γ Α Ι Δ Ο Σ Τ Ο Δ Ε Ι Δ Ε Ν Δ Ι  
Σ Τ Ε Σ Ι Ο Η Ο Ν Θ Α Ν Α Τ Ο  
+ Ε Ι

Σῆμα φί[λ]ου παιδὸς τόδε . . . . [κατ]έθηκεν  
Στησίου, ὃν θάνατο[ς] δακρυ[ο]δεις καθ[έ]χει.

Before *κατέθηκεν* the father's name is concealed in the corrupt letters: Ross conjectured *Δημόανθος*. For *κατέχει* cf. *ἔχω*, CIA IV. 373 b  $\Xi \times \Xi$  (6th century, to judge from closed  $\eta$ ). See § 43 on the growing fluctuation in the use of the *spiritus asper*; and cf. Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* § 20, where other instances are quoted to show that the uncertainty of usage had set in very early.

58. A slab of Pentelic marble, from the foundations of the church τοῦ Εὐ-  
αγγελισμοῦ. CIA I. 481.

ΟΝΔΗΟΡΙΟΝΕΣΑΙΔΑΟ  
·ΘΟΣΔΓΟΙ+ΟΜΕΝΟΝ

[Κρύπτει σῆμα] . . . . ον, ἄωριον εἰς Ἀἶδαο  
[πᾶσι λιπόντα φίλοις πέν]θος ἀποιχόμενον.

*ἄωριον*: other instances of Interaspiration are collected by Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* § 20; cf. no. 50.

59. Fragment of a base of Pentelic marble, found on the north side of the Propylaea, where it had been inserted in a modern wall. H. 0.10 m.; L. 0.22 m.; T. 0.12 m. The inscription shows that it was once a tomb-stone. CIA I. 482.

+ Δ  
⊙ Ε Κ Ε  
· : κ Ε Ρ V +  
ς V Ν Ε ς : Η Ε

[Δημο]χά[ρους τόδε σῆμα πατήρ | κατέ]θηκε[ν ὁ δαίνα,]  
[παιδὸς] κηρῦχ[σαι μνήμα σ]αοφρο[σύνης].

Possibly the name of the sculptor followed.

60. A fragment of a base of Pentelic marble, inserted in the wall of a house at Eleusis. CIA I. 478.

. Ι Ψ Ε Α Ι Τ Ο Δ Ε Σ Ε  
Τ Ι Μ Ο Κ Λ Ε Σ Ε Γ Ε

[Α]ἰνεία τόδε σῆ[μα] . . . .  
Τιμοκλῆς ἐπέ[θηκε] . . . .

61. A base of white marble, 0.28 m. high, 0.69 m. long, found in the ruins of the city wall said to be of the age of Themistocles. It appears to have been

the base of a sepulchral column to commemorate one Antidotos, on which some relief-work had been carved by the statuary Callonides. CIA I. 483.

Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Τ Ο  
Κ Α Λ Λ Ο Ν Ι Δ Ε Σ Ε Π Ο Ι Ε  
Η Ο Δ Ε Ι Ν Ι Ο

[The Ο at the end of the first line is engraved over a V.]

Ἀντιδότου. | Καλλωνίδης ἐποίηε | ὁ Δεινίου.

Cf. the introductory note on no. 57.

62. A fragment of a base, found in the Acropolis. CIA I. 352 and *Suppl.*

Η Ο + Ο Λ Α Ρ Λ Ε .  
· Μ Ο Σ : Ε Ρ Λ Ο Μ  
Ε Ν : Α Π Α Ρ + Ε Ν

[Portions of the letters at the top and the left side are broken off.]

[Ο δαίνα] ὁ Χολαργε[ὺς] | [εὐξάμε]νος ἔργων | [ἀνέθηκε]ν ἀπαρχήν.

63. A fragment of a base of Pentelic marble, 0.28 m. high, 0.48 m. long. CIA I. 353; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 36.

Σ Α Λ Ε Ρ Ο + Ο Σ Ο  
Σ + Α Μ Ε Ν Ο Σ Δ Ε Κ Α Τ Ε Ν  
Λ Ο Ρ Λ Ι Α Σ Ε Π Ο Ι Ε Σ Ε

[Portions of some letters are broken off. The Σ + of l. 2 is obviously a slip of the engraver for + Σ. Cf. no. 31 b.]

l. 1 . . . Σ ἀγέρωχος  
2 [ε]ὐξάμενος δεκάτην  
Below  
Γοργίας ἐποίησε.

According to Brunn (*Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*) this Gorgias is the same as the person mentioned by Pliny (who however is wrong in his chronology) xxxiv. 49: (*floruit*)...*olympiade LXXXVII.* (431—423 B.C.) *Hagelades, Callon, Gorgias Lacon.*

*Periods* VII. VIII. OL 70—75 = 500—480 B.C. There appear to be no surviving inscriptions of this interval. See the remarks below, § 41.



Period IX. Circa Ol. 76, 476 B.C., or older than 460 B.C.

64. A fragment of marble found on the Via Hadriani, 0.20 m. high, 0.41 m. broad; height of letters about 0.013 m. Now at Athens in the Mus. Archaeol. Soc. CIA I. 333.



Kirchhoff thinks that the inscription consisted of four elegiac distichs, the first two separated by a space from the last two. He attempts the following restoration :

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

Ἑλλά[δα γῆν] πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἡμᾶρ ιδεῖν] |  
 Ἦ μάλα δὴ κείνοι ταλακάρδιοι οἳ ῥα τ]ότ' αἰχμὴν  
 στήσαμ πρόσθε πυλῶν ἀγ[ροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιᾶς,] |  
 [μαρνήμενοι δ' ἐσάωσαν Ἀθηναίας πολυβούλ]ου  
 ἄστυ, βία Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι δύναν.]

For remarks on the date and the occasion to which the epigram refers, see § 41, note to periods VII. and VIII.

65. A block of Pentelic marble, found at Eleusis: H. 0.23 m.; L. 0.88 m.; T. 0.49 m. Lenormant, *Rech. arch. à Eleusis*, 1862, p. 70, no. 25; Mommsen, *Heort.* p. 257; CIA I. 5.

ΚΑΙ...ΟΙΔΕΜΟΙ:ΗΟΙΕΠΑΡΑΙΒΑΤΕ  
 Ν:ΤΟΣΗΙΕΡΟΠΟΙΟΣ:ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΝ:ΚΑΙ  
 ΕΙ:ΗΕΡΜΕΙΕΝΑΛΛΟΝΙΟΙ:ΧΑΡΙΣΙΝ:ΑΙΛΑ  
 Ν:ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ:ΑΙΛΑ:ΤΕΛΕΣΙΔΡΟΜΟΙ:ΤΡΙ  
 ΧΟΙ:ΘΕΟΙΝ:ΤΡΙΤΤΟΑΝ:ΒΟΑΡΧΟΝ:ΕΝΤΕΙ:ΕΟΡ

Vacat.

1. 1 καὶ [τ]ῷ δήμῳ ὃ [τ]ε παραιβάτη[s] . . . (?)
- 2 . . . ν τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς Ἐλευσινίων καὶ . . .
- 3 . . . ῆ, Ἑρμῇ ἐναγωνίῳ, Χάρισιν αἶγα . . .
- 4 . . . ν, Ἀρτέμιδι αἶγα, Τελεσιδρόμῳ ('qui heros videtur Eleusinius'), Τρι[πολέμῳ ?] . . .
- 5 . . . [Ἰάκ]χῳ, Θεοῖν τριπτόαν βόαρχον ἐν τῇ ἐορ[τῇ].

This is evidently a decree regulating ritual. Lenormant, l. c., mistook it for an honorary decree. The *παραιβάτης* seems to have been some officer connected with the sacrifices, but nothing is known of his duties. *τριπτόα βόαρχος* is explained by Lenormant and Mommsen to be the same as *τριπτὸς βούπρωτος*, i. e., a sacrifice of an ox with two smaller victims. The latter expression itself is not found, but Plut. (2. 668. C.) speaks of *βούπρ. ἐκατόμβη*, i. e., an offering of 100 sheep and one ox (or 99 sheep and one ox?). Comp. also the expression *τριπτεύαν κῆρυγ*, CIA II. 545, l. 34 (*Delphi*); Ca. 204.

66. CIA I. 432. It is highly probable, as Kirchhoff has shown (CIA l. c.), that we have here the fragments of a sepulchral monument recording the names of those who fell in different places in the Thasian war in Ol. 78. 4 and Ol. 79. 1=463, 462 B.C. Cf. Thucyd. I. 100, IV. 102; Paus. I. 29. 4. The stele was evidently quadrangular and inscribed on its four faces, the names being in columns. Fragments *a* and *b* were published in CIG (167, 168) from the MSS. of Fourmont. Ross had copied *b* and *c*.

As nothing remains but the names of the fallen and the mention of two or three of the localities (*ἐπὶ Σιδείῳ*, *ἐν Θάσῳ*) it will be sufficient for our present purpose to illustrate this Period IX by quoting the following:

frg. a,	1. 3	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ	Ἀντίμαχος
	4	ΣΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ	Σμίκυθος
	5	ΚΕΦΑΛΙΟΝ	Κεφαλίων
	10	ΕΛΘΑΣ	ἐν Θάσῳ
	16	ΕΠΙΛΕΥΕΣ	Ἐπιγένης
	25	ΗΕΡΜΟΤΙΟΝ	Ἑρμοτίων
	32	· ΠΙΣΙΔΕΙΟΙ	[ἐ]πὶ Σιδείῳ
	33	ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Κηφισόδωρος
	33	ΥΤΙΟΙ	[Μαδύ]τιοι
frg. b,	1	ΕΝΘΑΣ·	ἐν Θάσῳ
frg. c,	26	ΟΧΣΕΛΩΣ	...όξενος
marg.		ΛΑΛΡΟΒΟΛΟ	[Ἀνδ]ρόβουλο[s]

Foreigners as well as Attic citizens appear to be commemorated; cf. l. 33 [Μαδύ]τιοι (or [Αἰγάν]τιοι?) which cannot be referred to tribes or demes.

67. A base of Pentelic marble, found in the Acropolis: H. 0.25 m.; L. 0.65 m.; Th. 0.30 m.: on the surface 'δύο παί'. CIA I. 374.

ΟΘΕΛΟΙΕΚΦΑΝΤΟΜΕΠΑΤΕΡΑΝΕΘΕ  
ΚΕΚΑΙΗΤΙΟΣΕΛΘΑΔΑΘΕΝΑΙΕΙΜΝΕΜΑ  
ΠΟΝΟΝΑΡΕΟΣΕΛΕΛΟΧΟΣΜΕΛΑΛΕΤΕΦΙ  
ΛΟΧΣΕΝΙΕΣΑΡΕΤΕΣΤΕΠΑΣΕΣΜΟΙΡΑΝ  
ΕΧΟΝΤΕΝΔΕΡΟΛΙΝΝΕΜΕΤΑΙ  
ΚΡΙΤΙΟΣΚΑΙΝΕΣΙΟΤΕΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΑΤΕΝ

[Παρ]θένωρ Ἐκφάντου με πατὴρ ἀνέθηκε καὶ υἱὸς  
ἐνθάδ' Ἀθηναίῃ μνημα | πόνων Ἄρεος  
Ἡγέλοχος. μεγάλη(ν) τε φιλοξενίης ἀρετῆς τε  
πάσης μοῖραν | ἔχων τήνδε πόλιν νέμεται.  
Κριτίος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποίησάτην.

In l. 3 the engraver has inadvertently omitted a letter. Beneath this inscription is another of a later period in honour of L. Cassius.

The date of this and the next two inscriptions is approximately fixed by the mention of Critios and Nesiotes as the sculptors. They, as is well known, were engaged to restore the statues of Harmodios and Aristogiton in 477 B.C., after the invasion of Xerxes. See *Dict. Biogr.* and comp. Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 19, where (1) the reading Nestocles is corrected from our inscr., (2) Nesiotes, of the Bamberg MS., is confirmed, (3) Critios and not Critias is proved to be the right form. The same correction, *Kριτίος* (on the accent see Götzling A. Z. 1845, p. 96) instead of *Kριτίας*, must be made in MSS. of Pausanias, i. 8. 5; 23. 9. There is no reason to suppose that other joint works of theirs would be much later than Ol. 80=460 B.C., and they may be earlier, for they exhibit the forms Ν Σ Ο. Critios died 444 B.C. (Plin. l.c.).

Hegelochus the dedicator was apparently a foreigner, and the consistent Ionicism of the epigram argues his origin from some Ionic town. Kirchhoff *Herm.* v. p. 55.

68. A round base of Pentelic marble, from the Acropolis, 0.44 m. in height. CIA I. 375.

Α Σ : Κ . . . . . Ε Θ Ε Τ Ε Ν  
Ε Ν Α Ι Α . . . . . Ε Ν Θ Α Θ Ε Ν  
Ο Σ Κ Α Ι Ν Λ . . . . Ε Π Ο Ι Ε Σ Α Τ Ε Ν

[For varr. lectt. see CIA.]

. . . . ας κ[αὶ] Ὀψίος (?) ἀν[εθέτην] | [τῇ] Ἀθ[ηναίᾳ] α[ὐ]τ[ῇ] παρχ[ῇ]  
ᾠδ[ό]θεν. | [Κριτί]ος καὶ Ν[ησιώτης] ἐποίησάτην.

The arrangement of letters is only partially στοιχηδόν: this inscription therefore may be slightly older than 67 and 68 a.

**68 a.** A square base of Pentelic marble, H. 0.31 m., L. 0.72 m., Th. 0.36 m., found between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. CIA i. 376; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* no. 39 (facsimile).

ΕΠΙΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ . . . ΘΕΚΕΛΗΘΟΟ . . . Ο . . . .  
ΚΡΙΤΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΣΙΟΤΕΣ ΕΠΟ . . . ΑΤΕΛ

[Several of the letters given here in the first line are mutilated on the stone.]

Ἐπιχαρίνος [ἀνέ]θηκεν ὁ . . . .  
Κριτίος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐπο[ιη]σάτην.

That the words are rightly restored is seen from Paus. i. 23, 9: ἀνδριάντων δὲ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸν ἵππον (in the Acropolis) ἐστήκασιν, Ἐπιχαρίνου μὲν ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε Κριτίας (-ίος). The word ὀπλιτοδρόμος suggests itself for the end of l. 1, but the traces remaining do not favour the conjecture. Wilamowitz (*Herm.* xii. 1877, p. 345, note 29) conj. ὁ Ὀθ[ρυν]ο[νέ]ω[ς].

*Period X.* Circa Ol. 80 = 460 B.C.

**69.** The 'Nointel Marble' now in the Louvre. It commemorates those members of the tribe Erechtheis who fell in battle in Egypt, Cyprus, Ægina, Megara, &c. in 460 B.C. See note below. It will suffice here to quote the heading only and such of the 168 names which follow as may serve for illustration. CIA i. 433. See also CIG 165; Rose, *Inscr.*, pl. xiv. p. 105; Hicks, no. 19. (*The text is given on p. 93.*)

Ἐρεχθίδος

Οἷδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν Αἰγ[ύ-  
π]τῳ, ἐν Φοινίκῃ, ἐν Ἀλιεύσιν, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, Μεγαρο[ῖ]  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ

5	[σ]τ[ρα]τηγῶν	Φάνυλλος	Ἀκρυπτος
	Φ . . . χος	Χ . . . νιος	Τιμοκράτης
	&c.	&c.	&c.

στρατηγός

Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

Ἱπποδάμας

Εὐθύμαχος

Τελένικος

65 Εὐμηλος

μάντις.

Ἀνδροσθένης

τοξόται Φρύνος

Ταῦρος

Θεόδωρος

70 Ἀλεξίμαχος.

For the campaigns commemorated in this inscription see Thucyd. i. 104, 105. It seems probable that each of the other nine tribes had a similar stele; for, as Mr Hicks remarks, the Athenians in battle were drawn up *κατὰ φυλάς* (Plut. *Aristid.* 5, *Cim.* 17; Lysias, *Pro Mantith.* 15; Theophr. *Char. δειλός fin.*), and those who fell were buried *κατὰ φυλάς* (Thuc. ii. 34). It seems certain also that each of the tribes furnished one of the regular Strategoi (Plut. *Cim.* 8). There is some doubt about the second word of col. 1. Boeckh restored *φύλαρχος*, making both this and *στρατηγῶν* refer to the names *horizontally* opposite. But it is better to suppose some such name as *Φρύνιχος*, who is described as *στρατηγῶν* (not *στρατηγός*), *i.e.* 'acting strategus'. Or of course *στρατηγῶν* may be genitive. Perhaps the second word in col. 2 is *Χρόνιος*.

Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Ε Ι Δ Ο Σ  
 ΟΙΔΕ:ΕΝΤΟΙ:ΓΟΛΕΜΟΙ:ΑΠΕΘΑΝΟΝΕΝΚΥΠΡΟΙ:ΕΝΑΙΑ  
 ΤΟΙ:ΕΝΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΙΕΝΑΛΙΕΥΣΙΝΕΝΑΙΑΙΝΕΙ:ΜΕΛΑΡΟ  
 Τ Ο Α Υ Τ Ο Ε Ν Ι Α Υ Τ Ο  
 Τ ΤΕΛΟΝ ΦΑΝΥΛΛΟΣ ΑΚΡΥΓΤΟΣ  
 Θ ΧΟΣ Χ ΝΙΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ

The list of names (among which we may notice col. 1. 33 ΑΘΞΕΦΕΣ 'Αψήφης, col. 2. 22 ΛΟΡΛΙΑΣ (or Α) Γοργίας 38 ΚΑΛΛΙΧΣΕΝΟΣ Κάλλιξενος 45 ΗΙΕΡΟΛΥΜΟΣ 'Ιερώνυμος 54 ΝΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ Νουμήνιος 56 ΗΥΠΕΡΒΙΟΣ 'Υπέρβιος, col. 3, 13 ΑΝΑΧΣΙΔΟΡΟΣ 'Αναξίδωρος 22 ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΕ Εὐκλείδης[s]) is thus continued to the number of 168 in three columns, and at the end comes an appendix as follows:

ΣΤΡΑΤΕΛΟΣ	ΕΝΑΙΑΥΠΤΟΙ
ΗΙΠΠΟΔΑΜΑ	Σ
ΕΥΘΥΜΑΧΟΣ	: ΤΕΛΕΝΙΚΟΣ
65 ΕΥΜΕΛΟΣ	: ΜΑΝΤΙΣ
ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ	
ΤΟΧΣΟΤΑΙ:ΦΡΥΝΟΣ	
ΤΑΥΡΟΣ	
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ	
70 ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΣ	

*Periods XI. XII.* In 454 B.C. begin what are called the "Tribute-lists." Six of the marbles, which give the yearly accounts of the quota of tribute dedicated to Athena, have been restored and

present an almost unbroken series from 454 to 421 B.C. Obviously such a chain of public documents of known date is invaluable for the history of the alphabet; but of these it is the first nine from 454 to 446 B.C. which are especially useful for our purpose, because in the latter year the Attic alphabet reached the final stage at which, with unessential variations, it remained until it gave place to the Ionic. Want of space prevents us from giving all these documents in full: we shall content ourselves therefore with the surviving portions of two out of the five columns comprising the last of the first nine tables, that of 446 B.C., which is especially interesting as representing the Attic alphabet in its latest settled form.

70. The text representing two out of the five columns of the original, is given on the opposite page.

	Col. I.		Col. II.
	.....ο[ι]		. εγ . . . .
	[Ϝ]εφέ[σ]ιοι		[Μ]ενδ[α]ίοι
	...ῆς		Νεάπολ[ις]
	...ῆς	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Σκαψα[ίοι]
5	[Νι]σύριοι	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Σκιάθ[ιοι]
	[Κλ]αζομένοι	ΔΔΓ	Ἴκιοι
	Πυγαλῆς	ΔΔΔΓΓΗ	Ὀλοφ[ύ]ξιοι
	[Δ]ΓΗΙΙΙ Πιταναῖοι	ΔΔΔΓΓΗ	Δίκα[ια]
	[Ϸ]ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου		πα[ρ] Ἀβδηρα
10	ΗϷ [Κ]ολοφώνιοι	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	[Σταγί]ρται
	ΗϷΔΔΔΓΓΗ Φωκαιῆς	Η	[Θύσ]σ[ιοι]
	Η Αἰραῖοι	Η	Διῆς
	Η [Δ]ε[β]έδιοι	Η	Στρεψ[α]ίοι
	Η Μύρινα παρὰ Κύμη	ΗϷ	Γαλήψ[ιοι]
15	ΓΗ Τήιοι	Ϸ	Νεοπολ[ί]ται
	ΓΗΗΗΗ Κυμαῖοι	ΔΔΔΓΓΗ	Αἰγάντ[ιοι]
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ [Ϝ]λαιέα παρὰ Μύ.	Η[Ϸ]	Μαρωνί[ται]
	ΓΓΓΗ Πρίαπος	[Ϸ]ΔΓΗΙΙΙ	Σαναῖοι[ι]
	ΓΓΓΗ Παλαιπερκώσιοι[ι]	ΗΗ	Βοττια[ίοι]

## 70. CIA L 234.

	Ο	ΕΛ
	· ΙΟΙ	· ΕΝΔ
	ΕΣ	ΝΕΑΡΟΛ
	· ΕΣ	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΣΚΑΦΣΑ
5	ΣΥΡΙΟΙ	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΣΚΙΑΘ
	ΑΙΟΜΕΝΙΟΙ	ΔΔΓ ΙΚΙΟΙ
	ΠΥΛΑΕΣ	ΔΔΔΗΗΙΟΛΟΦ·
	· ΓΗΙΙΙ ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΟΙ	ΔΔΔΗΗΙΔΙΚΑ
	ΓΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΟΙΝΑΙΟΙΕΧΣΙΚΑΡΟ	ΠΑ
10	Η <sup>Α</sup> ·ΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΟΙ	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ
	· ΙΓΔΔΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΦΟΚΑΙΕΣ	Η Σ
	Η ΗΑΙΡΑΙΟΙ	Η ΔΙΕΣΗ
	Η·Ε·ΕΔΙΟΙ	Η ΣΤΡΕΦΣ
	Η ΜΥΡΙΝΑΠΑΡΑΚΥΜΕ: Η <sup>Α</sup>	ΛΑΛΕΦΣ
15	ΓΗ ΤΕΗΙΟΙ	Η <sup>Α</sup> ΝΕΟΡΟΛ
	ΓΗΗΗΗ ΚΥΜΑΙΟΙ	ΔΔΔΗΗΗΑΙΛΑΝΤ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ·ΛΑΙΕΑΡΑΡΑΜΥ	Η ΜΑΡΟΝΙ
	ΓΗΗΗ ΠΡΙΑΠΟΣ	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΣΑΝΑΙΟ
	ΓΗΗΗ ΠΑΛΑΙΠΕΡΚΟΣΙΟ	ΗΗ ΒΟΤΤΙΑ
20	ΓΗΗΗ ΛΕΝΤΙΝΙΟΙ	ΗΗΗ ΠΕΓΑ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΠΕΡΚΟΤΕ	ΗΗ ^ ΝΛ·
	ΓΗΗΗ ΤΥΡΟΔΙΤΑ	Η ΑΦΥΤΑΙ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΔΑΜΝΙΟΤΕ	ΙΤΑ ΙΙΙ ΜΕΚΥΒΕΡΝ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΔΙΔΥΜΟΤ	ΟΛΥΝΘΙΟΙ
25	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΒΕΡΥ	ΗΗΗ ΣΚΑΒΛΑΙΟΙ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΛΑ	ΔΔΔ ΗΑΣΣΕΡΙΤΑΙ
	ΔΓΗΙΙΙ Γ	ΔΙΚΑΙΑΕΡΕΤΡΙ
	ΔΔΔΗΗΗ Ν	ΓΗ ΤΟΡΟΝΑΙΟΙ
		ΗΗΗ ΑΚΑΝΘΙΟΙ
30		Η ΑΡΑΙΛΙΟΙ
		ΓΗ ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙΟΙ
		ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΘΡΑΜΒΑΙΟΙ
		ΔΓΗΙΙΙ ΦΕΛΕΤΙΟΙ
		ΗΗΗ ΑΙΝΕΑΤΑΙ

20	ΠϜϜΠ	Γεντίνιοι	HHH	Πεπα[ρήθιοι]
	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Περκώτη	HH	[Στ]υγι[οι]
	ΠϜϜΠ	Τυρόδιζα	H	Ἀφυται[οι]
	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Δαμνιοτε[υχ]ῖτα[ι]	[ϜΔΓϜ]ΗΗΗ	Μηκυβερν[αῖοι]
	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Διδυμοτ[ειχ]ῖται		Ῥολύνθιοι
25	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Βερύ[σιοι]	[ΔΔΔ]ϜϜΠ	Σκαβαλῖοι
	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Λα[μπωνειῆς]	[Δ]ΔΔΔ	Ἀσσηρῖται
	ΔΓΗΗΗ	Π[αισηνοί]		Δίκαια Ἐρετρι.
	ΔΔΔϜϜΠ	[Νεάνδρεια]	ϜH	Τορωναῖοι
			HHH	Ἀκάνθιοι
30			H	Ἀργίλιοι
			ϜH	Σκιωναῖοι
			ΔΓΗΗΗ	Θραμβαῖοι
			ΔΓΗΗΗ	Φηγγήτιοι
			HHH	Αἰνεᾶται

The sums are quoted throughout in drachmas and obols: X = 1000, H = 100, Ϝ = 500, Ϝ = 50, Δ = 10, Γ = 5, Ϝ = 1 drachma, | = 1 obol. For the detailed explanation of the Attic and other Greek numerical signs see Franz, *El.* p. 346; Gardthausen, *Gr. Pal.* p. 251; Gow, *The Greek Numeral Alphabet*, Journ. Phil. 1884, p. 278; id. *History of Greek Mathematics*, 1884, ch. iii.; Reinach, *Epigr. Gr.* p. 216 sqq.

*Period XIII.* Ol. 83. 3—94. 2 = 446—403 B.C. As it has been remarked that the changes during this period are of the unessential kind, and therefore in themselves no criterion of relative date, it will not be necessary to give inscriptional examples in full as heretofore. Two peculiarities however may be noted as indicating a general tendency to change and decay of the original type. These are

- (1) the growing uncertainty in the use of the sign for the spiritus asper;
- (2) the more and more frequent encroachment of Ionic forms.

Both of these peculiarities will be recurred to below: of the latter the inscription following may serve as an illustration. We shall then proceed to define in as concise a form as possible the characteristics which mark the successive periods of development; first premising a few words on the general constitution of the Old Attic alphabet.



71. A fluted column of Pentelic marble, found near the porch of Ἀθηνᾶ ἀρχηγέτις. The lines are written horizontally in the flutings. CIA I. 422.

Α Π	Ι Σ	Τ Ο	Κ Ρ	Δ Τ	Η Σ
Σ Κ	Ε Λ	Ι Ο			
Α Ν	Ε Θ	Η Κ	Ε Ν		
Ν Ι	Κ Η	Σ Α	Σ		
Κ Ε	Κ Ρ	Ο Γ	Ι Δ	Α	
Ε Ν	Ε Ο	Ρ Τ			
Ι					

Ἀριστοκράτης | Σκελίου | ἀνέθηκεν | νικήσας [χορηγῶν] |  
Κεκροπιδ[ι φυλῆ] | ἐν ἑορτῇ] . . . .

This Aristocrates is doubtless the same as that of Aristophanes in the well-known lines, *Aves* 125—6, where perhaps we should read καὶ γὰρ τὸν Σκελίου for καὶ τὸν Σκελλίου. From Thuc. viii. 89 we learn that he was of the party of Theramenes; in viii. 92 he is said to be a taxiarch. An Aristocrates, who may be the same, is related by Xenophon to have been appointed a colleague of Alcibiades (407 B.C.), and after being present as στρατηγός at the battle of Arginusæ to have returned to Athens and been put to death (*Hell.* i. 4. 21; 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2). Plato, *Gorg.* p. 472, mentions a dedicatory offering made by him ἐν Πυθoῖ (? Πυθίου—see Dr Thompson *ad loc.*—a reading confirmed, as Prof. Ridgeway points out, by Isæus, *Or.* 5. 41). The column containing the present inscription may have been the actual base of that memorial; but the remoteness of the spot where it was found makes this conjecture doubtful. The Σ shows that the inscription should be older than the Peloponnesian war, but that it cannot be much older seems probable from the occurrence of the Η=η and the age of Aristocrates.

§ 40. The general constitution of the Old Attic Alphabet. Of the non-Phoenician signs the Athenians adopted only three, those for υ, φ, χ. The form X or + (not V) of the latter shows that the Attic alphabet belongs to the Eastern group, from which however it differs in some well-marked characteristics. Thus ξ and ψ are regularly denoted by χσ and φσ. There is no Ω, the three sounds ο, ου, ω being regularly represented by Ο: similarly Ε has the threefold value of ε, η and (non-diphthongal) ει. Η in its older or younger form constantly denotes the spiritus asper.

The forms of γ, λ (Λ, Λ) are characteristic: the latter is found in a few other alphabets and more especially the Chalcidian of the

Western group; but that in the remotest period the form was  $\vdash$  or  $\lceil$  may be inferred from no. 34, where also we find the crooked *iota*, a form which in the remaining known inscriptions has given way to the vertical variety.

There is no example of  $M = \sigma$ . *Koppa* disappeared early; at present it has been found only on two stone-inscriptions (see no. 35 and note) and on vases. Of the *digamma* there is no trace.

In comparing one inscription with another it will be useful to remember that the changes in the form of letters, as indicated below by the direction of the arrows, are presumptive, but by no means always infallible, proofs of relative antiquity, so far as concerns the inscriptions in which they occur.

$\Delta \Delta \longrightarrow A$	$\mathcal{M} \longrightarrow \mathcal{M} \longrightarrow M$
$\Xi \longrightarrow \Xi \longrightarrow E$	$\mathcal{N} \mathcal{N} \longrightarrow \mathcal{N} \longrightarrow N$
$\Theta \longrightarrow H$	$\varsigma \longrightarrow \xi$
$\oplus \longrightarrow \odot$	$\vee \longrightarrow \Upsilon \longrightarrow \mathcal{T}$
$\kappa \longrightarrow K$	$\odot \longrightarrow \phi$

#### § 41. Gradual development.

I. II. The constitution of the Attic alphabet of 22 letters before the beginning of the 6th century B.C. is given in col. I. of the table, pp. 106, 107. Evidence of an earlier and a later period are to be found in the occurrence (cf. § 40) of  $\varsigma = \text{iota}$  and  $\lceil$  (*retrogr.*) =  $\lambda$  on no. 34, compared with the normal  $\mid$  and the characteristic  $\lceil$  of other inscriptions. On the existence of *koppa* see the remarks following no. 35. Perhaps all we can say with certainty about it is that it had disappeared before the middle of the 6th century, for it is absent in the Sigeian inscription, no. 42, in which the words  $\Phiανοδίκου$  and  $\Piροκοννησιών$  offer obvious opportunities for its use. The second stage of the alphabet, which may be said to have prevailed intact up to 600 B.C. or a little later, may be studied in the inscriptions given above under Period II. As indications of antiquity note the following: (1) the  $\beta\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  style of writing (nos. 35, 36, 39) and the equally or more ancient retrograde method (no. 44 b); but beside these we find the ordinary style in common use even in the earliest times (nos. 38, 40, 41). We may then take it as a

principle that an inscription written  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is necessarily ancient; but an inscription written in the ordinary style is not necessarily recent if other signs are present to establish its antiquity. Further note (2) the form  $\xi$ ; (3) the closed form  $\boxplus$  of the sign for *spiritus asper*; (4) the older form of *theta*  $\oplus$ ; (5)  $\kappa$  compared with later  $K$ ; (6) the older forms of  $\mu$  and  $\nu$  ( $\mathcal{M}$ ,  $\mathcal{N}$ ); (7) in some inscriptions  $D = \rho$ : but both earlier and later the other forms of  $\rho$  ( $P$   $P$   $R$   $R$ ) appear to have been used indiscriminately and afford no criterion of relative age. Lastly (8) the forms of  $\sigma$  and  $\phi$  are  $\varsigma$  and  $\odot$  as compared with the later  $\xi$  and  $\phi$ .

Probably early in the 6th century or even previously the intermediate form of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\xi$ , came into use; it begins to appear on inscriptions side by side with the older  $\xi$  (nos. 39, 40, 41, 41 a).

III. Before the middle and perhaps in the first quarter of the 6th century the closed  $\boxplus$  gave way to the open  $\mathcal{H}$ . The only inscription available to quote in illustration is the Attic portion of the Sigeian monument (no. 42), the date of which we have seen reason to place early in the century. Neither in this nor in any subsequent period do we meet with  $\rho$  in the form  $D$ .

IV. V. We find next a series of inscriptions, probably extending over a considerable period, which present the following characteristics. (1) All agree in using the old form of  $\oplus$ ; (2) there is considerable fluctuation in the use of the more ancient and the intermediate forms,  $\mathcal{M}$   $\wedge\wedge$ ,  $\mathcal{M}$   $\vee$ ; (3) of  $\epsilon$  some use the oldest form  $\xi$ , others the intermediate  $\xi$ , others again the latest form  $E$ ; (4) all are written left to right, nor is there any example of a  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  or retrograde inscription in which the forms  $\wedge\wedge$   $\vee$  or  $E$  occur; whence we may infer that before this period the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  style had gone out of use, and we are led to the same conclusion by the regular use of  $\wedge\wedge$   $\vee$  and the partial adoption of a  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  arrangement in the psephism, no. 45. The characteristics then of the period may be studied in nos. 45—50: in these there is no example of the latest form of  $\epsilon$  ( $E$ )<sup>1</sup> which will be seen

<sup>1</sup> The  $E$  in no. 45, l. 6, should probably be read  $\bar{E}$ , a variety which in fact may be regarded as the immediate precursor of the later  $E$ .

in no. 51 sqq. These last therefore we may assume to be slightly later in date than the former, and we may thus group them in a 5th period. To determine the chronological limits of the two periods separately and combined is more difficult. A superior limit is supplied by the abandonment of the *βουτροφηδόν* style, the latest example of which with a date that seems ascertainable is the Sigeian inscription, assigned tentatively to the first quarter of the sixth century. The introduction then of  $\wedge$ ,  $\vee$  ( $\wedge$ ), beside the older  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$  ( $\wedge$ ), marking the 4th period, may well have begun a few years later; perhaps about 575 B.C. The inferior limit is clearly that marked by the use of  $\odot$  in place of the older  $\oplus$ . We shall see reason below to fix the date of this change approximately at 508 B.C. We may then assume for the 5th period (that characterised by the introduction of E) a duration roughly represented by the limits 530—510 B.C. Before the end of this period (cf. nos. 55, 56) the later form A must have been in familiar though not perhaps general use, which dates rather from the 8th or 9th period. We find also in no. 56 the first trace of the form  $\gamma$ .

VI. *Circa* Ol. 68, 508 B.C. See nos. 57—63. This period, as has been said, is distinguished by the entire disuse of  $\oplus$  and the introduction of the later form  $\odot$ . The grounds on which we may assume the change to have begun in the closing decade of the sixth century are briefly these. (1)  $\odot$  is found in no. 57, an inscription from the ruins of the Themistoclean wall: its date therefore cannot be later than 480 B.C. (2) In the same inscription are found the older  $\mu$  and  $\nu$ : now these forms had certainly gone out of use shortly after the beginning of the 5th century and possibly as early as 500 B.C. (for the arguments see the note below on nos. 64, 65). (3) No. 57 therefore, which presents these forms, cannot be much, if at all, later than 500 B.C. Thus, though an Attic inscription with  $\odot$  may be slightly older than the 5th century, yet as no later inscription of ascertained date contains  $\oplus$  we may safely affirm any inscription in which the latter occurs to be older than the 5th century B.C.

VII. and VIII. 500—480 B.C. No inscriptions survive which can with certainty be referred to these periods; but a comparison of those of 500 B.C. or earlier with two of 476 B.C. (nos. 64, 65) enables

us to determine the changes which must have taken place in the interval. (1) At the very beginning of the century  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\mathcal{N}$ , as has been said, must have disappeared from use, and the intermediate  $\mathcal{A}$  and  $\mathcal{V}$  alone prevailed. (2) Beside the  $\mathcal{A}$  the later  $M$  must have begun to appear for we find it as the only form in no. 65; though as  $\mathcal{A}$  occurs in no. 64, also belonging to 476 B.C., it is clear that both were in use together for some time. If then the 7th period (perhaps 500–490 B.C.) is characterised by disuse of  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\mathcal{N}$  and sole use of  $\mathcal{A}$ , the 8th period (perhaps 490–480 B.C.) is marked by the introduction of  $M$ . And about the same time the later form,  $A$ , began to come into general use, for in one inscription (no. 64) of Ol. 76 = 476 B.C. it is the only form used.

*Note on the date of nos. 64, 65.* The date of these two inscriptions has been assumed above to be about Ol. 76 or 476–473 B.C. The inscriptions agree in that (1) neither of them is written  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$ , (2) both have  $\mathcal{V}$ : in no. 65  $\alpha$  has the older form  $\mathcal{A}$ ,  $\mu$  and  $\epsilon$  the later forms  $M$  and  $E$ . On the other hand no. 64 presents the older  $\mathcal{A}$  and  $\mathcal{E}$  but the later  $A$ . So far then as these points are concerned there is no reason why both inscriptions should not be of about the same date, neither presenting decided marks of priority. Now (1) we find the  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  method firmly established as normal about Ol. 78, 468–461 B.C., (cf. e.g., no. 67, about 460 B.C. or earlier). The present inscriptions therefore should belong at latest to the transition period, i.e. should be earlier than 460 B.C.: (2) the surviving words of no. 64 plainly show that they formed part of some document commemorative of the Persian wars, i.e. that they were written after Ol. 75 (the battle of Plataea was in Ol. 75. 2 = 479 B.C.); and possibly as soon after the war as the beginning of Ol. 76 or 476 B.C. Kirchhoff indeed on CIA i. 333 (no. 64) assumes a much later date for that inscription. He conjectures that it was commemorative of the battle of Marathon and that it belonged to the colossal statue of Athena Promachos in the Acropolis, the most celebrated work of Phidias (Paus. i. 28. 2, Dem. c. *Androt.* p. 597, § 13; cf. Dem. F. L. p. 428, § 272, Aristid. or. 46. 2. 288 Dind.). But against this inference must be urged (1) the fact that the statue in question, as Phidias was the sculptor, would not be earlier than Ol. 80 = B.C. 459; (2) the style of the writing, which points to a decidedly earlier date.

IX. X. We find then that the period from about Ol. 76 to Ol. 80 or 476–460 B.C. is marked by (1) the prevalence of the  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  style in spite of exceptions like nos. 64, 65, (2) by the final appearance of  $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{E}$  (no. 64), (3) by the first appearance of  $N$  (twice in no. 65). For the characteristics of this period see besides nos. 66–68  $\alpha$ .

X. We have now a useful landmark in no. 69 belonging to 460 B.C. We note: (1) the latest form E without any exception; (2) similarly the latest form M; (3) the apparently indifferent use of the forms  $\Delta$ , A, and  $\Lambda$ , N, according to the caprice of the engraver or engravers; for it seems probable from the varying proportions in which these forms are used that the columns of names were engraved by different hands; (4) the more frequent use of Y (once even, in the appendix, Y) which has already been seen to occur in the 5th period; (5) first traces of the later forms  $\Sigma$ <sup>1</sup> and  $\Phi$ , which appear in a kind of appendix to the inscription, probably added a little later.

XI. 459-447 B.C. A study of the Tribute-lists of this period will show (1) the more and more frequent use of the later forms  $\xi$ , Y,  $\Phi$ ; (2) the still fluctuating use of  $\Delta$  A,  $\Lambda$  N. This will be best seen in the following table:

Ol. 81. 3 = B.C. 454	CIA I. 226	A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$	$\Phi$
81. 4	453	227	A	$\Lambda$ N	$\xi \xi$ $\Phi$
82. 1	452	228	(A?) A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$ $\Phi$
82. 2	451	229	A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$ $\Phi$
82. 3	450	230	$\Delta$ $\Delta$ A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$ $\Phi$
82. 4	449	231	A	$\Lambda$ N	$\xi$ $\Phi$
83. 1	448	232	A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$ ?
83. 2	447	233	A	$\Lambda$	$\xi$ $\Phi$
finally in					
83. 3	446	234	A	N	$\xi$ $\Phi$

and so from this point onwards.

XII. Thus at the date Ol. 83. 3 the older  $\Lambda \xi \Phi$  appear to have been completely supplanted in ordinary use by N  $\Sigma$   $\Phi$ , and A also has firmly established itself. The few exceptions found are not sufficient to invalidate the general rule:—that an Attic inscription in which any of the four forms A  $\Lambda$   $\xi$   $\Phi$  occurs is presumably older than 446 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 94, notes that in private inscriptions  $\Sigma$  was occasionally used even in the 6th century: cf. the inscription on the hydria from Phalerum (Heydemann, *Gr. Vasenbilder*, 1870, p. 14),  $\beta\rho\nu\zeta\omicron\nu\omicron\zeta\epsilon\iota\mu$ , and the artist-inscription from the Acropolis (*Ep. arch.* 1886, p. 81, no. 5, Tab. vi. no. 5).

XIII. We may take as the normal Attic alphabet in its youngest form (Ol. 83. 3—Ol. 94. 2 = 446–403 B.C.) that which is given in col. XIII. During this period no essential changes, *i.e.* changes which might serve as chronological criteria, were admitted. But the inscriptions became more and more interspersed with Ionic forms, which had begun to appear even before Ol. 83. 3. It remains then to add a few notes on inscriptions presenting this phenomenon; and as we shall find that the encroachment of  $H = \eta$  gradually drove out  $H = \textit{spiritus asper}$ , a paragraph on the decadence of the latter will be found useful.

#### § 42. The encroachment of Ionic forms.

In CIA I. 13 (about Ol. 80 = 460 B.C.; it presents  $\Lambda \vee \zeta \Phi E$ ) we find  $\Psi$  used throughout.

In CIA I. 440 (shown by its  $\Theta$  and  $\zeta$  to be earlier than B.C. 446)  $\Xi$  occurs in  $\Xi YMMAXO\Sigma$  and  $\Xi AN\Theta I A\Sigma$ .

In CIA I. 398 (similarly proved to be ancient by its  $\Lambda \vee \zeta \Theta$ )  $\Lambda = \lambda$ ,  $\Gamma$  appears to be used for  $\gamma$ , and  $H =$  both  $\eta$  and *spiritus asper*.

$\Xi$  appears in both CIA I. 299 (probably between the years 444–435 B.C.<sup>1</sup>) and CIA I. 403 (probably later than B.C. 446, as shown by the  $N$ ,  $\Sigma$ ,  $\Phi$ ).

In CIA I. 87 (perhaps about Ol. 90 = 418 B.C.) we find  $\Xi YNBOYLEY\S O\Theta T$  (l. 4). Thus for  $\chi\sigma$  appears  $\Xi$  and for  $ou$  the fuller  $OY$  instead of  $O$ .

In CIA I. 335 (possibly of the same date, though referring to events belonging to Ol. 86 = 435–432 B.C.)  $H$  is used for  $\eta$  in  $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  and is omitted as *spiritus asper* in  $\Upsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

In CIA I. 40 (Ol. 89. 1 = 424 B.C.)  $H$  occurs three times as  $\eta$ ; and  $\Gamma$  once as  $\gamma$ .

<sup>1</sup> CIA I. 299 refers to some public money transactions. The grounds on which the date is determined are these. (1) The word  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$  is used without qualification, whereas (2) in Ol. 86. 3 = B.C. 434 were instituted  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$  (see CIA I. 32); thus after that date the  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$  of Athena would probably be specified as such. (3) The  $\zeta$  shows the date to be later than 444. (4) The date, though thus made to fall between 444–435, cannot be Ol. 85. 4 = 437, for in another inscription (CIA I. 314) a person of a different name or deme is mentioned as chief  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$  for that year.

In CIA I. 258 (Ol. 93. 1-3 = 408-406 B.C.) H =  $\eta$  three times.

CIA I. 189 (Ol. 93. 2 = 407 B.C.) is in many ways remarkable. The latter part (A) appears to have been engraved first, then the upper part (B) probably by a different hand. In A the Attic alphabet is in use nearly throughout, but in one word, Προβαλισίφ, (ll. 7 and 22)  $\lambda$  is  $\Lambda$ . In B the Ionic  $\Gamma$  and  $\Lambda$  are interchanged promiscuously with  $\Lambda$  and  $\text{L}$ . Thus in l. 1 [ $\lambda\sigma$ ] $\Gamma$  |  $\Sigma$ TA |  $\Sigma$  but l. 9 and ll. 10  $\Lambda$  |  $\Sigma$ TA |. Again in B 12-27 (in which the writing is more compressed) H is throughout  $\eta$  and  $\Gamma = \gamma$ ,  $\Lambda = \lambda$ . So in CIA 190 and 191 (circ. Ol. 93. 2-4 = 407-405 B.C.) H =  $\eta$  throughout.

In CIA I. 146 (Ol. 94. 1 = 404 B.C.), a fragment of a Parthenon-inventory,  $\eta$  is E in KLEPOYXOI, but H in K[A]P[X]HΞION; and  $\sigma$  is written in full OY.

Lastly, CIA 338 has been shown by Kirchhoff to belong to Ol. 93. 1 = 408 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The character is plainly Ionic. Throughout  $\Gamma = \gamma$ ,  $\Lambda = \lambda$ , H =  $\eta$ ; and  $\Xi$  and  $\Omega$  are in use. Thus we see that four or five years before its adoption was legally sanctioned the Ionic alphabet was familiarly known and used.

§ 43. The sign for spiritus asper. During the whole of what we have called the thirteenth or last period of the alphabet, the use of this sign was very capricious. More and more frequently it came to be omitted from the right or added in the wrong place. It would seem to follow from this negligence that as a sound the *spiritus asper* gradually ceased to be heard, and that its insertion or omission in the places where it ought originally to have been depended upon the knowledge or ignorance of the engraver in many cases. That it had a weaker sound than we are accustomed to give it in modern days seems clear; and the fluctuation or negligence in its use is traceable to very early times. *E.g.* in the Sigeian inscription (no. 42) the sign is added in Αἴσωπος; and on the other hand in no. 52 (before 500 B.C.) it is omitted in Ἑόρτιος. Similarly

<sup>1</sup> The inscription was engraved ἐπ' Εὐκτῆμονος ἀρχοντος. Now there was an archon Euctemon in Ol. 93. 1 = 408 B.C. and another in Ol. 120. 2 = 299 B.C. The latter year cannot be meant, for in the inscription we find  $\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{E}$  and  $\odot\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ : and though  $\text{E} = \epsilon$  and  $\odot = \sigma$  continued to be written for some time after the extinction of the Attic alphabet, this method of writing certainly did not survive as late as the third century B.C.



in the decree no. 65 (about 476 B.C.) it is omitted in *ἐορτή*. In no. 67 (before 460 B.C.) we find *Ἡγέλοχος*; in CIA 1 *ἀκουσία*; in 13 l. 5 *ο* for *δ* (both inscriptions before 460 B.C.). Of the remaining anomalies we must content ourselves with a bare enumeration, taken from the CIA I. (See Schütz *Alph. Att.* p. 54 sqq.)

Before OL. 83. 3=446 B.C.: no. 226, 6 *β* *Αἰραῖοι* (but 230, 5 and 232, 6 *Αἰραῖοι*); 226 col. iv. 5, 228 col. v. 17, 230, 15 *β* *Ἀβδηρίται* (but 230, 14 *β* *παρ' Ἀβδηρα*): 233, 8 *c* and 25 *c* *Ἡφαιστιῆς* (cf. 236, 9 *c*): 445, 6 *Ἑστιάου*.

After 446 B.C.: no. 28, 3; 29, 3 and 10 *Ἑστιάας* (as a rule however the *Η* is used rightly in this word): 31, *Α* 22 *ἐψηφισμένων* *Α* 28 *ἡμερῶν* (cf. 315, 15): 420, 4 and 6 *Ἰσθμοί*: 244, 62 *Ἀλικαρνασσῆς*: 299, 12 *Ἑλλησποντίου*: 335, 2 *Τγυία*: 442, 5 *ὑπεδέξατο* 7 *οἱ* 8 *ἐλπίδ'*: 194, 2 *ῆ* for *ῆ*: 210, 7 *Ιερῶν*: 212, 5 *ῆ* for *ῆ* 6 *ἡμεδα...*: 36, 11 *δτον*: 256, 15 and 30 *Ἀβδηρίται*: 446, 42 *Ἀγνόδημος* 49 *Ἡγησίας*: 38 *β* 4 *ἐκάστη* *f* 5 *αἰρεῖσθαι* *f* 15 *ἡκωσι* *g* 21 *αἰρε[θῶσι]*: 40, 12 *ὥσπερ* 15 *προσῆκέτω* 23 *ὁμολογῶσιν* 25 *ἐκάτεροι* 36 *ἐκάστου* 39 *ἐκαστος*, *Ἑλλησποντοφύλακας* 41 *ῆ* bis 53 *ῆ* 56 *οἱ*: 45, 16 *ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς*: 200 *β* 1 *αἶδε* 3 *Ἡφαιστιῆς*: 37 *ἡμέρα* often *frgm.* *y* 10 *οἱ*: 85, 4 *ὁπότερα*: 88, 5 *ῆ* for *ῆ*: 422 *ἐορτή* (*Η=η* in this inser.): 32 *Α* 5 *ἄ* 6 *Ἑλληνοταμίαις* and *ἄ* 9 *ῆ* 16 *δσιον* 22 *ἅπαντα* 29 *αἶς* *β* 20 *Ἑλληνοταμίαις* 28 *ὑπάργυρα*: 273 *ἡμέραι, ἐν ἑνδεκα ἔτεσιν*: 52, 10 *ὁμήρους*: 264, 8 *ὦν* for *ὦν*: 277, 20 and 24 *Ἰλλύριος*: 55 *α* 6 *ἐξ[ήκοντα]*: 54, 16 *ὁπλῖται, ἐκάστη*: 274, 6 *ἐβδόμη, ἱσταμένου*: 56 *α* 3 *δτι* 7 *δ* 10 *ἡμερῶν* *β* 7 *ὁπόσοι*: 167, 7 *ἦλω* 9 *ἄριθμον*: 57 *α* 33 *δ* *β* 2 *ἡμερῶν*: 59 *α* 6 *ὦς* *β* 8 *ὦν* *α* 30 *ὥμπερ*: 60, 9 *δσα*: 188, 1 *ῆ* for *ῆ* 7 *ἐκατόμβην* 9 and 10 *τερ ἕτερον* 10 *Ἑλληνοταμίαις*; so *ἐβδόμης, ἡμέρα, ἕκτη, ἐνδεκάτης, ὁ* frequently: 61, 8 *οἶδε* 9 *οἶδε* *Ἑλληνοταμίαις*: 322, 45 *ξξ* for *ξξ* 93 *ξω*: 321, 16 *ἐκαστ...* 18 *ἡμιδράχμου* 21 *ξω* 28 *ἡμυσύ*: 139, 4 and 140, 1 *ἐν τῷ Πρόνῳ* (but in the preceding years *ἐν τ. Π.*): 258, 11 *αἶδε*: 189 no example of *spiritus asper*, and in *fragm.* *β* 12—27 *Η* throughout = *η*: 87, 1 *Ἑλλῆσποντον*: 325, 10 *ἐνός* 13 *ὀγδόη* 14 *ἐνί*. Perhaps the most capricious of all the inscriptions in its treatment of the sign for *spiritus asper* is CIA 324 (OL. 93. 1=408 B.C.). According to Schütz's analysis, of 60 words in the inscription which might have the sign, 40 appear with, 20 without it. 214 words ought to be without the sign; of these nevertheless 120 have the *Η* prefixed.

The changes indicated in the preceding sections are summarised in a tabular form on pp. 106, 107.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE

[illegible]

# CHANGES IN THE ATTIC ALPHABET.

λ	μ	ν	ο, ου, ω	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ
1*	...	Υ*	ο	Π* Π*	...	σ*	τ*	Υ	...	Χ
Λ*	Μ Μ Μ* Μ	Ν Ν Υ* Υ*	ο	Π Π*	Ρ ρ*	σ*	τ	Υ Υ	Φ	Χ+
Λ*	Μ Μ Μ*	Ν Ν (?) Ν Υ* Υ* Ν	ο	Π Π (?) Π*	Ρ Ρ ρ*	σ*	τ	Υ Υ	Φ Φ	+ Χ
Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ	Φ	+ Χ
Λ	Μ Μ Μ (?)	Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ Υ	Φ	+ Χ
Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ Υ	Φ	+
...	(Μ)	(Ν)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	(Μ Μ)	(Ν)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ Υ Υ	Φ	Χ
Λ	Μ	Ν Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ Υ Υ	Φ Φ	Χ
Λ	Μ	Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ	Φ Φ	Χ
Λ	Μ	Ν Ν	ο	Π	...	Ρ Ρ Ρ	σ	Υ Υ	Φ	Χ

The asterisk denotes that the letter to which it is attached is written retrograde. The retrograde and *βουτροφῆδος* styles have disappeared with the 3rd period.

## ARGOS.

## § 44. Inscriptions.

**72.** A bronze base, now in the Berlin Museum, said to have been seen at *Nauplia*. The inscription is written retrograde round the four sides. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xi. (1882) 385 sq.

ΥΑΘΙΥΑ:Α+ΑΘΙΥΙΟΤ:ΥΟΦΑΥΑΥΙΟΤ

Τῶν Φανότων τοὶ Νιράχα ἀνέθεν. 'In honour of the Dioscuri; dedicated by the sons of Nirachas.' For this epithet of the Dioscuri at Argos cf. no. 78 below. See Preller, *Gr. Mythol.* ii. 99, note 7: cf. Paus. ii. 36. 7 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑρασίου τραπέζων ἐς ἀριστερὰ σταδίου δσον ὁκτὼ Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν ἔστω Ἀνάκτων. The dialect and the character agree well with the attribution of the inscription to Argos, though the peculiar Argive form for λ, which might have settled the question, is absent. In point of antiquity this inscription seems to be the oldest of those known from Argos except perhaps no. 72 a. Signs of archaism are (1) the absence of the dot in the *koppa* and *omicron*, which is characteristic of the middle period of the Argive alphabet, (2) the retrograde direction of the writing, (3) the rudeness of the art in the remains of the dedicated statue, which represents merely the form of the feet, without the toes. The words are divided by punctuation-marks of three dots, except that the article and noun are joined as one word: cf. IGA 5 (Attic), where similarly the preposition is united to the noun (ἀποΠελοποννησίων). The dedicators do not give their own names: so on a votive offering of Paros (?) found at Delphi (no. 230 bis) the sons of Charopinos content themselves with mentioning the name of their father.—For the form of the name Νιράχας cf. [B]ραχάς, no. 77 below: Fraenkel (l. c.) suggests a possible connexion with the Hesychian νίρον μέγα.—On ἀνέθεν see no. 75 note.

**72 a.** A thin bronze plate with relief-work, found at *Olympia* S.E. of the temple of Zeus. Heracles is represented struggling with a marine deity; both have names appended. The writing is retrograde. Curtius u. Adler, *Ausgr. z. Ol.* iv. p. 18; IGA 34.

Ε·Κ·ΑΙ

ΥΟΦΑΥΑΥΙΟΤ

[Ἑρ]ακ[λ]ῆ[ς] αἰλιος γέρων. The double *iota* may be a mistake; but see the remarks (§ 123 fin.) on the Pamphylian alphabet (taken from T. Bergk, *Ztschr. f. Numism.* xi. 332 sqq.).

73. A stone found at Argos. The nature of the monument is unknown; all that can be said is that the inscription consists of a list of names, not ordinary, but of heroes; at least some of the names are those of Argive heroes. CIG 2; Dodwell, *Class. and top. tour through Greece* II. 221; Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, Argolis tab. VII.; Rose, *Inscr. Gr. vet.* tab. x.; IGA 30 from Ross's diary.

ΙΕΜΥ . . . . . \ Ι . . . Ο  
 . . . . . ΟΤΡΑΜΜ  
 . Ο·ΛΜΟΜ  
 ΚΑΙΜΘΕΜΕΚΑΜΘΟΧΕΔΑ  
 5 ΚΑΙΠΟΜΕΔΟΜ  
 ΚΑΙΧΑΡΟΜΘΟΑΡΧΕΜΙΚΑ  
 ΚΑΙΑΔΡΑΜΤΟΜ  
 ΚΑΙΒΟΡΘΑΜΟΡΑΜ  
 ΚΑΙΚΙΕΤΟΜΘΟΜΙΜΤΟΜΟ  
 10 ΚΑΙΑΡΙΜΤΟΜΑΧΟΜ  
 ΚΑΙΙΧΟΜΔΑΜ

[Α]ίει[μναστος δαμ]ιουρ[γός], (The restoration of this word depends upon Dodwell's copy.)

[ὁ δαίνα τοῦ δαίνα] -ου [γ]ραμμ[ατεύς]

[Π]ό[τα]μος

καὶ Σθενέλας ὁ . . . . .

5 καὶ Ἴπ(π)ομέδων

καὶ Χάρων ὁ Ἀρχεσίλα

καὶ Ἀδραστος

καὶ Βορθα[γ]όρας

καὶ Κ[λ]είτος ὁ Σίντωνο[s] (or Μίντωνο[s])

10 καὶ Ἀριστόμαχος

καὶ [Ν]ομ(ί)δας

For Πόταμος Boeckh has Ποτάμων, but the final Μ (σ) is clear in Ross's copy. The latter form is of common enough occurrence in inscriptions; the former occurs CIG 353 (late). The name *Sthenelas* or *Sthenelaus* appears frequently in the list of Argive heroes: cf. Hom. II. II. 586. *Hippomedon* is the name of one of the Seven against Thebes. The name *Adrastus* needs no comment. On the form *Boorthagoras* for Ὀρθαγόρας see Curtius, *G. E.* Fick however (*G. G. A.* 1883, pp. 113—128) contends that *Forthós* and *Orthós* are different words, the one corresponding to Skt *urdhwā*, the other to Zd *erethwa*. *Aristomachus* is mentioned as brother of Adrastus and son of Talaus, Apollod. I. 9, 13.

74. An inscription under a bronze statue of a youth, 0·25 in height: now in the St Petersburg Museum. The words are written on the left, front and right surface of the square base. CIG 6; IGA 31; comp. Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 28.

ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΕΜ ΑΥΞΘΕ ΚΕ

Πολυκράτης ἀνέθηκε.

This inscription was for a long time referred to Polycrates, the well-known tyrant of Samos, Ol. 62. 1—64. 3 (532—522 B.C.). But as Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 28 sq., has shown, (1) there is nothing in the inscription or monument beyond the bare name (a commonly recurring one) to indicate a Samian origin; (2) it is unlikely that the Samian alphabet of that period had developed more slowly towards the Ionic form than those of the neighbouring islands; (3) the form of the λ is conclusive for its Argive origin.

75. An inscription on a bronze helmet found in 1795 near Olympia in the Alpheus, now in the British Museum. The letters are impressed with chisels, the one straight, the other circular, so that where only a semicircle was required ∩ there remain the traces of the other semicircle ∪. CIG 29 and *add.*; *Class. Journ.* i. 322; Walpole, *Travels &c.* p. 588, no. 53; Boeckh, *Pind. Expl.* ii. 2, p. 226; Welcker, *Epigr. Graec. spic. alt.* p. 11, no. 28; Rose, *Inscr. Gr. vet.* p. 59, tab. vii. 1; Welcker, *Syll. Epigr. Graec. ed. alt.* no. 123, p. 172; IGA 32; *B. M. I.* cxxxvii.

Τ Α Φ Λ Ο Ι ΑΥ Ξ Θ Ε Μ  
Τ Ο Ι Δ Ι Λ Ι Τ Ο Μ  
Φ Ο Δ Ι Μ Θ Ο Θ Ε Μ

Τάργ[α]οι ἀνέθεν | τῷ Διὶ τῶν | Ἱορινθόθεν.

"The Argives dedicated to Zeus from the spoils of Corinth" (this helmet). For the crasis cf. the old epigram, Paus. v. 25. 5 Τῷ Διὶ τάχαοι τὰγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν; or what is more to the point, a fragment in the same style as our inscription on a shield of thin bronze found at Olympia (IGA 33), Τάργεοι followed by the remains of an Α, i.e. ἀνέθεν. The same verbal form occurs Anthol. i. p. 254 (2nd ed.) in an epigram of Simonides:

Ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενέων Μήδων ναῦται Διοδώρου  
ὅπλ' ἀνέθεν Λατοῖ μνάματα ναυμαχίας.

For other similar non-thematic forms, see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 460.—What victory of the Argives is intended it is useless to enquire. Boeckh places the date doubtfully at Ol. 60 (536 B.C.).

76. We may here notice three inscriptions for which Fourmont is solely responsible. They are so carelessly copied (not from paper impressions, and apparently with a quill pen) that they hardly deserve a fac-simile. We shall content ourselves with giving such extracts as may serve our purpose, adding however the cursive transcript in full, so far as interpreters have been able to make it out.

a. Found by Fourmont at Argos in the church of S. Basilus. It seems to be a fragment of a list of names, those of the πεδάφοι γοι or μέτοιχοι l. 2. If συμμορία (or -α) is correctly restored this would seem to be the only occurrence of the word in connexion with Argos or a Doric state. CIG 14; IGA 35.

1. 2 ΠΕΔΑΦΟΦΟΘΟΙ (*sic*)  
 3 ... ΡΟΞΠΕΡΙΚΤΕ  
 4 ... ΙΚΡΑΤΕΞΔΑΜΟΤ·ΚΕ  
 5 . ΑΘΘΛ  
 6 .. ΎΤΘΛ

. . . . . [συμμ]ορία (or -α)

[ἐτέλ]εον πεδάφοι γοι

[Εῦ]α[νδ]ρος (?) Περικλέ[ος]

[Ἐπ]ικράτης (or [Ἰφ]ικρ.) Δαμοτ[έλ]ε[ος]

5 [Β]άθων (or [Σ]άθων)

[Κλ]ύτων

b. From the Mss. of Fourmont. The subject appears to be some money transaction. CIG 18; IGA 39.

1. 1 ΕΠΡΙΑΝΤΟ . ΤΟΥΦΙΚΑ 2 ΠΠΠΠΠ  
 3 ΚΥΤΑΘΟΣ 4 ΑΤΚΙΤΟΙΔΑΣ  
 6 ΘΦΕΤΟΚΤΕΙΔΑΣ ΚΤΕ  
 7 ΔΑΜΟΙΤΑΔΑΙ: ΒΑΡΙΣΤ

[The punctuation throughout is by four dots vertically arranged.]

1. 1. Ἐπρίαντο ... Φικα[τ-]. 2. Probably some names and prices; the Π five times repeated = 500. 3. Κύλαος, cf. no. 264 sqq. (Laconia) and below c 10 and 79 l. 5. 4. Ἀλκιτοῖδας or Ἀλκιτθίδας: cf. Ἀλκίθοος and Ἀλκίθος (Fick, G. G. A. 1883, pp. 113—128). 6. Ὁφέλ-λοκλείδας Κλε . . . . 7. Δαμοιτάδα, then Π = 100, Ἀριστ . . .

c. Also from the Mss. of Fourmont. It is a list of Argive names. CIG 19; IGA 40.

- 5 . . . . ΎΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΎΚΟΦΡΟΝ  
 6 ΕΠΙΛΕΝΕΣ 7 Κ[λε]ΘΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
 8 ΠΕΡΑΦΟΙΚΟΙ 9 ΠΑΝΘΑΗΣΣΠΚΤΕΙΔΑΣ  
 10 ΘΘΕΗΟΝΚΑΤΗΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΒΑΤΕΒΙΚΡ  
 11 ΚΤΕΘΝ

- Ἄρ[ισ]τι[ππος]
- 5 . . . . νύμαχος Λυσίμαχος Λυκόφρων  
 — Ἐπιγένης Ὀχί[μ]ων  
 -ππ[ος Καλ]λίμαχος Κ[λε]όστρατος Ἄν[τι]μοίρα[s]  
 [-κρά]της· πε[δ]άφοικοι . . . . Ἄνθινο[s]  
 . . . σεος Πανθάλης Σ[ω]κλείδας Λεύκι[ππος]
- 10 -ης Ὠ[φ]ελίων Καλλίστρατος Ἀ[γ]ηίκρ[άτης]  
 — Κανθίας Κλέων  
 [-κρ]άτης Ἀ[γ]όραισ[ος Ἐ]πικτέας  
 Ἀ[γ]υλλ[ος]

In l. 7 the  $\lambda\epsilon$  of Κλεόστρατος is written by Fourmont as a ligature— one of the many signs by which Boeckh detected the forgery of the *Inscriptiones Fourmonti spuriae*, CIG 44 sqq. Cf. however note on no. 160 b (*Amorgos*).

77. Two fragments of marble, the first (a) originally seen by Stuart at the Stoa Poecile (i.e. Hadriani); it became the property of Mr Jones, of Finchley. CIG 166 and Rose *Inscr. Gr. vet.* p. 70, tab. viii. 2, from the plate of Dan. Wray, *Archaeologia* ix. p. 216 sqq. The second fragment (b) was found in the Acropolis near the Parthenon. Pittakis *Eph.* 1118; Rang. 367; CIA 441 and IGA 36 (both fragments). Two more fragments have since been found: see *Mitth.* ix. (1884) 389; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 4 97.

(a) . ζ

ΟΙΝΙΗ

ΙΤΕΑΣ

ΡΑΤΑΣ

5 ΓΕΤΕΞΞΤΑΣ

DAMΘΔΛΕΞ

ΘΥΜΑΡΕΞ

ΔΑΙΚΤΕΞ

ΞΥΤΙΘΞ

10 ΔΕΡΚΕΤΟΞ

ΥΥΘΘΡΚΑΣ

ΚΤΕΘΥ

ΚΡΑΤΙΑΔΑΣ

ΙΞΥΥΘΞ

15 ΛΡΤΙΛΞ

(b) . ΤΡΙΘΞ

ΡΙΞΤΙΘΥ

ΘΕΥΔΟΝΙΘΥ

ΥΚΙΝΘΞ

5 . ΑΥΑΗΙΤΑΣ

ΕΡΚΕΤΟΞ

ΦΜΕΛΕΞ

ΙΞ

— ΜΑΡΥΔ.



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(a) . . . . . ς<br/>         [Φ]οῖνιξ<br/>         [Φ]ιλέας<br/>         [Β]ραχᾶς ?<br/>         5 [Τ]ελέσστας<br/>         Δαμοφάνης<br/>         Θυμάρης<br/>         Δαῖκλῆς<br/>         Σύλιχος<br/>         10 Δέρκετος<br/>         Λυφδορκας<br/>         Κλέων<br/>         Κρατιάδας<br/>         [Α]ῖσχίλος<br/>         15 [Εῖα]ρχί[δα]ς</p> | <p>(b) [Ἄσ]τριος ?<br/>         [Ἀ]ριστίων<br/>         [Σ]φενδονίων<br/>         [Δ]υκῖνος<br/>         [Φ]αναξίλας<br/>         [Δ]έρκετος<br/>         [Ἐχέ]μένης<br/>         [Κλέοβ]ις ?</p> |
|---|---|

On the right hand of frg. a may have been an epigram of which only the word μαρναμ[εν...] survives.

On the possible date of this document see the remarks, § 46 below.

**78.** Found at Argos in the church of S. Demetrius. Roehl, whose text is given below, on somewhat inadequate grounds thinks that the inscription was written beneath a relief representing the Dioscuri mounted. Rose, *Inscr.* tab. xii. 1; CIG 17 (cf. praef. p. x. and xxvii.); Ross, *diary* (bis); id. *Inscr.* ined. i. 55; G. Hermann, *Opuscul.* vii. p. 174 sqq.; O. Müller, *G. G. A.* 1836, p. 1152 sqq.; Welcker, *Rh. Mus.* 1850, p. 619; Keil, *ib.* 1859, p. 511 sq.; Kaibel 936; Roehl, *N. Jahrb.* 1879, p. 608; Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* tab. vi. 15 (whose copy is here followed); cf. *Explic.* n. 108; Roehl, IGA 37 (where see various readings).

Φ Ο Ν Α Μ Ε Θ Ε Κ Ε  
 Μ Τ Ε Α Ι Σ Τ Υ Κ Τ Ο  
 Θ Ι Ο Π Θ Σ Τ Ο Ι Σ Δ Α Μ  
 Ο Σ Ι Ο Ι Σ Ε Ν Α Ε Θ Τ Ο  
 5 Ι Σ Τ Ε Τ Ρ Α Κ Ι Τ Ε  
 Π Α Δ Ι Ο Μ Ι Κ Ε Κ Α  
 Τ Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Μ Ο Π Η Ι Τ Α

[Τάδε τότῳ δίνων ἀνά]φρων ἀνέθηκ' ἐ[λάο]ντε  
 Αἰσ[χ]ύ[λ]λο[ς] Θίλοπος, τοῖς δαμοσίοις ἐν ἀέθλοις  
 τετράκι τε [σ]πάδιον νίκη κα[ί] τρίς τὸν ὀπλίτα[v].

1. 3.  $\Theta\iota\psi$  is for  $\Theta\epsilon\psi$ ; before this only the feminine  $\Theta\epsilon\phi\eta$  was known. 1. 6. On  $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu = \sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  see Curtius, *G.E.*  $\nu\iota\kappa\eta$  is the verb =  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\eta$  ( $\nu\iota\kappa\eta\mu\iota$ , cf. Pind. *N.* v. 8, Theocr. vi. 46). Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, pp. 113—128) remarks that Roehl's restoration of 1. 1 stands or falls with Lebas's reading of the first letter as a  $koppa$ ; others read  $\theta$ . It is doubtful whether  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omega$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon$  'riding statues' is admissible Greek.  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  should be the relative rather than the article. On the last line cf. *Lb. V. A.* ii. nos. 3, 9, 10, 11 (*Aegosthena*)  $\tau\omicron\nu\delta\ \acute{\omicron}\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ .

D. Comparetti (*Riv. d. fil.* xi. 544 sqq.) proposes:

[ $\Lambda$ ]κων ἀνέθηκε [τῇ]ντεα.

Ἰσχυλλῶ Θίοπος τοῖς κ.τ.λ.

Thus the first line will be non-metrical, recording the dedication by Alkon(?); and the occasion is shown to be the public (funeral-)games in honour of Ischillus. For the phrase  $\text{Ἰσχυλλῶ ἀεθλα}$  cf. Hes. *Op.* 654  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\alpha\ \delta\alpha\tau\acute{\phi}\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\Lambda}\mu\phi\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , and no. 174 (*Cumae*).

79. A mutilated stone, 0.2 in height, 0.16 in breadth, found at Argos by Lueders in 1872 in the garden of the demarch. Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 4 98; IGA 38.

R O Φ O	1 [γ]ροφο-	The first O is written over an A.
V I Σ T E .		
O I A N T O N	3 [Θ]ωϊάν or [πατρ]ωϊαν	
A N Σ T A N Σ T	4 -ανς τάνς (cf. Ahr. Dor. 104).	
5 B I A I O Φ T E	5 [δαμο]ῖα ὀφλή[σει] (cf. 76 b, c).	
O R E Y O N T O	6 [δγ]ορεύοντο[s] or -όντω[v]	
O N A T T O N	7 [τ]ῶν ἄλλων	
T O T O B E M	8 -του τοῦ ἡμ[ις]	
E N T		

80. Five blocks of Parian marble, now separated but formerly making a single base, L. 3.905 m., H. 0.32 m., B. 0.96 m., were found at Olympia. It has been conclusively shown by Furtwängler (*A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 43 sqq.) that one surface was covered from angle to angle by three inscriptions: (1) on the left, this one of Athanodorus and Asopodorus; (2) in the middle, that of Praxiteles, no. 277; (3) on the right, the Atotos-inscr., no. 81. The substructure of tufa-stone rests on a stratum of earth which shows that the monument which it supports, and by inference the inscriptions, are not of later date than the temple of Zeus built in the middle of the fifth century. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 181 sq.; Furtwängler, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 43 sqq.; IGA 41; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 30 a.

Ξ V N O N : A Θ A N O Δ O R O T E  
 K A I A Σ O Π O Δ O R O T O Δ E F F E R C O N  
 + O M E N A + A I O Σ : B O Δ E Ξ A P C A O Σ  
 E V R V + O R O

Ξυνὸν Ἀθανοδώρου τε | καὶ Ἀσωποδώρου τόδε Φέργον |  
 ῥῶ μὲν Ἀχαιός, ὁ δ' ἐξ Ἀργεος | εὐρυχόρου.

The two very untractable names Athanodorus and Asopodorus have been forced into a hexameter. The same names are mentioned together by Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 19. It is possible that the same men are meant; though, if the date suggested above is right, Pliny must be in error in stating that they came from the school of Polyclitus (circ. 431 B.C.).—Hitherto ξυνός has been quoted only as an Ionic form.

31. See what has been said on no. 80. E. Curtius, *A.Z.* xxxiii. p. 181, xxxiv. p. 48, tab. 6; *Ausgr. z. Ol.* i. tab. 32; Roehl, *A.Z.* xxxvii. p. 37; IGA 42; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 30 d, e.

ΑΤΟΤΟΣ:ΕΠΟΙΕΘ|Ε:ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ  
 ΚΑΡΓΕΙΑΔΑΣ:ΘΑ|ΡΕΛΑΙΔΑ:ΤΑΡΓΕΙΟ

Ἀτωτος ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος  
 κάργειάδας Ἀγελαΐδα τάργεῖον.

"Atotos was the sculptor, an Argive and Argead, son of Agelaidas, the Argive."

The Argeadae, kings of Macedonia were at pains to prove their Argive origin, and to Alexander I. (king circa 500 B.C.) before he obtained the kingdom it was of importance to show that he was an Argive in order to justify his claim to compete in the games at Olympia; see Herodot. v. 22, cf. also Hdt. viii. 137, Thucyd. ii. 99. Possibly then about that time the artist Agelaidas, one of the Argeadae, seeing the Argives and Macedonians to be united by the bond of kinship, migrated to Greece, the mother of arts, and to Argos which was held to be the mother-country. Hence his son Atotus added both to his own and his father's name the title Argive, and at the same time declared himself to be an Argead, that he might not appear to have relinquished any rights or privileges in his former home. This explanation (cf. Furtwängler, *A.Z.* l.c.), if not certain, is at least more satisfactory than that which made Atotos and Argeiadas two persons (so Schoell, *Aufs. für E. Curtius*, p. 117 sqq.), the latter nominative clumsily added after the singular verb. Ἀγελαΐδας seems to have been a common name at Argos; an Ageladas, it may be remembered, was instructor of Pheidias.

On ἐποίησεν see Curtius, *Verb.* The change of σ to the spiritus asper is a well-known peculiarity of (late) Laconian and is found also in Pamphylian, see Ahr. *Dor.* 74 sqq.; but in aorist forms acc. to Curtius *l.c.* it is a somewhat younger phenomenon. He quotes parallels from the Cyprian glosses of Hesych. e.g. ἐνανόν ἔσθες Κύπριοι, cf. ἐξῶσαι ἐξελεῖν; ἐμίτρα-όν ὑπόζωσον Πάφιοι. Of the digamma in ἐποίησεν no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered.

32. Copied by Lenormant from a block of stone at Argos. *Rh. M.* 1866, p. 515, n. 322; Leb., *V.A. Expl.* 128 a; IGA 43.

ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΟΣ

Μελάνθιος.

**82 a.** Round the felly of a bronze wheel with four spokes, 4 inches in diameter. Said to have been found near Argos. *B. M. cxxxviii.*; IGA 43 a. Cf. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xl. (1883) 385 sq.



Mr Newton reads τῷ Φανάκῳ ἐμὶ (sc. δῶρον). Εὐδ...s (Εὐδαμος or Εὐδάμας?) ἀνέθηκε, remarking that the lex. give ἀνακος as another form of ἀναξ; cf. φύλακος for φύλαξ. He thinks that the wheel is an offering dedicated for a victory in a chariot-race and that the Φάνακος must be Zeus himself: the victory may have been at the Nemean games. He rightly points out that the form of dedication is unusual. Roehl gives τοῖς(ν) Φανάκοι(ν) εἰμί. Meister (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522) conjectures that the inscription may be of Thracian origin, with the genitive in -αι. ΕΜΙ will then be ἐμμί and ὁ Φάνακος will mean Apollo. Lastly, Fraenkel (l.c.) suggests that the inscription itself may be a forgery and an imitation of no. 72. Until the question is settled, it is unsafe to add to the arguments for the Argive origin of no. 72 the fact that it was purchased from the same place as this wheel. Chronologically, to judge from the characters (○ without dot and ⊙=θ), the inscription, if genuine and Argive, should perhaps follow no. 82.

**83.** A statue-base of black limestone, H. 0.238 m., B. 0.49 m., T. 0.57 m., found at *Olympia* between the Heraeum and the Pelopium. The inscr. (a, b), one in Ionic, the other in Argive character, appear to have been placed in an inconvenient position and then repeated at a later period (probably the 1st century B.C.). Furtwängler, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 144; IGA 44; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 91.

(a) ΠΥΘΟΚΛ

(b) ΠΩΤΗΝΚΗΕΤΩΣ

(c) ΠΥΘΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΛΕΙΟΣ

(d) . . . . ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ

(a) Πυθοκλ . . .

(b) Πολύκλειτος.

(c) Πυθοκλῆς Ἀλεῖος.

(d) [Πολύ]κλειτος ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος.

The use of  $\vdash$  marks this as the oldest of the inscriptions of the younger Polyelitus, who is called Ἀργεῖος by Pausanias (vi. 6, 2. 13, 6). On the work here commemorated cf. Paus. vi. 7, 10: τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτη (sc. εἰκόνα) πένταθλον Ἡλείων Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτος ἐστὶν ἐργασμένος. On one end of the base are the letters  $\vdash$ B, perhaps a mark of numeration.

84. On a piece of white lime-stone, H. 0.58 m., B. 0.28 m., T. 0.12 m.; above a relief representing Diana with a bow and torch: the words are on both sides of the head; the letters 0.015 m. in height. The stone was found at Argos by Lebas in 1843 and is now in the Berlin Museum. Lebas, *Rev. Arch.* ii. p. 691 sqq., tab. XLIV., and *V. A.* 109, mon. fig. 102 n. 1; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 4 100; IGA 45.

ΠΟΤΥΣΤΡ

ΑΤΑΑΝΕΘΗ

KE

*Var. lect.* Lebas P

Πολυστράτα ἀνέθηκε.

§ 45. **The alphabet.** The inscriptions given above fall naturally into three periods, the earliest characterised by the retrograde writing and the *san* M, the next by the three-stroke  $\varsigma$  (if we may trust Fourmont's copy, no. 76 a), and the third by  $\Sigma$ . The first period is further marked by the older forms of  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ . The peculiarities of the alphabet are these: (1) the *gamma*,  $\vdash$ ; in the third period both  $\vdash$  and apparently (in no. 80) the rounded form C, found elsewhere only in the alphabets of Corinth, Anactorium and Megara in this group, but in several of the western group; (2) the rounded *delta*, D, and in the third period, beside this also the angular form  $\triangleright$ ; (3) *digamma* is present down to the latest period; (4) the sign for *spiritus asper* has the closed form,  $\boxplus$ ; (5) *theta* has the old form,  $\oplus$ ; in the first period the lines are oblique ( $\otimes$ ) perhaps by accident; (6) the sign for *lambda*,  $\lambda$  or  $\vdash$  (cf. no. 131, *Cameiros*), is distinctive; (7)  $\xi$  appears in the latest and presumably in the earlier periods, for the first has already the X. The peculiar form,  $\mathbb{H}$ , is probably merely an inverted  $\Xi$ ; (8)  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$  are denoted by  $\bigcirc$  in the earlier, by  $\odot$  in the middle, and by  $\bigcirc \odot$  in the latest period; (9) *koppa* in the form  $\var�$  or  $\var�$  appears as late as the third period, but from some inscriptions of this period which retained the characteristic *lambda* it had given place to *kappa*; (10) as  $\phi$  and  $\chi$  are present

in the third period and  $\chi$  in the first, it is certain that even in the first period the signs for  $\phi$  and  $\psi$  were in use, the latter in the form  $\Psi$  or  $\Psi$ .

§ 46. **Age of the inscriptions.** Of the inscriptions given above there is one, the date of which may perhaps be determined independently of its palaeographical character. This is the inscription comprised in the fragments found at Athens, no. 77, in which Boeckh has recognised a part of the list of those Argives (of Cleonae) who had fallen in the battle of Tanagra, Ol. 80. 4 (= 456 B.C.) on the side of the Athenians (Paus. i. 29, 7). It is probable that all the other inscriptions which have the four-stroke *sigma*,  $\xi$ , belong to about the same period. The inscription on the votive relief, no. 84, in which  $\text{H}=\eta$  appears, may either belong to a time before the reception of the Ionic alphabet, when however the Ionic characters were already familiarly known, or, it may belong to the period immediately after its reception (which took place probably at Argos, as elsewhere, about the end of the Peloponnesian war); that the inscription was not much later is clear from the retention of the Argive  $\lambda$  and the form of  $\rho$ . How much farther back than Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) the inscriptions of the first period go can hardly be determined. We have seen (§ 41 iv. v.) that in the Attic inscriptions the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  and retrograde style of writing appeared to have gone out of use before the middle of the 6th century B.C.; it is possible then that the retrograde inscriptions, nos. 72, 72 a, may be referred back to a date earlier than the middle of that century, though of course it does not follow that the development of the Argive writing in this respect was parallel to that of the Attic.

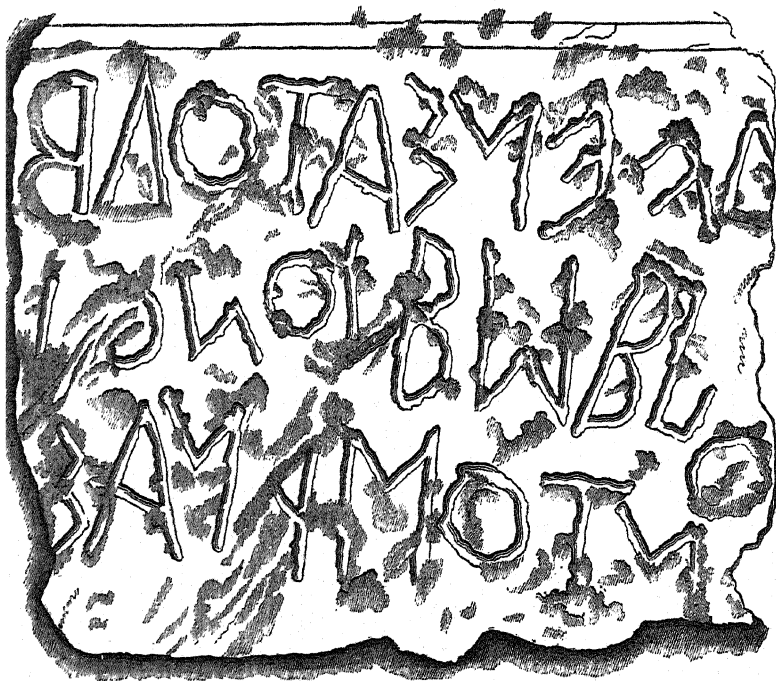
§ 47. **Relation to the Ionic.** The Argive alphabet does not differ essentially from the fully developed Ionic in anything else than the absence of the  $\Omega$  and the use of  $\Xi$  for the *spiritus asper* and not for  $\eta$ . The modification in the form of *lambda*, which occurs in no other alphabet, does not constitute an essential difference.

## CORINTH AND ITS COLONIES. SICYON.

§ 48. **Inscriptions.** These will be considered as they belong to (1) Corinth and the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> (including Sicyon), (2) Corcyra, (3) Leucas, (4) Acarnania and Epirus, (5) Syracuse and Acrae.

## I. A. CORINTH AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

**85.** The tomb-inscription of "Dveinias" consisting of three lines in genuine *βουστροφηδών* style. The stone is broken at the top, which was once furnished with a pediment, and at the left and bottom; the surviving fragment measures 0.3 m. in height, 0.4 m. in breadth, 0.24 m. in thickness. It was found in 1874 by Lolling near Old Corinth and is now in the Museum of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. Lolling, *Mitth.* i. p. 40 sqq. and Tab. i.; IGA 15.



ΔΦεινία τόδε [σᾶμα], τὸν ᾤλεσε πόντος ἀναι[δής]

<sup>1</sup> To the inscriptions may be added the old coins of Corinth; from these however we learn nothing more than the use of the *koppa*.

*Δεῖν*: this word has been referred to root-forms *δFε*, *δFε* (Curtius, *G. E.*; cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I. § 130), compared by Fick (*Wörterb.* 1<sup>2</sup>. 113) with the rare Zend *dvi* "to fear," *dvaētha* "fear," and *δbi* (acc. to Hübschmann's transliteration) in the compound *δέω-δbi* "fearing the deities." Thus the *ε* of the original represents a genuine diphthong, not the "pseudo-diphthong" *ει*.

86. Some smaller tomb-inscriptions on tufa-stone, one of which is written *retrograde*, found near the modern Asprocampo in the Corinthian Peraea, not far from the ancient *Oenoe*. Three of them are given by Forchhammer, *Halcyonia*, 1857, p. 14. They will be found also in Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 3 p. 88, where the different readings of Lebas, Ross and Rangabé, are given; and similarly in IGA 16, 18, 19, where 16 and 18 are given in facsimile.

(a) IGA 16. Μ Α Γ Ο Τ Ε Λ Κ Κλειτόλας (Forch-

hammer has *Θ* for *Ο*).

(b) IGA 18. Δ Ρ Ω Γ Υ Τ Ω Υ Τ Ω Δ Β Μ Α Μ Α (So Forchh., but see IGA, where the last consonant is *Μ* and only the first *Ο* is angular.) [*Μαν*]δροπύλου τόδε σᾶμα. Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 113—128) suggests *Δρωπίλ(λ)ου*: cf. *Δρωπυλίων* CIG 167.

(c) IGA 19. Δ Α Μ Α Μ (Ross) *Δαμίσ*[*ιππος*?]

In addition moreover to the stone-inscriptions, the legends on a series of Corinthian vases in the most ancient style contribute in an important manner to our knowledge of the old Corinthian alphabet. It is obviously beyond the scope of this work to give any detailed artistic description of the subjects depicted on these vases; for this the student must be referred to the several authorities quoted. It may suffice for our purpose if we give a few illustrations of the more interesting legends.

87. The well-known Dodwell vase, found in a rock-tomb near *Corinth*: a coloured illustration of the vase with the figures on it is given in Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*, Vol. II. p. 198; CIG 7.

Α C A Μ Β Μ Ν Ο Ν

Α Γ Κ Α

Δ Ο Ρ Ξ Μ Α Χ Ο Μ

Μ Α Κ Ξ Μ

Α Ν Δ Ρ Υ Τ Α Μ

Π Α Φ Ο Ν

Φ Ξ Τ Ο Ν

Θ Ξ Ρ Μ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Μ

Ἀγαμέμνων

Ἀλλὰ

Δορίμαχος

Σάκις

Ἀνδρύτας

Πά[φ]ων

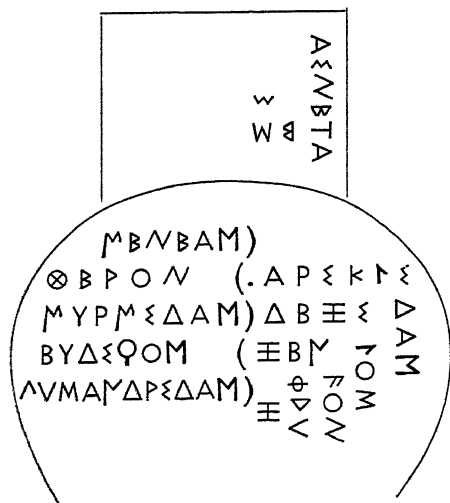
Φίλων

Θ[έ]ρσανδρος (the second letter is obviously *ξ*).



**88.** Vases found near Corinth and described with illustrations in *Ann. dell' inst.* 1862, *tav. d' agg.* A. B. (p. 46 sqq.).

A.



Αινέτα εἰμί.

Μενέας

Θήρων

Μυρμίδας

Εὐδικος

Λυσανδρίδας

[X]αρικλίδας

Δέξιλος

Ξένφων

Φρύξ.

B.

ϠΟΤΧΧΒ

ΑΧΞΤΒΟΥΜ

ΥΟΔΑΓΓΑΜ

ΦΟΞΝΞΞ

ΜΑΓΞΑ (*bis*)

ΜΑΞΥΞΑ

ΒΞΓΟΚΤΒΜ

ΥΟΓΟΔ

Ἐκκτωρ

Ἀχιλλέους

Σαρπαδών

Φοῖνιξ

Αἴψας

Αἰνέας

Ἴπ(π)οκλήης

Δόλων.

The diagram (A) rudely represents the arrangement of the names on one of the vases. The direction of the writing is naturally more or less curved to suit the curvature of the surface. The words in B are painted above or under or at the side of the several figures depicted on the other vase.

**89.** Two vases, one (i) bearing the signature of the artist Chares, the other (ii) found at *Oleone*, also bearing the artist's name, Timonidas. (i) J. de Witte, *A. Z.* 1864, *Tab. cxxxiv.* p. 153 sqq.; (ii) O. Jahn, *ib.* 1863, *Tab. cxxxv.* p. 58 sqq.

- (i) a. ΠΑΤΑΜΒΑΒΜ Παλαμήδης  
(The third Α is evidently a misformed Δ.)
- b. ΝΒΜΤΟΡ Νέστωρ
- c. ΠΡΟΤΒ Πρωτεσίλας  
WV↓ΣΣ
- d. ΠΟΔΑΡΙΟΜ Πόδαργος
- e. ΠΑΤΡΟΚΤ  
Ο  
Σ Πάτροκλος
- f. ΓΑΤΞΟΜ Βαλίος
- g. ΑΧΞΤΒΥΜ Ἀχιλλεύς
- h. ΟΡΞΦΟΝ Ὀρίφων
- i. ΞΜΑΥ⊗  
Ο  
Σ Ξάνθος
- k. ΒΚΤΟ Ἔκτω[ρ]
- l. ΜΒΜΥ Μέμν[ων]
- m. ΑΒ⊗ΟΝ Αἶθων: cf. no. 275 (*Arcadia*)
- n. ΧΑΡΒΜ Χάρης μ' ἔγραψε.  
ω Σ  
ΥΔΙΒ
- (ii) a. ΠΡΕΑΜΟΜ Πρ[ι]αμος  
(The third letter may be a badly drawn ξ.)
- b. ...ΒΟ...ΑΜΟΓΛΑΜ [Κρ]έου[σα?], Σοβάς?  
(name of a horse.)
- c. +ΑΝΟΟΜ Ξάν[θ]ος  
(The first letter is probably Ξ.)
- d. [ΤΡ?]ΟΙΤΟΜ Τρωίλος
- e. ΤΙΜΟΝΞΔΑΜ Τιμωνίδας  
ΜΒCΡΑΦΒ μ' ἔγραφε.
- f. ΑΧΞΤΒΥΜ Ἀχιλλεύς.

90. A large quantity of pottery-fragments, dug up at Penteskupkia near Corinth, containing figures of deities, especially Poseidon and Amphitrite, fighting heroes, men engaged in various pursuits, animals. These have inscriptions appended, for the most part

painted, occasionally incised. They are now in the Berlin Museum. It must suffice to give below a few only of the more representative. IGA 20, 1—114: see also Add.

IGA 20. 1 a

ΑΝΒΘΒΚΒΤΟΣΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΝΞ

... ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ποτειδᾶνι.

1 b

ΤΣΜΟΝΞ  
ΒΣΡΑΥΒΠΞΑ

Τιμωνί[δας] | ἔγραψε Βία (?)

5 ΠΒΡΑΕΟΘΔΜΙΞΡΟΜΒ

Περαιόθ[ε]ν Ἰγομες, i.e. from the harbour commonly known as Περαιός or Πέραιον. There are distinct traces of the (closed form of the) *spiritus asper* in Ἰγομες.

13 A fragment of an abecedarium. See the Historical Sketch § 12.

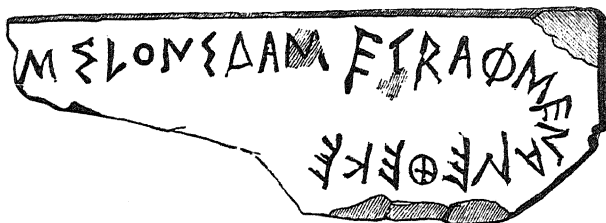
39

ΥΟΡΜΥΦ

Φύσιν.



36 a



Μι[δ]ωνίδας ἔγραψεν ἀνέθηκε (ἔγραψε [κ]άν. Roehl).

The  $\perp$  which is foreign to the Corinthian alphabet may perhaps be corrected into  $\Delta$ ; but a further difficulty is found in the occurrence of  $\Xi$  five times for  $\beta$ , possibly to be explained merely from the caprice of the painter, unless we are to charge the editor (Dragatses, *Παρνασσ.* α. 1881, p. 138 sqq.) with a series of mistakes. In representing  $\psi$  sometimes by one symbol, sometimes by  $\phi\sigma$ , the Corinthians were apparently as inconsistent as the Boeotians in their way of writing  $\xi$  (see § 88).

108 a



... [ἐπ]αγγείλας· τὸ δὲ δδ[s χα]ρίεσ(σ)αν ἀμοιFάν.

The same ending occurs in IGA 20, 63 and 64; in 62 the last word is ἀφορμάν. For the non-gemination of the  $\sigma$ , see the note on no. 231, A 1 (*App.*)

91. A lekythus, now at Athens in the *Βαρβακεῖον*: the inscription is engraved with a needle. *Rev. Arch.* 1873, xxv. p. 325; Collignon, *Cat. des vases peints du musée de la soc. archéol. d'Athènes*, p. 60; IGA 23.

ΞΕΝΟΚΡΒΜΒΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΙ Ξενοκλῆς Ἐροκρίτω or Ἡροκρίτω

92. A fragment of a quadrangular spear-head, found at *Olympia* near the Prytaneum. Kirchhoff, *Arch. Z.* xxxvii. p. 160; IGA 24.

ΜΟΤΥΜΠΙΔΩΝ [Δι]ός or [Ζη]νός Ὀλυμπίου. (The  $\text{OV} = \text{ou}$  seems to point to a Corinthian origin; see below § 49.)

93. Three marble fragments dug up at *Olympia*, containing part of an epigram actually quoted by Pausanias (v. 10. 4), commemorative of the battle fought at Tanagra, Ol. 80. 4=457 B.C. (Thuc. i. 108). IGA 26 a *App.*

VEXEIE K Δ E  
 Λ Δ Χ Ι Α Τ Α Ν  
 Ν Α Ι Θ Ν Κ Α Ι  
 Ε Κ Α Τ Θ Υ Π Θ  
 Κ Ο Ρ            Ι  
 Ρ

[Ναῦδος μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν] ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ [Τανάγρας]  
 [τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμ]αχία τ' ἀν[έθεν]  
 [δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθα]ναίων καὶ [Ἰάνων],  
 [τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἰν]εκα τοῦ πο[λέμου].  
 Κο[ρινθ]οί...

Ρ

PAUSAN. v. 10. 4, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται χρυσῇ Μέδουσας  
 τὴν Γοργόνα ἔχουσα ἐπειρασμένην. τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τοὺς τε  
 ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω· ναὺς κτλ. The  
 second line of this epigram, which was very corrupt in the MSS., was restored  
 by the happy conjecture of editors in precisely the form in which it appears on  
 the stone. We learn further from its discovery that the epigram was not in-  
 scribed on the shield, too high up to be read, but on a stone below; and that  
 not the Laconian but the Corinthian alphabet was used (cf. X and OY;  
 see below § 49). Underneath appears to have been written either a list of the  
 Corinthian allies, or the name of the artist.

## B. SICYON.

An inscription on a spear-head found at *Olympia* (IGA 27 a *Add.*  
 ΜΧΚΒΟΝΙ *i. e.* Σεκυωνί[ων]) shows that the two following inscrip-  
 tions should probably be referred rather to Sicyon than to Corinth.  
 The affinity of the Sicyonian alphabet to that of the neighbouring  
 Corinth may be inferred from the use of a peculiar sign for ε, though  
 there is nothing to show whether the signs for β in both alphabets  
 were the same. (Σε, not Σι, is the spelling of the earlier coins.  
 Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 345.)

94. A band of bronze discovered at *Olympia* in the building thought to be  
 the Leonidaean. It is perforated by four nail-holes and the left-hand portion  
 is barely legible. A. Kirchhoff, *Arch. Z.* xxxvii. p. 162; IGA 21.

ΟΤΙΙΙΡΓΥΟΘΣΤΜΙΘΑΤΜΟΘΑΙ

...ιαθος τάριστερον...

For the crasis in *τῶπλοστρον*, which Ahr. (n. 222) had denied to be Doric, cf. also *τῶργελοι*, *τῶργελου* (no. 75 and note), and in an Elean inscription (IGA 111), *τῶρχαῖον*. In the Abou Symbel inscription (no. 130 a) we find *Ἀμοιβήχου* = δ' Ἀ., and probably *Οὐδάμου* = δ' Εὐ.

95. A vase of *Caere* containing two inscriptions, the first of which is in the Attic alphabet; see below, § 50. Brunn, *Bull. d. inst.* 1865, p. 241; IGA 22. Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 4 104, still retains this inscription under the head of Corinth.

Ε+ΣΕΚΙΑΣ ΜΕΡΟΙΕΣΕ  
ΣΠΑΙΜΣΤΟΜ ΜΣΔΟΚΣΜ+ΑΡΟΡΟΙ

Ἐξηκίας μ' ἐποίησε.

Ἐπαίνετός μ' ἔδωκεν Χαρόπφ.

[See also further isolated letters and fragments from the Treasury of the Sicyonians at Olympia, IGA 27 b, c, d. *Add.*]

## II. CORCYRA.

96. A mutilated stone found in *Corcyra* in 1819. CIG 20; Mustoxides, *delle cose Corciresi* (a book which never came into circulation), n. ci p. 268. Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.* xviii. p. 578; Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* n. 181 a; IGA 340.

ΙΥΛΩΘΒΟ>ΘΩΟΔΙΥΛΩΙΟΩΣ  
ΒΠΣΤΥΜΟΣΠΟΤΥΜΟΦΑΜΜ  
ΘΤΑΜΟΤΘΠ

[Σάμ' Ἐχετ' ἵμου ματρὸς ἐγὼ ἔστα[κ'] ἐπὶ τύμφ  
ΠουλυνόΦας, σ[τοναχὰ δ' υἱὸς κατέλει]πετο ματρ[ός].

"I, the tombstone of Echetimus' mother, Polynoe, stand at her grave; and for her son was left mourning for a mother."

The recurrence of the form *τύμφ* on this inscription proves that it is not an error of the engraver as was inferred by Kaibel for the Xenares inscription, no. 100. On *ΠουλυνόΦας* cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 75.

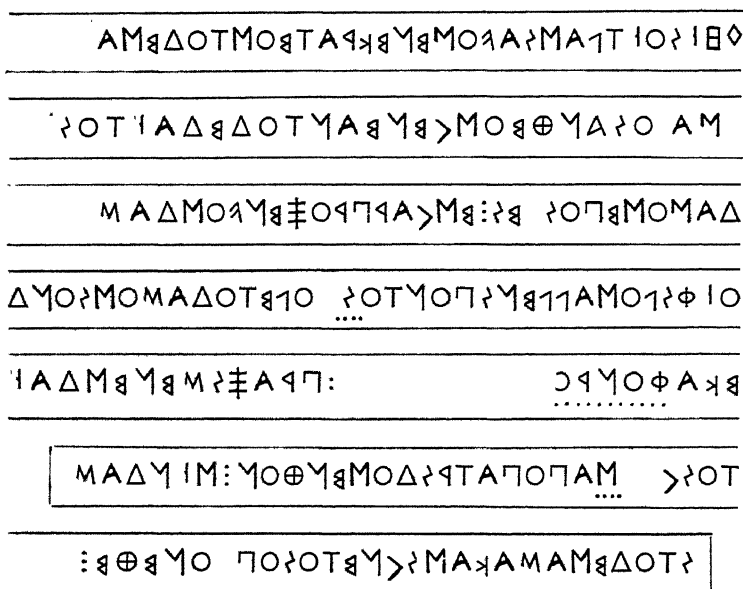
97. A bronze plate found at *Corcyra*, 0.13 m. broad, 0.05 m. in height. Formerly in the Woodhouse collection, now in the Br. Mus. Mustoxides, *d. cos. Corc.* n. lxi. p. 233; Vischer, *Rh. M.*, 1854, p. 385 sq.; Id. *Epigr. u. arch. Beitr. &c.*, 1854, p. 6; B. M. I. αλxv. Pl. n. 1; IGA 341.

ΘΧΘΘΥΔΑΜΜΟΣΦΟΙ

Ἀόφίος μ' ἀνέθηκε.

98. A retrograde inscription running in a continuous line round the cornice-like projection of a cylindrical base, of small unpolished marble blocks; H. 1.25—1.57 m.; diameter 5.00 m.; height of letters, which are deeply incised,

0.04—0.05 m. The base is surmounted by a low blunt cone. Found in 1843 at *Corcyra*. IGA 342, where see the list of previous authorities.



[The letters beneath which dots are placed are fainter on the stone. In many cases the  $\circ$  appears to have a dot in the middle. The  $\diamond$  at the beginning of the first line is not a letter, but an ornamental symbol.]

Τίου ΤλασίαFo Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα,  
 Οἶανθέος γενεάν' τόδε δ' αὐτῷ δᾶμος ἐποίηι  
 ἧς γὰρ πρόξενFος δάμου φίλος· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
 ᾗλετο, δαμοσίῳ δὲ καφῶν ῥό[θιον τὸν ἔθαψε].  
 5 Πραξιμένης δ' αὐτῷ γ[αλας] ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἐνθῶν  
 σὺν δάμ[ω]ι τόδε σᾶμα κασυνήτοιου πονήθη.

1. 1. *ΤλασίαFo*. Meyer (*Gr. Gr.* § 345 note) denies to the *F* any etymological value and quotes Blass (*Misc. epigr.* p. 131) who thinks that the composer of the inscription, who would himself use *Τλασία*, altered an epic *Τλασίαο* on the false analogy of *ναῖός, λαῖός* &c. These metrical inscriptions of *Corcyra* show us how the Dorians treated the Epic dialect; they took over the flexional forms and usages, but retained the Doric sounds (Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, pp. 113—128). *Τλησίας* occurs as the name of an Attic archon (about Ol. 24, 4=681 B.C.) *Marm. Par.* 34, Paus. iv. 15, 1. 1. 2. *Οἶανθέος*, i.e. from *Οἶανθη* or *Οἶανθεια* in Ozolian Locria, now Galaxidi: cf. the Locrian inscriptions, nos.



231, 232. 1. 3.  $\eta\varsigma$  "erat" = Ved.  $\acute{a}s$ , Ind.-Eur.  $*\acute{e}s-t$  (Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 107). This is apparently the only inscriptional instance of the form, otherwise familiar from its occurrence in Theocr. (Ahrens, *Dor.* 326).  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\xi\epsilon\nu$  Fos. Menecrates was a "kindly entertainer of the (Corcyrean) people" (sc. at Oeanthea). The office of Proxenos, apparently with the same functions as the proxeni of later history, is thus shown to be much more ancient than Meier (*De Proxenia*, Hal. 1843. 4) supposed. 1. 4. Roehl's text is adopted above: the restorations attempted are legion, and are not worth quoting.  $\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$  =  $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ , Ahrens, *Dor.* 109, 110. 1. 5.  $\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ . With this exception, the change  $-\lambda\theta-$   $\rightarrow$   $-\nu\theta-$  etc. is confined to the Greek of Sicily and South Italy. 1. 6.  $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\theta\eta$ . It is better to take the form in active sense than to suppose an anacoluthon: cf. the use of  $\pi\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 245, xviii. 280, *Od.* ix. 250, xi. 9 etc.; Eur. *Hel.* 1509  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu\eta\theta\eta\nu$ ; Archil. fr. 12  $\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \eta\phi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ...  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu\eta\theta\eta$ , cf. Bergk, *Hist. litt. gr.* i. 122 adn. 185.

99. A sepulchral monument of calcareous stone (H. 1.93 m.; B. 0.50 m.; T. 0.15 m.) found in 1846 at *Corcyra* near the tomb of Menecrates, but in a stratum of soil 0.9 m. less deep. The lines, as frequently happens in old inscriptions (e.g. at Argos, no. 78), are separated by two not deeply engraved bars between each. IGA 343, where see the list of previous authorities.

ΜΑΡΑΤΟΔΒΑΡΥΣΑΔΑΧΑΡΟΠΟΜΤΟΜΔΟΙΒ  
ΜΙΑΥΑΥΑΥΓΥΟΜΒΜΑΥΡΑΠΜΒΡΑΥΒΜ  
ΣΒΠΑΡΑΘΘΟΣΟΡΒΟΦΑΣΜΣΠΟΠΟ  
ΥΑΤΥΑΔΥΑΜΒΓΟΥΟΤΜΑΤΑΧΑΤΥΟΤΙΒΤΜΣΡΔΥ

Σάμα τίδ(ε) Ἀρνιαδά· χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὤλε|σεν Ἀρης  
βαρνώμενον παρὰ ναυσ|ιν ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ῥι·Φαῖσι,  
πολλοδ|ιν ἀριστευ[Ε]οντα κατὰ στονύ|φεσ(σ)αν ἀΨυτάν.

1. 2. *βαρνώμενον*. Bezzenberger, *Bzzb. Beitr.* 3, 136, would recognise in this word an actual trace of a sonant  $r$  in Greek; he explains the change of  $\mu$  to  $\beta$  as due to the  $\rho$  which immediately followed:  $\mu\rho\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  became  $\beta\rho\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ , as in fact  $\mu\rho$  has in every case become  $\beta\rho$ . Cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 14.

The Aratthos runs S.W. through Epirus into the Ambracian gulf. Other forms of the name are *Ἀραθθος*, Strabo vii. p. 325 (v. l. *Ἀραθθος*), Polyb. xii. 9, 4, Ptolem. iii. 14, 6 (cf. iii. 15, 14), Liv. xxxviii. 3, 4, xliii. 23, Plin. iv. 1, 4 (v. l. *Arattus*). For the  $\theta\theta$  there are abundant analogies; cf., e.g., the long Gortyn inscription (part of which is given no. 9 g) *passim*.  $\rho\omicron\Phi\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$  appears to be the sole example in which the  $\rho$  is expressed by the two symbols  $\rho\Phi$ . 1. 4.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  on the stone is an obvious mistake. The insertion of  $F$ , if the reading is not rather  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  (Blass, *Ausspr.* 2 65), must be classed with cases like  $\epsilon\upsilon\Phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , *Bakéfas Boeot.*,  $\epsilon\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\delta\omicron\varsigma$  *Dodona*,  $\epsilon\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\eta\varsigma$  *Lacon.*,  $e-u-ve-r(e)-ke-si-a$  *eúergesiá Cypr.* If  $\acute{\alpha}\Psi\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is from a root  $\acute{\alpha}\Psi$  (Van. i. 69), we have the converse development of  $\nu$  from  $F$ .  $\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}\phi\epsilon\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\nu$  (for the  $\sigma=\sigma\sigma$  cf. no. 90. 108 a) is interesting as being one of the earliest discovered examples which confirmed the already conjectured identity of Gr.  $-\Phi\epsilon\tau-$ ,  $-\Phi\epsilon\tau-$  with Skt.  $-\nu\acute{a}nt-$ ,  $-\nu\acute{a}t-$ .

**100.** A fragment of a sepulchral column of white marble found in Coreyra, 1866, not far from the tomb of Menecrates. The words, 0.03 m. in height, are written from right to left on the abacus and curve downwards on reaching the margin.

Decharme, *Comptes rendus*, 1866, p. 383; Egger, *ibid.* p. 393; Miller, *ibid.* p. 398 sqq.; Egger, *ibid.* a. 1867, p. 158 sq.; Bergmann, *Herm.* II. p. 136 sqq.; Schliemann, *Ithaque, le Pélopie. Troie*, 1869, p. 7; Engelmann, *Bull. dell' inst.* 1872, p. 35; IGA 344.

ΥΤΣΠΓΜΣΔΜΟΣΞΣΘΜ ΙΟΤΜΘΔΡΑΓΜΞΑΓΑΤΜ  
Σ  
Θ  
Λ

Στάλα Ξενφάρεος τοῦ 'Μείξιος εἰμ' ἐπὶ τύμφ.

For 'M cf. 'F, no. 216 b (*Boeotia*) and the note on no. 116 (*Megara*); and for the F in Ξενφάρεος cf. Ξένφων 88 A. 'Επὶ τύμφ we have had before, no. 96.

**101.** A stone pillar, 1.42 m. high, 0.33 m. thick, found near the tomb of Menecrates. In later times a second inscription ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΩΝ was added. The archaic inscription is retrograde. Franz, *A. Z.* 1846, 377 sqq., tab. XLVIII. 4; Mustoxides, *d. cos. Corc.*, n. lxxxii. p. 252; Vischer, *Rh. M.* IX. p. 384 sq.; Id. *Epigr. u. arch. Beitr.* p. 10, tab. II. 8 (*Kleine Schriften*, II. p. 18); Wachsmuth, *Rh. M.* XVII. p. 579 note; IGA 345.

ΣΑΤΑΙΒΞΒΛ

Λεξιάτας or Ληξιάτας, i.e. (acc. to Kirchhoff) ὄρφος; but it is difficult to say from what noun Λεξιάτας with its termination -άτας is derived.

**102.** A rude column of red limestone, hollow at the upper end, 0.68 m. high, 0.38 m. in thickness above, 0.45 m. below, found in 1845 at Coreyra in the palaeopolis. *Ephem. Ion.* 1845, n. 29 sqq.; Mustoxides, *d. cos. Corc.*, n. lxxxiii. p. 254; Rang. 356; Wachsmuth, *Rh. M.* XVIII. p. 575 sqq.; Bergmann, *Herm.* II. p. 139; IGA 346.

ΙΘΡΕΘΣΗΙΑΡΘΞ  
ΤΑΣΑΚΡΙΑΞ

Ὅρφος ἱαρός τῆς Ἀκρίας

Acc. to Hesych. Ἀκρία was the name of several goddesses with the Argives. On Ὅρφος see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 75.

**103.** An inscription on each of two conical pillars, 1.14 m. high, 0.3 m. in thickness below, 0.15 m. above. Mustoxides, *Illustr. Corc.*, tom. II. p. 98; CIG

1877; Franz, *Arch. Z.* 1846, p. 379, tab. XLVIII.; Mustoxides, *d. cos. Corc.*, n. LXXXVI. p. 262; IGA 347.

Π □ □ ξ Γ Υ ⊗ Α Ι □ ξ

‘Ρόος Πυθαῖος, i.e. stream sacred to Apollo Pythias.

[The ⊗ is in the form of a square with the diagonals intersecting.]

### III. LEUCAS.

104. Lebas, *V. A.*, tab. VII. 13 and n. 1040; IGA 338.

ΜΙΚΥΘΑΜ Μικύθας

105. A bronze vessel 0.04 m. high, broken beneath, found near the temple at Dodona. The engraving is *au pointillé* (see the Tables of Alphabets, *infra*). Carapanos, *Dodone &c.* p. 40, tab. XXIII. 1; IGA 339.

ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΙΔΑΟΔΑΜΟΦΙΛΟΥΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΟΞΔΙΝΑΙΟΙ

Φιλοκλείδα[s] ὁ Δαμοφίλου Λευκάδιος Δι Νάτω.

The omission of the Σ may be due to the fault of the engraver. The character may be Ionic; then the ΝΑΙΟΙ will stand for Νάτω (loc. for dat.). Νάιος (*aqueous*) is the special attribute by which Zeus was known at Dodona, and by which he is qualified in the majority of the inscriptions found there. Cf. Schol. in Hom. *Il.* II. 233: ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ Νάιος ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία; Dem. *Meid.* 531: τῷ Δι τῷ Νάτῳ; Steph. Byz. in ν. Δωδώνη: τὸν δὲ Δωδωναῖον ἔλεγον καὶ Νάιον. Note the ου expressed by two letters.

### IV. ACARNANIA AND EPIRUS.

106. A tomb-inscription found in the north of *Acarnania*: the original is lost. Ross, *Bull. inst. arch.* 1840, p. 28; Welcker, *Rhein. Mus.* n. s. I. p. 206; CIG 1794 h; Lebas, *V. A.* n. 1056; IGA 329.

ΠΡΟΚΛΒΙΔΑΣΙΟΛΒΞΑΛΛΑΚΒΚΛ  
ΒΞΒΙΑΙΒΜCVΞΟΔΟΙΟ  
□ΩΞΠΒRITΑΣΑ▽ΤΟCΑΣ  
ΘΑΜΒΥΑΒΥΑΜΒΥΟΣ

Προκλείδας [τ]δ[δ]ε σάμα κεκλήσε[τ]αι ἐν γνῶς ὁδοῖο |  
ὅς περὶ τῆς α[ύ]του γᾶς | θάνε βα[ρ]νάμενος.

Boeckh explained Προκλείδας as a genitive, but it is more probably a nominative, as Kaibel has shown (*sepulcrum hoc praetereuntibus Proclidas nominabitur*),

citing the parallel adduced by Keil (*Diar. litt. antiq.* 1849, p. 524) of the name Alcibiades given to the park of Tissaphernes (Plut. *Alc.* 24). So in CIG 2058 B 5 (*Olbia*)  $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\ \delta\ \eta\rho\omega\varsigma\ \Sigma\omega\varsigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ . The form  $\delta\delta\omicron\omega$  will cause no surprise in a metrical epitaph; cf. the note to no. 39 (*Attica*). On  $\beta\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  see note on no. 99, l. 2.

107. A fragment found near the ruins of *Anactorium*. Leake, *Travels in N. Gr.* iv. tab. xxxiv. n. 166; CIG 174 g; Lebas *V. A.* n. 1049; IGA 330.

◇ Π Π Υ ◇  
 ~  
 >  
 ~  
 ~  
 —

[Πόντος υ — υ (τόν δαίνα) ἀπ]ώλλυ', ὅς 'Αμ[πρακίαν ποτ' ἐναίεν]

108. A fragment of a thin lamina of lead 0.039 m. long, 0.026 m. in height, said to have been found originally at *Dodona*. It is inscribed on both sides, but on one the writing appears to be merely the scribbling of later hands. Gurlitt, *Archaeol-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterr.* iv. p. 61 sq.; IGA 332. For the general sense cf. the Dodonaean oracle-inscriptions, Ca. 250 sqq.; also *J. H. S.* i. 228 sqq.; H. R. Pomtow, *Neue Jahrb.* 1883, i. 344.



[Ἐπικουῆται Ἀν]άσσχ[ε-]  
 [τος Δι καὶ Διώνη, τί]νι κα θεῶ-  
 [ν ἢ δαιμόνων ἢ ἡρ]ώων εὐχ[ό-]  
 [μενος καὶ θύων] ὑγιῆς εἶη.

*Ἐπικουᾶσθαι* is probably only a dialectic form of *ἐπικουοῦσθαι* (Plato, *Prot.* 313 b) 'to ask one his advice' about anything. Zeus Naïos (cf. no. 105) and Dione were the deities ordinarily invoked in these oracle-inscriptions.

## V. SYRACUSE AND ACRAE.

109. (a) A marble found near the ruins of *Acrae* (Palazzolo). Rose, *Inscr.*, tab. xii. 1, p. 91; CIG 5458; IGA 507.

ΛΟΘΥ  
 VΣΙΣΘΟΤΙΜ [Δ]ύσις ὁ [Χ]ιμάρον

(b) Also found at *Acrae*. Rose, *ibid.* tab. XIII. 2. 11, p. 102; CIG 5435; IGA 508.

Ξ V Q O I

Συῖφ, the epitaph of a woman.

[Another very mutilated inscription from *Acrae* is given, IGA 511: it contains □ = spiritus asper, and probably O = ω in 'Αετίων (?).]

Other similar Corinthian female name-forms ('i-stems') are *Fiφ*, *Δiφ*, 'Αλαθφ. But the formation is not confined to Doric; it is also Ionic: CIG 696 'Αρτεμφ in the epitaph of a Milesian woman at Athens, 2151 Διονυσφ from Chalcis in Euboea, 2310 Φιλυτφ from Delos, 3714 'Αθηνφ from Apamea in Bithynia, 'Αρχιφ on a Melian inscription, no. 8 c. Compare the express statement of Herodian (II. 545, 6 Lentz) *ὅτι τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν ταῖς εἰς ω ληγούσαις εὐθείαις εἶχε τὸ ι προσγεγραμμένον ὅλον ἢ Αἰηφ ἢ Σαπφφ σὺν τῷ ι*. G. Meyer (*Wilamowitz-Müllendorf u. d. gr. Dialekte*, Leipzig, 1878). Also Ahrens (*Ztschr. f. vergl. Spr.* 1854, III. 81 ff.). Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 325, holds that the forms in -ω were older than those in -φ.

110. On the steps of the temple of Apollo (formerly thought to be the temple of Artemis) at *Syracuse*. The letters are 0.15—0.18 m. in height, and deeply incised. Hirzel, *Bull. d. inst.* 1864, p. 91; Giuseppe de Spuches, *d'una epigrafe greca trovata in Siracusa nel tempio creduto di Diana*, Palermo 1864; Schubring, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* n. s. suppl. IV. p. 672, cf. *Philol.* XXII. p. 637, XXIII. p. 363 sqq.; Kirchhoff, *Arch. Anz.* 1867, p. 61; Bergmann, *Philol.* XXVI. p. 567; IGA 509.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΣ

ΕΥΘΥΜΙΘΟΚΙΜΔΕΑ

ΕΙΙΞΕΙΜΛΕΤΑΚΑΦΕΡΛ

Κλεο[μέν]ης ἐποίησε [τ]ὸ π[ρὸς] [ἐλ(λ)]ωνι

οὐ κ[λ]ιβδηλα ἔει χροῖ[σι] ν[η]τὰ κατὰ F[έρ]γ[α].

[The letters under which dots appear are faint or mutilated on the stone.]

Roehl, whose text is given above, offers the following explanation. Cleomenes built some portion of the temple by way of returning thanks for a serviceable answer of the oracle. To the first words are subjoined a metrical line as in the Hiero inscr. The meaning will then be, "Cleomenes built (this) to Apollo, whose priestess makes prophetic answer (or gives help) by way of oracular functions (?)." For □ O = οὐ, cf. the Corinthian inscr. IGA 20. 15 (ΜΕΟΜ.... = ...μον εἰμι), where we should have expected VOM. κίβδηλος is used as an epithet of oracles Hdt. I. 66, 75, v. 91. For λητὰ cf. Hesych. λητή (so in MS. M. Schmidt. λητή) ἱέρεια; comp. also the glosses λητῆρες ἱεροὶ στεφανοφόροι, λήτρεται ἱέρεια τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν, &c. It must be confessed that the interpretation is anything but satisfactory.

111. The well-known inscr. on the helmet of Hiero found in 1817 at *Olympia*, now in the Br. Mus. CIG 16 and numerous other authorities; IGA 510.

ΒΙΑΡΟΝΟΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ  
ΤΟΙΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΑΠΟΚΥΜΑΣ

Ἱέρων ὁ Δεινομένηος  
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
τῷ Δι Τυρ(ρ)άν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

"Hiero son of Dinomenes and the Syracusans dedicated to Zeus these Etruscan (*Tυρρανά*) spoils from Cumae." Probably there were other objects besides the helmet, the latter only receiving an inscription. The important victory won by Hiero over the Etruscan fleet near Cumae, OL 76. 3=474 B.C., is celebrated by Pindar (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 137 and Schol. *ad loc.*; Diod. xi. 51).

§ 49. **Constitution of the Alphabets.** So completely identical in all essentials are the older alphabets of Corinth and its colony Corcyra, that these two may be considered together. This oldest period then is characterised by (i) the *san*, M (and by consequence the older  $M = \mu$ ); (ii) the crooked *iota*; (iii) the closed  $\boxplus$  for the *spiritus asper*; (iv) the older *theta*,  $\otimes$  or  $\oplus$ ; (v) *lambda* with the right limb shorter; (vi) the presence of *digamma*, *koppa*,  $\xi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$  (*koppa* and  $\psi$  are proved only for Corinth, but may with certainty be inferred for Corcyra); (vii) the form of *gamma*: for Corinth C < and  $\lceil^1$ , for Corcyra <; lastly (viii) by the remarkable forms to express  $\beta$  and the E-sounds. The signs  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  (or  $\chi$  at Sicyon, at least in the 2nd period) are used for  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ . But it is noticeable that on the very earliest inscriptions, e.g. that of Dveinias, no. 85, that of Kleitolas, no. 86 a, and many of the pottery fragments, E is found beside  $\beta$ , but with this difference:  $\beta$ , on the stone-inscriptions at least, denotes always the short  $e$  (τόδε, ὠλεσε) or the  $\eta$ , E on the other hand  $\epsilon\iota$ , as in Δ*Φει*ίας, Κ*λει*τόλας, and frequently in Π*οσει*δάν. The need for differentiation then produced the form of *beta*,  $\lceil$ ,  $\lceil$ ,  $\epsilon$ , which is another striking peculiarity of this alphabet<sup>2</sup>. The characteristics of the period we have been describing

<sup>1</sup> See no. 82, (1)  $\delta$ ,  $\eta$ ; elsewhere only found with this value in the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy (cf. nos. 302, 306, 307), and on an incomplete abecedarium of Amorgos, no. 159 b.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that these forms of  $\beta$ ,  $\boxplus = \beta$  and  $\psi$ , noted by Kirchhoff in

may be studied in the inscriptions nos. 85—90 of Corinth, 95—100 of Corcyra.

A second period is marked by those inscriptions (of Corinth, Sicyon, Corcyra, Leucas, Acarnania, Epirus and Syracuse) which exhibit the straight *iota* but retain the *san*; see in illustration nos. 91 (where note the absence of F in *Ξενοκλῆς*), 92 of Corinth, 94, 95 of Sicyon, 104 of Leucas.

A third period is marked (1) by the adoption of the four-stroke *sigma* (though in the case of Syracuse the legend on the oldest coins  $\varsigma \vee \rho \alpha$  shows that the  $\Sigma$  was preceded by a  $\varsigma$ ); (2) by the gradual substitution of the open H for the closed form (and finally by the omission of H for the *spiritus asper*, as e.g. in nos. 105, 106, and the use of H =  $\eta$ ; which, as it occurs side by side with  $\beta = \epsilon$  on the Dodona inscription, no. 108, would seem to prove for that inscription a date at which the influence of the Ionic alphabet began to be felt); (3) by the introduction of the normal form for  $\beta$ . The alphabet of Acarnania (Anactorium? Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 108) adopted the peculiar sign  $\nabla$  to represent  $\beta$  (see no. 106), a characteristic which it shared with the alphabet of Selinus; that this and not the Corinthian form was in use at Syracuse seems to be clear from the inscription of the temple of Apollo (if the reading  $\kappa\iota\beta\delta\eta\lambda\alpha$  is right, no. 110). The latter and the helmet-inscription of Hiero prove that at the date of their composition E and not  $\beta$  was in use for  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$  (110, 111). A mark of relative lateness is the form of the *digamma*,  $\sqcap$ , on the Corcyraean boundary-stone, no. 102, on which also the open H = *spiritus asper* occurs.

A peculiarity not of form but of usage remains to be noticed. This is the practice of representing the 'pseudo-diphthong' *ou* by  $\text{OY}$  instead of the simple O, at a period so early as that of the stone-inscription of Oenoe, no. 86, contrary to the usage of all other alphabets of the same or even of a much later age. It is the rule

*Stud.* ed. 3, as not found on the stone-inscriptions but only on Corinthian vase-inscriptions discovered elsewhere than at Corinth, are now clearly proved from the pottery fragments found at Corinth itself: see IGA 20. 9, 10, 11. One in particular (*ibid.* 13), a list of the alphabetical signs in order, an "alphabet" in fact, perfect down to T except the first four letters, is peculiarly interesting, and has been noticed in § 12 above. From it as well as from another of the same collection ( $\text{I} \beta \text{Y} \text{M}$ , *Zeus*, no. 90. 66) we may supply the sign for *zeta*.

<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the class which Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 150) makes to cease before 500 B.C. The *koppa* goes on a little longer, but not much.

also in the Corcyraean inscriptions (e.g. nos. 96 Ἐχερίμου, 98 νιοῦ), so that it may fairly be reckoned among the characteristic marks of the Corinthian alphabet. Similarly Corcyraean represents *α* by Β (e.g. 98 ἐποίει).

The same peculiarity, proclaiming its kinship with Corinthian, is found on the short tomb-inscription of **Acrae**, no. 109 *α* (χυμάρου), and it is an evidence of the relatively later age of the Acarnanian inscription, no. 106, that it represents *ου* by Ο.

§ 50. **Relative and approximate age of the inscriptions.** Fortunately the approximate age of one at least of the inscriptions may be determined. This is that of the vase found at **Caere** (no. 92) on which, above the inscription in Sicyonian (?) alphabet, Ἐπαίνερός μ' ἔδωκεν Χαρόπῳ, are scratched the words Ἐξεκίας (or Ἐξηκίας) μ' ἐποίησε, apparently by the artist himself. Brunn at least (*Bull. d. inst.* 1865, p. 241; cf. *Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei*, p. 11) expressly remarks that *il carattere paleografico delle lettere è precisamente lo stesso che si osserva in altre iscrizioni di Exekias* (CIG iv. 8153 sqq.). Now the Attic vase-painter Exekias belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C., and to this age therefore must be assigned the vessel in question. It is clear then that in the first half of the fifth century B.C. the Sicyonians (Corinthians) continued to write X (or Β) for E and M for Σ or Σ, while the crooked had already been given up for the straight *iota*: consequently inscriptions which have not only X or Β and M but also the crooked *iota* must be at least as old as the sixth century B.C.; and those which have been grouped as forming a third period will belong to the middle or latter half of the fifth century. Of these one at least is of a known date, as commemorating the battle of Tanagra, Ol. 80. 4 = 457 B.C.

But further the helmet-inscription (no. 111) can be assigned to Ol. 76. 1 = 476 B.C.; hence at that date, as appears from its being written left to right, from the Ι and Σ for Σ and M, and especially the use of the normal E for the Corinthian Β, the alphabet at **Syracuse** had already entered upon that phase of its development, which has been pointed out on the younger documents of **Corinth** and other of its colonies. And if we may assume that the development of the alphabet at **Syracuse** was not more rapid than that of the mother country and its colony **Corcyra**, the comparison of the older inscriptions of **Corinth** and **Corcyra** with the helmet-inscription of **Syracuse** will show that the former must



be very considerably older than the latter; and the inscriptions like those on the tombs of Menecrates and Arniadas may reasonably be assigned to the first half of the sixth century B.C., and this epoch is undoubtedly indicated also by the artistic style of the ancient vases of Corinthian workmanship, the inscriptions on which belong to the same stage of development of the alphabet.

§ 51. **Relation to other Alphabets.** The Corinthian alphabet bears to the Ionic the same eclectic relation as has been seen in the Argive (§ 47), with which in all essentials it rests at nearly the same standpoint, surpassing however the latter in antiquity in so far as it still possesses the crooked instead of the straight *iota*.

### PHLIUS.

#### § 52. Inscriptions.

112. Three archaic inscr. found near the ruins of *Phlius*; two of them are in the CIG from copies of Fourmont.

(a) CIG 21; IGA 28 a: the reading is too uncertain to be of any use; the first line is written left to right, the second is inverted and retrograde.

(b) CIG 37; IGA 28 b.

..ΥΘΦΥΘΒΜΟΤ>ΑΤΞΞΔ

δέξεται τὸν ὄρ[Υ]ον.... or perhaps τοὺς ὄρ[Υ]ου[ς]

(c) A fragment of porous red stone 0.25 m. in height, 0.73 m. long: the letters are 0.05—0.07 m. in height. Ross, *Reisen im Pelop.* i. p. 29 sqq.; Rang. 358 b; Lebas, *V. A.*, n. 97, tab. vii.; IGA 28.

11ΦΘΑΣΤΟΥΘΦΥΘΒΤ>/

[α]ῖτ' ὄρϝον, ὅτι ἄ ὠφ[έ]λ[εια].....

It is possible that the fragments *a*, *b*, *c*, formed part of one inscription, written retrograde over several blocks of stone. Roehl thinks it may have contained a warning against perjury and refers to Paus. v. 24. 11: ἔστι δὲ (Olympiae) πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Ὀρκίου πινάκιον χαλκοῦν ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δῆμα θέλοντα τοῖς ἐπιорκοῦσι παριστάναι.

To the above may be added

(d) The legend on the oldest known coins of Phlius (circ. 430—322 B.C., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 344):

ΦΛΕΙΑ—ΣΙΟΝ *i.e.* Φλειασίων

§ 53. **Constitution and relations of the Alphabet.** The affinity of the Phliuntian alphabet with those of Corinth and Argos, which might *a priori* have been inferred, is at once evident from the

presence of the  $\Xi$ . It agrees with the old Corinthian, too, in the possession of the crooked *iota* and in the form of *lambda*; probably also the  $\sigma$  took the form  $\mathcal{M}$ . As at this period, seen by the presence of the crooked *iota* to be as old as the oldest Corinthian, the  $\epsilon$  is represented only by  $\mathcal{E}$ , we may infer that  $\beta$  had its normal form. We may assume with certainty the presence of  $\gamma$  (in what form is doubtful),  $F$ ,  $\theta$  (in the oldest form),  $\kappa$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\psi$ . The oldest coins are considerably later than the inscriptions, for on them *iota* has become straight,  $\bigcirc$  ( $=\omega$ ) is without the dot, and  $\lambda$ ,  $\sigma$  have the late forms.

### MEGARA AND ITS COLONY SELINUS.

§ 54. **Inscriptions.** I. Megara<sup>1</sup>. II. Selinus. (So far as can be gathered from the contents of no. 116, the inscription might

<sup>1</sup> The following may be provisionally placed in a footnote:

113 b. Two fragments of a column found at *Olympia*, 1.40 m. long, 0.25 m. in diameter, adorned with sixteen striae. The inscription is engraved in three of the flutings in letters 0.017—0.025 m. in height. *Arch. Z.* xxxvi. p. 143 sq., tab. xix. 6; *Rh. M.* xxxiv. p. 212, n. 1098 a; IGA 12 (see also Add. 12 a, where are noted two fragments, also found at *Olympia*, of a square block, on which was written a duplicate of the same inscr.: the letters surviving are  $\text{ΜΑΧΟΠΑΙΔΕΞΤ}$ ).

*a*

ΘΡΑΣΥΜΑΧΟΠΑΙΔΕΞΤΟΜΑΛΙΟ	
ΤΟΙΔΙΔΑΙΑΛΚΟΣΚΑΙ	
CPOΦΟΜΕΠΟΙΕ ΜΑΛΙΟΣΚΑC	

*b*

$\mathcal{M}\mathcal{E}$

$\mathcal{E}\mathcal{X}$

[The form of  $\mathcal{P}$  on the stone approaches more nearly to  $\mathcal{D}$ .]

Θρασυμάχου παῖδες τοῦ Μάλιο[υ ἐν Μεγαρεῦσι]  
 τῷ Δι Δάαλκος καὶ (e.g. Στρατοκλήης) με [ἀνέθεν]  
 Γρόφων ἐποίει Μάλιος Κα[βεροκλ]ῆς (?)

It is difficult to harmonize the alphabet of this inscription with any stages of the Melian alphabet as described in §§ 20—22. Roehl assumes a mixed alphabet consequent upon a migration from Melos to Megara (Ol. 91. 1=416 B.C.). In the last letter of fragm. *a* he recognises part of a Megarian  $\sqcap$ = $\beta$ . It is doubtful whether γρόφων is a participle as in no. 7, or a proper name. For Θράσυμαχος cf. Ποιῶνι; and Ἀθανοδόρου, Ἀσωποδόρου no. 80, Δημοκῆδης no. 17.

belong to either Selinus or Megara (Nisaeon or Hyblaeon); but the forms of  $\rho$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\delta$ , agree better with those of the victory-inscription of Selinus (no. 117): the modification of  $\gamma$  on the other hand is that seen in the Megarian inscriptions.)

## I. MEGARA.

**113.** Inscribed in large letters on a rude stone found in the Megarid territory. Foucart, *B. C. H.* II. 1875, p. 515; IGA 11; cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 112.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ      Ἀπόλλωνος  
ΛΥΚΕΙΟ      Λυκείω (sc. hic fundus. Cf. Foucart, *l.c.*).

**113 a.** A small bronze tablet found in 1882 near Megara. D. Korolkow, *Mith.* VII. 1883, p. 181; cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 113.

ΟΙΔΒΑΠΟΛΙ      [Το]ῖδε ἀπὸ λ[αία]  
ΥΤΑΝΔΒΚΑΤ/      [ς] τὰν δεκάτα[ν]  
ΛΝΒΘΒΚΑΝΔΘ      ἀνέθηκαν Ἀθ[α-]  
ΝΔΙ      νᾶ.

**114.** A marble pillar found in the *Peiraeus*, now in the Museum at Athens. Lenormant, *Rh. M.* 1866, 376; Cumanudes, *Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτυμβ.* n. 2008; IGA 13.



Ἀπολλόδ-  
ωρος Διο-  
κλείδα  
Μεγαρεύς.

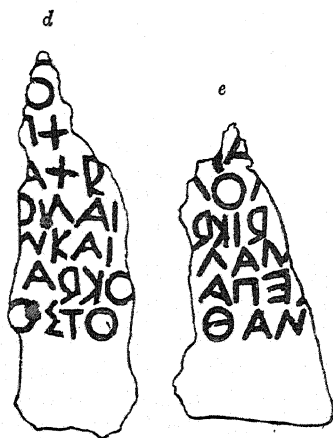
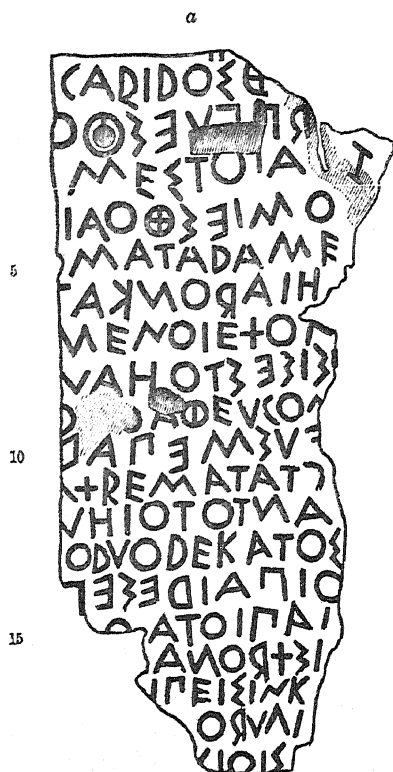
**115.** An inscription said by Lenormant to have been found by him in an old church between *Eleusis* and *Megara*, 1863. *Rh. M.* 1866, p. 390; Foucart, *Épigr.* n. 61 a; Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* n. 461 a; IGA 14 (where Roehl throws doubts on the genuineness of the inscription).

ΣΑΜΑΤΟΔΕΗΝΨΙΚΛΕΟΣ  
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΣΤΟΝΔΕ

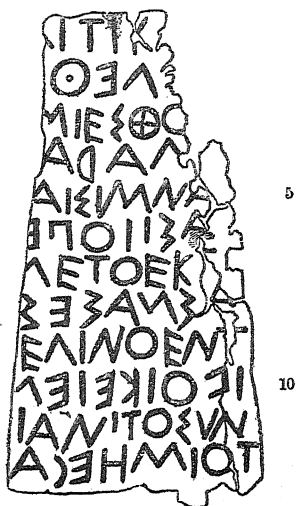
Σᾶμα τόδε Ὑψικλέος Μεγαρῆς τόνδε [ἐνθάδ' ἔθαψαν.]

## II. SELINUS.

**116.** A Megaric or Selinuntian inser. on a bronze plate, about 0.0015 m. in thickness, corroded in several places, of which six fragments were dug up at *Olympia*. The dimensions are respectively: (a) 0.19 m.  $\times$  0.095 m. [*Arch. Z.* xxxvii. 1879, p. 163]; (b) 0.135  $\times$  0.07 [*Arch. Z.* xxxviii. 1880, p. 66]; (c) 0.015  $\times$  0.032; 0.09  $\times$  0.035 below [*Arch. Z.* xxxviii. 1880, p. 119]; (e) 0.08  $\times$  0.045 [*Arch. Z.* xxxvi. 1878, p. 143, tab. xix. 3]; (f) 0.095  $\times$  0.33. IGA 514. In the facsimiles here given note that fragment *f* for typographical convenience has been divided by a vertical line.



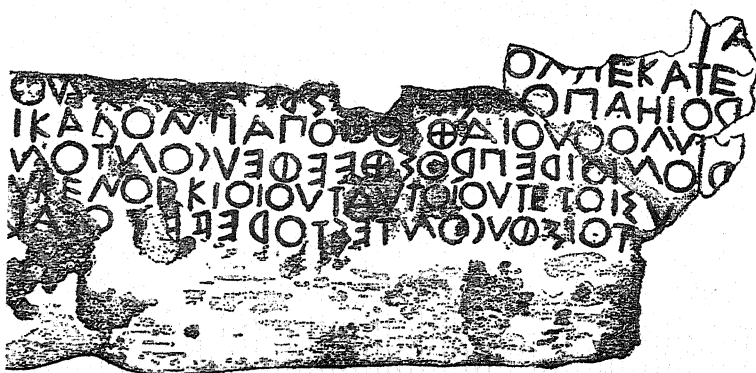
b



c



f



[In the following transcription the portions written (or supplied as written) from Right to Left are underlined.]

## FRAGMENTS a, b.

11. 1, 2 (a) [Με]γαρίδος — — (b) [α]ῖ τι κ[α]....λεο (?) — — (a)  
[κα]ρπ[ε]υέσ[θ]ω  
3, 4 (a) μεστοὶ (— ῶ) (?) α — — (b) [ο]μιέσθω [δλ]λὰ δα — —  
(or [τδλ]λα δ' α — —) (α) ομιέσθω, αἰ  
5, 6 (a) [χρή]ματα δαμε[νέτω — δ] (b) αἰσιμνά[τ]ας ὕπε[ρ κα]  
[μῆ ῆ] (?) — — (α) ιαρον κα(τ) [τὸν νόμον]  
7, 8 (a) — — μενοι (or μένω) ἔχον — — (b) ἔτω ἐκ [τ]ᾶς νᾶς (?)  
ἐς — — (α) [τ]ίσις ἔστω αὐ[τά]  
9, 10 (a) — α φεύγων — — [ἐν Σ] (b) ελινόεντι Φοικῇ ἐλ — —  
[Μεγαρ] (α) εὐς μῆ παF (?)  
11, 12 (a) [τδ] χρήματα τῶ (or τῶ[ν] — —) (b) ι ἀνίτω σὺν τῶ  
Μεγα[ρεῖ — — τεισ] (α) ἀντω τοὶ ὕ[ιοι] (?) or Τβλαῖοι ?  
13 — ο δυωδέκατος  
14 [τ]οὶ παῖδες  
15 τοὶ παῖ[δες]  
16 [α]ῖσχρόν — or a proper name?

## FRAGMENTS d, e, f.

- 2, 3 (f) — — ων ἑκατέρω ἀπο[γραφά] (?)  
4 (d) [τ]ὰ χρήματα τηπιβά(λ)λ (e) ο[ντα αὐτοῖς ἐπει κ' δ]  
(f) π[ατ]ήρ ἀποθάνη, αἶ κα λῶν[τ]ι ἀποδόσθαι,  
οὐ φωλύ[εσ]  
5 — [θ]ον. τοὶ δὲ πρόσθε ἔφευγον τῶν γρα(μ)μάτων [τ]ῶν  
π[ερ]ι — — καὶ πε] (e) ρι κρ — — [καὶ περ] (d) ἰ ἀνο-  
6 [σῶ]ν (?) καὶ [περ] κῖαλ] (e) λᾶν (?) [καὶ περ] — — (f) μόων,  
τούτοι οὐκ ἐνόρκιοι, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ οὔτε τοὶ σὺ[ν]  
7 [τοῖ]τοῖς φυγόντες. τῶδε (τὸ δὲ ?) Φέτος ἄρχει ἀλυμπιάς  
[ῆ δ δαίνα τοῦ δαίνος] (e) — s, 'Επα — [δ δαίνα τοῦ δαίνος]  
(d) — οκρά[τ]—  
8 [ε]ος τῶ[ν ἀγῶνα] ἐξέσ (e) θ]αν [ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.]

The document seems to be a compact, ratified by oath, concerning the property of certain exiles who had removed from Megara to Selinus, concluded

between the Megarians on the one part and by the exiles or the Selinuntians for them on the other. In the missing portions of fragments *d*, *e*, *f*, lines 7, 8 Roehl thinks the number of the Olympiad was given; and, if his restoration of the dual *ἐθέσθαι* is right, the names of two hellanodicae, and in this case the inscription would not be older than Ol. 50 = 580 B.C. (cf. note on no. 292. 5). For the aspirate in 'Μεγαρέι, &c., cf. 'Μελίος no. 100, and see Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>2</sup> 73, where he aptly compares the aspiration of initial liquids in Welsh. The form *αἰσιμνάρης* (for *αἰσιμν-*) occurs also Lebas 35 *a* (Megarian) and in CIG 3794 (*αἰσιμνῶντες*), an inscription of the Megarian colony Chalcedon.

On *b* 8 Roehl quotes Hesych.: *νῆς τὸ ἐνὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εἰς τρίτην* Δωριεῖς δὲ *νῆς* (cod. *νῆς*) λέγουσι. For *κιχαλλάν* (if the restoration is right) = "highway robbers" see L. and S. and the references there given. The formula *ἔτεος ἀρχεῖ* resembles that of the Elean bronze, no. 291 l. 3, *ἀρχοι δὲ κα τοῖ, q. v.* For *δυωδέκατος* (or *δυοδ.*) in *a* 13, see Meyer *Gr. Gr.* § 398.

**117.** Fragments of a tufa-stone, 0.435 m. in height, 1.40 m. in breadth, 0.60 m. in thickness, found at *Selinus* in 1871, in the excavation of the temple of Apollo. The stone originally formed part of the door-posts of the adytum; it is now in the Museum at Panormus. The letters are about 0.08 m. in height. Holm, *Bull. d. commissione di antichità e belle arti di Sicilia*, n. 4, p. 24 sqq.; Sauppe, *Gött. Nachr.* 1871, p. 605 sqq.; *Rh. M.* 1872, p. 353 sqq.; *Bull. d. inst.* 1872, p. 271 sq.; *Arch. Z.* 1873, p. 71, p. 101 sq.; Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, p. 27 sqq.; *Phil. Anz.* 1874, p. 52 sqq.; Blass, *Rh. M.* xxxvi. 1881, p. 615 sq.; IGA 515.

ΑΤΟΣΘΕΟΣΤΟ ΔΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΙΤΟΙΣΕΛΙΝΟΛ  
ΑΤΟΛΔΙΑΝΙΚ ΣΜΕΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΛΦΟΜΟΝ  
Δ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΑΚ . ΙΔΙΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΑΚΑΙΔΙΑΓ  
Ε ΝΑΚΑΙΔΙ . Τ ΝΔΑΡΙΔΑΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΘ  
5 ΝΙ ΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΝ . ΛΟΦΟΡΟΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΠΑΣ .  
ΡΑ ΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΔΙ . ΟΣΑΛΛΟΣΘΕΟΣ . ΙΑΔ . ΔΙΑ  
ΜΑ ΪΣΤ . ΦΙΛΙ . ΔΕΚΕΝΟΜΕΝΑΣΕΝΤ . ΝΞ  
ΕΟ ΕΛΑ ΝΤΑ . . ΝΜΑΤΑΤΑΝΤΑΚΟΛ  
ΑΨΑΝΤ . . . ΟΛ ΟΝΙΟΝΚΑΘΘΕΜΕ  
10 ΝΤΟΔΙC <ΡΑ . ΓΕΣΤΟΔΕΤΡΥΞΙΟΝ  
ΕΞΠΚ ΑΛΑΝΤΟΝ . . ΕΝ

[Δι]ὰ τῶς θεᾶς τῶ[σ]δε νικῶντι τοῖ Σελινιά[ντιοι]·  
[δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικ[ῶ]μες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ]  
δ[ιὰ] 'Ηρακλέα κ[α]ὶ δι' 'Απόλλωνα καὶ διὰ [Ποτ]-  
ε[ιδά]να καὶ δι[ὰ] Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' 'Αθ[α]-  
5 ν[ῆ]αν καὶ διὰ [Μα]λοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασ[κ]-  
ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ δι[ὰ] τ[ῶ]ς ἄλλως θεᾶς, [δ]ιὰ [δ]ιὰ Δία

μά[λ]ιστ[α]. φίλι[as] δὲ γενομένας ἐνχ[ρ]υσ-  
 έω[s] ἐλά[σα]ντα[s, τὰ δ' οὐ]ύματα ταῦτα κολ-  
 άφαντ[as ἐς τὸ Ἀπ]ολ[λ]ώνιον καθθέμε-  
 10 ν, τὸ Διό[s προ]γράφ[σαντ]ες· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον  
 ἐξ[ή]κ[οντα τ]αλάντων [ῆ]μ[εν].

Blass (l.c.) makes several alterations in ll. 7—11, but they deviate perhaps too widely from Benndorf's copy. The following may serve as an explanation of the inscription. The Selinuntians, relying upon previous successes, promise golden statues to certain deities in the event of victory in some impending war. Afterwards, φίλιας γενομένας, the parties having come to terms—whether the Selinuntians were victorious or not does not appear—it was resolved to perform the promise and the statues were set up in the temple of Apollo. Perhaps, as Roehl suggests, some words like αἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νικάσωμεν were originally intended to stand in place of φίλιας γενομένας: but this would imply that the first and second halves of the document were engraved at different times. 1. 2. Φόβος is described as a son of Ares and brother of Demios: see *Diet. Biogr.* and Pape *Lex.* 1. 5. Μαλοφόρος as an epithet of Demeter occurs Paus. i. 44. 3. Πασικράτεια as a name of Persephone appears to be new. 1. 8. Beside κολλάπτειν (and ἐγκολάπτειν) in the sense of 'engraving' we have the noun ἐγκόλαψις, 'Ab. iv. p. 370 (*Lebadea*). 1. 9. For the θθ in καθθέμεν, see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 277. 1. 10. The soloeicisms in προγράφαντες is in keeping with the carelessness betrayed by νικῶντι, νικῶμεν ll. 1, 2; τὸν Δ., τὸν Φ. l. 2, but Ἑρακλέα, Ἀπόλλωνα, etc. l. 3 sqq.

118. (a) A fragment of a tufa-stone cornice, 0.15 m. in height, 1.15 m. long, which appears to have formed part of the great altar at *Selinus*. It is now in the Museum of Panormus. S. Cavallari, *Bull. d. inst.* 1868, p. 88; J. Schubring, *A. Z.* 1873, p. 101; Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 35; IGA 516.

Α Ο Ν Ο Ξ Π Α Ι Α / Ο Ξ — — [Ἀπόλ]λωνος Παιδ[ν]ος  
 Α Ν Α Ι Α Ξ — — [Ἀθ]αναίας

(b) A fragment of a volute of tufa-stone, overlaid with gypsum, 0.264 m. in height, found at *Selinus*, 1874, now in the Museum of Panormus. Ugdulena, *Giornale di Sicilia*, June 1 and 24; Cavallari, *ibid.* June 13; Holm, *Jahresb.* x. p. 81 sq.; IGA 517.

ξ :: Ο Ε Ν Ο Ν Ο Ξ  
 Ν Ο Ι Τ Α Ι Η Ε Κ Α Τ Α Ι  
 Α Ε

[l. 1. Ugdulena .... ΕΦΑΣ]

[Τηλ]εφᾶς (?) δ [Μ]ένωνος or [Ζ]ήνωνος or [Ξ]ένωνος

[ἐπὶ τέ]κνω τᾷ Ἑκάτᾳ

ἀ[νέθηκ]ε

Ἐπὶ τέκνω: for the formula cf. no. 203 a &c. (*Boeotia*).

§ 55. The Alphabet. The two inscriptions given first (nos. 113, 113 a) seem to show that in at least one important peculiarity, the



sign  $\beta$  or  $B$  for  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , the alphabet of Megara resembled that of Corinth. The next inscription (as well as no. 115) is obviously of a later date, when the  $\beta$  had given way to  $E$ . This peculiarity appears not to have extended to the inscriptions of the colonies, where it is to be noted that though we have the more usual  $E$ , even in the *βουστροφῆδόν* inscription, no. 116, yet the older  $\oplus$  is in use; while in no. 113 *a* beside the  $B = \epsilon$ ,  $\eta$  we find  $\odot$ . Apart from the two inscriptions which contain the  $\beta$ ,  $B$ , the minor differences in the alphabet of the mother country and the colonies amount to no more than the following:  $\gamma$  is in Meg.  $C$ , Sel.  $\angle$  (but on the *βουστροφῆδόν* inscr.  $C$ );  $\nu$  is in Meg.  $\mathcal{M}$ , Sel.  $\mathcal{N}$ , which though a naturally later form occurs on the *βουστρ.* inscr., where also the older form of *lambda*,  $\Lambda$ , appears, as compared with the later Megaric (and Selnuntian)  $\wedge$ ;  $\rho$  is in Meg.  $P$   $P$ , Sel.  $R$ ;  $\delta$  is in Meg.  $\Delta$ , Sel.  $\triangleright$ ,  $D$ . It remains to notice as characteristic of the two alphabets (1) the form of *beta*,  $\backslash^*$ , found once, in the word  $\Phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\nu$  (117. l. 2); (2) the *digamma*\*; (3) the open  $H$  for the *spiritus asper*; (4) the old form of *theta*,  $\oplus$ ; (5) the  $\Xi^*$  and the *koppa*\*; (6)  $\bigcirc = o$ , *ov*,  $\omega$ ;  $E = \epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ; (7) the peculiar form of  $\chi$ ,  $+$ ; (8) the  $\Psi$  or  $\mathcal{V}$  as  $\psi$ . Those which are accidentally absent from the Megaric inscriptions, though with certainty to be inferred for the alphabet of the mother-state, are marked with an asterisk. It is possible however that if the restoration  $Ka\beta$ — is right in no. 113 *b*, we have a Megarian  $\beta$  and  $\beta$  perhaps in the form  $\sqcap$ . That the  $\beta$  in the Megaric alphabet did have a form differing from the normal one, is clear from the coin-legends of another Megarian colony, **Byzantium**, in which  $Bv$ , not only on the older but also on the later specimens, appears written as  $\sqcap Y$  or  $\sqrt{\sqcap} Y$ ; this form is not unlike the Corinthian-Corcyrean  $\sqcap$ , and the  $\backslash$  of Selinus bears the same relation to it, as the  $\mathcal{V}$  on the inscription of Acarnania (no. 106) does to the Corinthian form. Compare further the note on no. 1 *l* (*Thera*). *Zeta* is accidentally absent from all the inscriptions.

§ 56. **Probable age of the inscriptions.** With the exception of the *βουστροφῆδόν* inscription, no. 116, the examples given above might be as late as the second half of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>; for, if we

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of the sign for  $\theta$  nos. 114, 115, 118 *a*, *b* can hardly come into the comparison. And it is unsafe, from geographical considerations, to affirm that no. 117 (with its  $\oplus$ ) is either earlier or later than nos. 113, 113 *a* (with their  $\beta = \epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , but  $\odot = \theta$ ).

except the signs for  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , and the  $e$ - and  $o$ -sounds, the alphabet is all but Ionic. Now if the history of the Attic is any criterion (cf. § 40, iv. v.) the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  style will hardly have survived later than the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. On the other hand, if the superior limit of date for our inscription (116, *note*) is rightly fixed for the 50th Olympiad, or not earlier than 580 B.C., we may reasonably assign it to about the middle of the sixth century. As has been said, the alphabet is all but Ionic. Its relationship with the Corinthian and Argive groups is shown by the presence and phonetic value of the  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$  (to be certainly inferred for Argive; cf. § 45), and  $\xi$ ; and its closer connexion with the former is betrayed by the *beta* and *gamma*.

*Note.* The following inscription also, to judge from the form of  $\beta$ , should belong to Megara or Corinth or to one of their colonies (CIG 6737; IGA 549):

118. (c) ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΟΡΟΣ	Καφισόδωρος
ΑΙΣΧΛΑΒΙΩ	Αἰσχλαβίω.

The inscription is engraved on the thighs of a bronze statuette, representing a nude youth, found at Bononia. For the  $\alpha\iota$  of Αἰσχλ. cf. the vocalism of the Latin *Aesculapius* (see also Keil, *Syll.* p. 56). The  $\chi$  for  $\kappa$  is paralleled by two Boeotian examples, Rang. 898 l. 2 Ἀσχλαπίω and 1304 l. 40 Ἀσχλαπίχως (with *v. l.* Ἀσκλη.). But the  $\beta$  for  $\pi$  appears to be unique.

### AEGINA.

§ 57. **Inscriptions.** As the island was occupied in Ol. 87. 2 = 431 B.C. by Attic cleruchs and the old population banished, it follows that it is with inscriptions (these are on stone) in Doric dialect alone that we are here concerned; and they are not numerous.

119. On the walls of a subterranean tomb in *Aegina*. IGA 351.

ΤΑΓΧΔΛΜ	ΕΛΛΑΜΛ+ΟΞ
1+ΙΛΙΟΦ	ΛΛΙΑΙΟΦ
Μ[ε]νεκράτ[ης] Φοῖνιχ[ς.]	Εὐ[ρ]ύμ[α]χος Φοῖνιξ[.]

120. A stone, 1.3 m. long, 0.7 m. broad, discovered in *Aegina* in the ruins of a chapel dedicated to Michael the Archangel, on the site of what is supposed to have been a temple of Ἀρεμύς Ἀφάλα (Paus. ii. 30. 3). The inscription is



Roehl quotes Paus. vi. 10. 9: Λυκῖνον δὲ Ἑραιέα καὶ Ἐπικράδιον Μαντινέα καὶ Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον (cf. no. 279, *Arcadia*) καὶ Ἡλεῖον Ἀγιάδαν ἐν παῖσιν ἀνελομένους νίκας, Λυκῖνον μὲν δρόμου, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατελεγμένους πυγμῆς, Ἐπικράδιον μὲν καὶ Ἀγιάδαν, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Πτόλιχος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιάδαν Σήραμβος, γένος καὶ οὗτος Αἰγινήτης; and for l. 2 he compares CIG 1582 νικήσας καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός, and Paus. vi. 10. 7 νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός.

**124.** A slab of blue marble, unfractured, 0.34 m. high, 0.44 m. broad, found in *Aegina*, now at Athens in the gymnasium Hadriani; the letters are 0.08 m. high. Blouet, *Exp. Scient.*, tom. iii. p. 59, no. 3. Rang. n. 4 and p. 380. CIG Add. 2140 a<sup>6</sup>; Lebas, *V. A.* no. 1714; IGA 356.

Ε Γ Δ Ε Λ

Ο Τ Ο Δ Ε

Σ Δ Μ Δ

Ἐγδήλ | ου τόδε | σᾶμα.

**125.** (a) A stone, 1.16 m. broad, 0.61 m. high, found in a garden in *Aegina*; the letters are 0.16 m. high. Blouet, *l. c.* no. 4; CIG Add. 2140. a<sup>7</sup>; Lebas, *V. A.* no. 1713; IGA 357.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΑΪΔΑ

*Var. lect.* Blouet Σ and Α (ter).

Ἀριστολαΐδα.

(b) From a subterranean tomb in *Aegina*. IGA 358.

Σ Ο Μ Ε Δ Ε Ο Σ

Ε Μ Ι

Σωμήδεός | εἰμι.

**126.** Two fragments of white marble, 0.255 m. in height, 0.8 m. and 0.78 m. respectively in length, found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 142; IGA 359.

(a)

(b)

Γ Λ Α Ν Κ Ι Α Σ : Α Ι Γ Ι Ν Α Τ Α Σ : Ε Ο Ι Ε Σ Ε

Γλαυκίας Αἰγινάτας ἐ[π]οίησε.

The base on which this inscription is found can hardly be any other than that of the monument related by Paus. vi. 9. 4—5 to have been dedicated by Gelo, son of Dinomenes, on the occasion of a victory in the 73rd Olympiad (488 B.C.), the artist being Glaukias of Aegina. Pausanias however absurdly supposes that the Gelo in question is not the Sicilian despot, but a namesake. The inscription, being datable, is important for the general history of the alphabet, though it contains nothing characteristic for the Aeginetan.

**127.** (a) A stone, about 1 m. square, found in *Aegina* at the foot of the hill called τὸ δρος. IGA 360.

ΜΕΕΚΤΑΣΗΟΔΟ  
ΛΗΑΒΟΛΙΘΟΝ  
ΣΤΑΣΕΣΣΚΟΠΟΝΑΛ

Μὴ ἐκ τᾶς ὁδοῦ (sc. Ἰθι). [Τόνδ'] Ἀβων λίθον [ε]στασες  
σκοπὸν ἀγ[ροῦ δδῖτα or the like].

R. Meister (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28. 522 sqq.) notes that the assimilation of prepositions is in no way a parallel for the assimilation of *ν* ἐφελκ. to *σ*. He would read ἔστασ' ἐς σκοπὸν. D. Comparetti (*Riv. d. fil.* xi. 553 sq.) ridicules Roehl's explanation, given above, and reads: Μὴ ἐκ τᾶς ὁδῶ | λάβων λίθον | στάση(ι)s σκοπὸν, ἀλλ[λ'] ἐμέ; i.e. 'do not take a stone from the road for a target, but this one (me).' For the aspirate after λ in λάβων he cites 'M, 'f of nos. 100, 116, 216 b 131. This interpretation certainly has the merit of making the γ in inscriptions of Aegina uniformly Γ.

(b) A piece of porous stone found in Aegina, now at Athens in the Gymnasium Hadriani. Blouet, *op. cit.* n. 5; CIG Add. 2140 a<sup>10</sup>; Lebas, *V. A.* n. 1715; IGA 361.

ΧΟΙΡ  
ΟΣ

Χοῖρος. An epitaph.

(c) A triangular slab of lime-stone found in Aegina, 1854. Pittakis, *Ερῆ. Arch.* n. 2649; IGA 362.

ΤΟΔΕΣΑΜΑΤΟΚΥΠΡΙΟ  
Μ Ι ΜΟΔ ΙΟ Τ  
Ε Π Ε ΘΕΚΕ

ΓΛΕΥΚΙΤΑ  
ΤΟΣΑΛΑ  
ΙΜΟΣΜΕ

Γλευκίτα τόδε σάμα τοῦ Κυπρίου  
τοῦ Σαλαμι[νί]ον' (see p. 229) Διότ-  
μός με ἐπέθηκε.

**128.** A tomb-stone, 0.72 m. high, 0.52 m. broad, 0.08 m. thick, found in Aegina. It subsequently came into the hands of an antiquarian at Athens. Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. Ac. Berl.* 1873, p. 265 sqq.; IGA 368.

Τ	Α	Ι	Ρ	Ε	Τ	Ε	Ο	Ι	Γ	Α	Ρ	Ι	Ο															
Λ	Υ	Τ	Ε	Ξ	Ε	Γ	Ο	Δ	Ε	Λ	Υ	Τ	Ι	Ξ	Τ	Α												
Τ	Ε	Ξ	Η	Υ	Ο	Σ	Α	Τ	Α	Ρ	Β	Ο	Κ	Ε	Ι	Μ	Α	Ι										
Τ	Ε	Ι	Δ	Ε	Θ	Α	Λ	Ο	Λ	Π	Α	Τ	Ρ	Ι	Δ	Α												
Γ	Ε	Λ	Π	Ρ	Ο	Λ	Ι	Π	Ο	Λ	Α	Υ	Τ	Ι	Ξ	Τ	Α	Τ	Ε	Ξ								
																				Α	Θ	Ε	Λ	Υ	Α	Ι	Ο	Σ

Χαίρετε οἱ παριόντες· ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀντιστάτης, υἱὸς Ἀτάρβου,  
 κείμει τῇδε θανών, πατρίδα γῆν πολυπών  
 Ἀντιστάτης Ἀθηναῖος.

For the clumsiness of the metre, cf. no. 80. On the form *ύός*, which appears in Attic first in an inscription of 400 B.C., and becomes more and more frequent down to the first century, when it begins to give place again to *υἱός*, see Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 29; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 130.

Add also the following :

129. (i) Two slabs from Aegina, which formed the roof of a tomb: the letters are 0.18 m. in height; IGA 363; (a) ΕΓΑΙΜΕΤΟ Ἐπαινέτου; (b) ΑΡΓΕΙΟ Ἀργείου. (ii) From the door of a tomb in Aegina, CIG Add. 2143 g; Lebas, *V. A.* n. 1712; IGA 364: ΕΥΤΥΧΟ Εὐτύχου. (iii) Leb., *ib.* 1742; IGA 365: ΙΑΜ. (iv) Leb., *ib.* 1743; IGA 366: ΔΑΜΟ (Blouet, *op. cit.* iii. p. 59, n. 7, var. l. A) Δάμου, Δαμο --, or ... δάμου. (v) A fragment of porous stone from the temple of Athena in Aegina; Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 243; IGA 367: ΕΙΔΙ [Μ]εῖδε[as]? [Φ]εῖδε[προς?], or the like. (vi) An inscr. from *Cecryphaleia* (Angistri), IGA 369: ΙΟΔΕΔΦΞΑΞΟΞΤΑΔ ... τῶδε[λ]φ[ε]ω] δ[ν]εθέ-  
 τα[ν].

§ 58. **The Alphabet and its relations.** The Aeginetan alphabet agrees very closely with the Attic and stands at the same point of development. The agreement is more especially seen in the representation of ξ by χσ (see no. 119) and consequently ψ by φσ; but it differs from Attic in the forms of γ and λ. Whether *digamma* and *koppa* were present is doubtful.

§ 59. **Age of the inscriptions.** Three periods are recognizable in the inscriptions according as they exhibit ⊕ and < (119—121), ⊙ and < (122—126), or lastly ∑ (127, 128). The latter may be placed shortly before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The oldest (as, e.g., no. 126) may reach to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., but, to judge from the regularity and the direction of the writing, not beyond.

## C. The Ionic Alphabet.

## ABOU-SYMBEL.

§ 60. **Earliest known stage.** In an incomplete or rudimentary stage of development the Ionic alphabet appears in the inscriptions written by Greek mercenaries, probably at latest before 589 B.C., on the colossal figures before the temple of **Abou-Symbel** in Nubia. From the fact that three of the writers describe themselves respectively as belonging to **Teos**, **Ialysus**, and **Colophon**, it is reasonably inferred that we have in these inscriptions a true picture of the alphabet in use at the time when they were written in the Ionic Greek cities of the coast of Asia Minor, as well as in the neighbouring Doric island of Rhodes. That the Rhodians should at so early a period have adopted the all but fully developed Ionic alphabet is a fact which will appear the less surprising when we consider that as early as the 33rd Olympiad (648 B.C.) the Ionic Epos had reached Rhodes and incited to imitation<sup>1</sup> (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 41).

But it has been held that the Ionic alphabet, with its full list of symbols, was in use—and probably at Miletus—at a date quite as early as the earliest known inscriptions discovered at or near Miletus itself. The recent excavations in Egypt at Naucratis have brought to light a large number of pottery and vase inscriptions, consisting of dedications to the Milesian Apollo and belonging to the temple and temenos which the Milesians dedicated separately from the other Greeks (cf. Hdt. ii. 178). The alphabet in which they wrote would certainly seem to be the alphabet in use at Miletus at the time; but if so, many of the inscriptional forms appear to be of a much earlier stamp than the Milesian inscriptions (nos. 133 sqq.) attributed to the end of the 7th or first part of the 6th century. Some of the dedications are given below under the head of Miletus, but in order not to prejudice decision they are treated in separate sections. See further the remarks in §§ 63, 67.

## § 61. Inscriptions.

**130 a—i.** The **Abou-Symbel** inscriptions (see pp. 152, 153). The first eight, **a—h**, are engraved on the left leg of one of the seated colossal figures, the ninth, **i**, below the left knee of another. CIG 5126; Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Aegypt. u. Aethiop.* xii. Abth. vi. Bl. 99, Gr. 531, 534, 536, and Bl. 98, Gr.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dict. Biogr.* s. v. Peisander.

130 a.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΧΘΟΝΤΟΣΕΣΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΑΝΥΧΜΑΤΙΧΟ  
 ΝΑΥΤΑΕΓΡΑΥΑΝΤΟΙΣΥΝΥΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟΙΤΟΙΘΕΟΚΝΟΣ  
 ΕΓΝΕΔΝΗΘΟΝΔΕΚΕΡΚΙΟΣΚΑΤΥΓΕΘΕΙΝΙΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ  
 ΑΝΙΘΑΛΟΓΡΟΣΟΒΤΕΠΟΤΑΣΙΜΤΟΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣΔΕΡΜΑΣΙΣ  
 ΕΓΡΑΦΕΔΑΜΕΑΡΤΟΝΑΜΟΙΒΙΧΟΚΑΙΠΕΧΕΘΟΣΟΔΑΜΟ

b.

ΕΓΕΣΙΒΥΣΟΤΘΙΟΣ

c.

ΤΘΓΕΦΟΣΜΕΡΑΦΕΘΟΙΑΓΥΣΙΟΛ

d.

ΠΥΘΟΝΑΜΟΙΒΙΧ



e. ΓΑΒΙΖΟΦΟΦΟΝΙΟΖ  
ΖΥΝΑΝΝΑ

f. θΑΥΕΣΕΡΜΟ ΓΑΣΙΔΟΝΟΙΓΠΟΥ

h. ΚΡΙΘΙΞΕΡΡΑΝ=

i. ΘΟΝΝΥΖΟΒΘΟΚΑΒΑΖΙΝ  
ΧΙΤΑΜΑΥΑ  
ΙΟΤΑΙΝΟ  
ΝΟΤΑΡΤΣΜΟΤΕΡΜΑΕΣ

515—519, 528—530; Blass, *Herm.* xiii. 381; Wiedemann, *Rh. Mus.* xxxv. (1880) 364 sqq.; Abel, *Wien. Stud.* iii. 161 sqq.; IGA 482. Besides the Greek inscriptions, there are others in Phoenician and four in an alphabet supposed by Lepsius *l. c.* to be Carian.

- a. Βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίαν Ψαμ(μ)ατίχου  
ταῦτα ἔγραψαν, τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλ(έ)ος  
ἔπλεον. ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υἱς ὁ ποταμὸς  
ἀνίη. ἀλ(λ)ογλώσ(σ)ους δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμτό, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ  
Ἄμασις.
- 5 ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲρ Ἀρχων Ἀμοιβίχου καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμου.
- b. Ἐλεσιβ[ιο]ς ὁ Τήιος. c. Τήλεφός μ' ἔγραφε ὁ Ἰαλύ-  
σιο[ς?...] d. Πύθων Ἀμοιβίχ[ον]. e. Πάβις ὁ  
Φολοφώνιος σὺν Ψαμματᾶ[ι]? f. Ἀγήσερμο[ς].  
g. Πασίδων ὁ Ἴππο... h. Κρίθις ἔγρα[φε]ν.  
i. Ὀμγυσόβ, ὅκα βασιλεὺς ἦ(del. E)λασε (see p. 25, note 1)  
τὸν στρατὸν [τ]ὸ πρᾶτο[ν ἐνθάδε εἰμ]α Ψαμ(μ)ατίχῳ[ι] ἦλθον[ι].

In determining the date of these inscriptions on historical grounds we have to choose between four Egyptian kings named Psammetichos. Of these, Psammetichos IV. is excluded for palaeographical reasons; he is said to have been on the throne in 400—399 B.C. (Diod. xiv. 35), and the character of the writing forbids a date so late as the end of the Peloponnesian War. Psammetichos III. reigned hardly six months and was close pressed by the Persians on his frontier: in his case therefore an expedition southwards to Nubia was in the last degree unlikely. A. Wiedemann (*Rh. Mus.* l. c.), with whom agree Roehl and Hicks, rejects the period 654—617 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, the reign of Psammetichos I., and decides for 594—589 B.C., known since the discovery of the Serapeum stelae (cf. Rawlinson, *Hist. Eg.* ii. 12; Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aeg.* 117—121) to have been the limits within which Psammetichos II. reigned, for the following reasons. (1) That Psammetichos I. ever made an expedition to Elephantine is by no means proved from the statements of Herodotus ii. 28, 30; the whole story looks like a myth; (2) it was a custom with the Egyptian kings to cause their names to be inscribed

<sup>1</sup> Or, according to some, 664—610. Kirchhoff still (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 42 sq.) prefers to assign the inscriptions to the (latter half of the) reign of Psammetichos I. Maintaining as he does that the oldest Milesian inscriptions (with Σ and Ω) may have reached the 7th century, and that they represent a stage immediately succeeding and derived from such a stage as that represented by the Abou-Symbol inscriptions, he feels it necessary to allow a considerable interval of time for the further development to have taken place in.

in sacred places which they might happen to visit; there is no trace of the name of Psammetichos I. at Elephantine or Philae, though elsewhere it is common enough; (3) Herodotus (II. 161) expressly mentions an expedition of Psammetichos II., whom he calls Psammis, to Aethiopia; (4) this statement is supported by a notice in Aristeas (*de legis div. translatione* ed. Schard. p. 4), whose genuineness as an author W. maintains.

1. 2. W. identifies Psammetichos (not the king), son of Theocles, with the person named *Hor*, called also *Psemtek-mench*, governor of Southern Egypt, whose name appears on the inscription of an Egyptian statue in the Louvre, belonging to the early years of the reign of Apries, the successor of Psammetichos II., and with the general named *Hor*, on a Phoenician inscription at Abou-Symbel. The objection however that the father of our Psammetichos is called Theocles, while *Hor's* father is *Aufrer*, does not seem to have been satisfactorily met by W. Mr Hicks says "we may take Psamatichos, son of Theokles, to be the son of a Greek mercenary of Psammetichos I. (Hdt. II. 152), who named his son after his master."

1. 3. W. wanted to read *Képtios* on the ground that the broad reach of the river from Elephantine to the first cataract was called *Kerti*; but the second *κ* is plain. *κατύπερθε* *νῆς* *δ* is due to the acute conjecture of Blass (*l. c.*) for the *κατύπερθεν* *is δ* of previous edd. *ἤ* then will be a Doric form for *οἷ*. "They went up as far as the river allowed them." *ἤ* 'where', 'whither', occurs on Cretan inscriptions: *οἷ* 'whither' is found on Delphian inscriptions: *πῦς*=*πῶι*, *Ammonius de diff.* p. 121, from *Sophron* (*Ahrens Dor.* 367). Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 116.

1. 4. "Potasinto (qu. *Πόρας* "Ἰμρου Blass) was in charge of the foreigners (e.g. the Greek mercenaries) and Amasis of the Egyptians."

1. 5. "Archon, son of Amoeichos (δ' *Ἀμ.*) and Pelekos, son of Eudamos (δ' *Εὐδ.*) wrote our names." For the crasis in *Ἀμοιβ.* cf. *τάργειοι*, no. 75.

b. This and the following small inscriptions we owe to the vanity of individual members of the exploring party, who wished to immortalise themselves: in the longer (a) they are commemorated by two of their number.

g. *Πασίδων*. Wiedemann analyses into *Πα* (*pa*, the Egyptian article) + *Σίδων*, i.e. the Sidonian. If *Pasidon* is a Phoenician, *Ἰππο-* should perhaps be altered to *ἱππο*[*ῖδμος*], *ἱππο*[*δρόμος*] or *ἱππο*[*μαχος*], as Roehl suggests. The traces favour the *koppa*.

i. G. Hirschfeld, *Rh. Mus.* XLII. (1887) 222, for *Ὁμγυσός* suggests *Ὁ Ἰαλόςιος*.

§ 62. **The Alphabet.** We miss the signs for *F*, *ζ*, *ξ*, *ω*. With regard to the first it so happens that there is no word in the inscriptions in which, on the assumption that *F* was present in the alphabet, we should have expected to find it used. It may be asserted with confidence that the sound of *F* was no longer living with the Ionians of this period<sup>1</sup>, but the same cannot be stated as positively of the Dorians of these Eastern districts; and, as has been said above, the

<sup>1</sup> See however the remarks on no. 27 (*Naxos*).

inscriptions are partly of Ionic, partly of Doric origin. Whether therefore the written sign was in use must remain an open question. The absence of the sign for ζ is obviously accidental and the same must in fact be said of the ξ, for the use of which the inscriptions before us offer no opportunity. It is not likely that the sound was expressed by a combination, such as κσ, for the alphabet already possesses not only a φ and a χ, but also a ψ. Now in alphabets of the Western group though it often happens that a sign for ξ is found but no ψ<sup>1</sup>, yet hitherto no instance of the converse has been known; and there is no ground for supposing that the course of development was different in the present case. There remains the sign for ω. That the Ω was wanting in the alphabet is clear from the use of Ο to represent ο, ου, ω. It appears highly probable then that in these inscriptions we have all the essential signs of the fully-developed Ionic alphabet, with the sole exception of the Ω. It is distinguished from the Ionic alphabet of the oldest Milesian inscriptions (133 sqq.) only (1) by the absence of this Ω, and (2) by the use of the ς for Σ, and (3) by the transitional usage of the Η<sup>2</sup> to denote both η and the *spiritus asper* (e.g. Ηαγήσερμος, Τήλεφος, Τήϊος), while at Miletus it denotes only the η.

§ 63. Marks of antiquity and relation to other alphabets. There is little doubt that all these inscriptions were written at the same time, perhaps even on the same day and within the same hour. The forms of the letters are at the same stage of development; variations like those between Λ and Λ, Γ and Γ or Λ, Θ and Φ, Ψ and Υ, are unimportant. The uniformity in the use of ς is again a common characteristic; once indeed (h) there is a remarkable variant form, but in no case the Μ (*san*) or the four-stroke Σ. There is the same agreement in the use of Η, which in the great majority of cases stands for η and about three times for *spiritus asper*. Now we have been led above on historical grounds to assign the composition of these inscriptions to the period 594—589 B.C. If we are right in assigning the oldest Milesian inscriptions (see § 67) to at latest the first quarter of the 6th century, the interval of time between the inscriptions of Abou-Symbol and those of Miletus is too insignificant

<sup>1</sup> See the Tables at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> G. Hirschfeld (*l.c.*) thinks that two only of the inscriptions, c and i, from the description Ἰαλύσιος, were written by Rhodians. These two are distinguished by the peculiarity that they use Η both for the *spiritus asper* and the vowel-sound; unless in i ηλασε is to be transcribed κήλασε.

to justify the assumption of a chronological development in the alphabet from the one to the other, and it seems to me more likely that the differences between the Abou-Symbel and the Milesian may be local rather than chronological. In other words the Abou-Symbel type cannot be regarded as the general type from which the completed Ionic alphabet was expanded, and we cannot maintain that inscriptions in the imperfect Abou-Symbel type of alphabet are necessarily on that account older than the Ionic alphabet with the full tale of symbols. If on the other hand we incline to the date of the older Psammetichus, the chronological hypothesis gains in weight. But it is impossible wholly to ignore the consideration of the inscriptions found at Naucratis (132 sqq.) as a factor in the solution of this question. It must suffice at present to say that unless we reject entirely the inferences of date based by the explorers upon the successive strata of remains in which the inscriptions were found, and upon the nature of those remains (see W. M. F. Petrie, *Discoveries at Naukratis*, § 4; E. A. Gardner, *Academy*, May 14, 1887), it is hard to resist the conclusion that, making all allowance for rudeness of writing and ignorance of the writers, we have in the inscriptions of Naucratis forms of letters which at least equal in antiquity those of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions, even on the assumption of the earlier date for the latter. It will be observed that only one of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions (*i*) is decidedly *βουστροφῆδόν*, but no exception can be taken to the attribution of so early a date as the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century solely by reason of the direction of writing (cf. § 41, I. II.). Lastly, we have seen (§§ 16, 17) on palaeographical grounds that the Abou-Symbel inscriptions belong to a distinctly later period both of time and development than the inscriptions of Thera and Crete, which differ from the former in being without the non-Phoenician ξ, φ, χ, ω, but agree with them in the fluctuating usage of □.

§ 64. **Further development of the Alphabet.** The natural course would be to examine inscriptions of Teos, Colophon, Rhodes, belonging to the interval between the period of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions and the period of final development of the Ionic alphabet in its permanent form as represented by inscriptions of **Halicarnassus**, of about 453 B.C., and so to trace the gradual changes, as we have done, *e. g.* in the Melian section. But in only one case, that of Teos, are there available materials. The later phase of the Ionic alphabet at Teos we shall find it more convenient to treat separately in its chronological order.

§ 65. **The Alphabet in Rhodes.** One point however may be discussed in connexion with Rhodes. We have seen (§ 60) that at latest about Ol. 47 (= 594–589 B.C.) the Ionic alphabet in a rudimentary stage had extended to the Doric-speaking Greeks of South West Asia Minor, and was in general use. At what time the extension took place in the dearth of illustrative documents it is impossible to say. But the question, what alphabet was in use in Rhodes before the introduction of the Ionic, may be answered with considerable probability from an examination of the following inscriptions.

131. On a vase of very ancient style, found in a tomb near *Cameiros* and now in the Br. Mus. A. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Cameiros*, Tab. LIII.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 48.

- |    |                 |           |
|----|-----------------|-----------|
| a. | Μ Ε Μ Ε Ι Α Λ Μ | Μενέλας.  |
| b. | Ϡ Ο Τ Χ Ϻ       | Ἑκτωρ.    |
| c. | Ξ Υ Φ Ο Ρ Β Ο Μ | Εὐφορβος. |

The presumption that the vase besides being found in Rhodes was also manufactured there is strengthened by the Doric form of the name *Μενέλας*. But the point to be noticed is that the forms of the letters, more especially the *lambda*, lead us unmistakably to identify the alphabet with the oldest **Argive** alphabet, which in its turn agrees in all essentials with the Ionic before the introduction of the Ω; and the tradition of mythology, too, is in favour of an Argive colonisation of Rhodes (Grote, *H. G.* ch. XVIII.).

*Note.* The conclusion arrived at above might seem to be invalidated by the contents of later inscriptions, which have come down to us from the Sicilian Gela, colonised from Rhodes as early as 690 B.C., and Agragas the colony of Gela. The coin-legends (not before 550 B.C.) of these towns, CEΛΛΣ and AKRACANTOΣ, and the inscription on a bronze cube, possibly used as a weight (IGA 513), TONCEΛOIONEΛΛI, exhibit forms of the *gamma* and *lambda* unknown to the Argive alphabet<sup>1</sup>. But no great stress can be laid upon this fact, for it might be explained as due to neighbouring influences in a foreign land. Nevertheless these modifications appear to be older and to have been brought about in Rhodes itself. At any rate to this conclusion we are led by the legend on the coins of Ialysus, ΙΑΛΥΣΙΟΝ, and the inscription following.

131 a, b, c, d. On vases found at *Cameiros*. Froehner, *Mel.* p. 8 sqq.; Rhusop., *Ἀθ.* II. p. 320; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 49; IGA 473; C. Smith, *J. H. S.* vi. (1885) p. 371 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> No. 137, found at Agrigentum, also has Ψ = χ; see the note *ad loc.*

- a.  $\Phi \omicron \Sigma \text{ΜΙΑΗΜΙΑ} \Delta \text{CΕΔΕΜΕΚΛ(?)ITOMIAS}$   
 ῥοσμία ἡμὶ ἄγε δέ με Κ(λ)ιτομίας.
- b.  $\Phi \text{ΙΛΤΩΣΗΜΙΤΑΣΚΑΛΑΣΑΚΝΛΙ} + \Sigma \text{ΑΓΟΙΚΙΛΑ.}$   
 Φιλτῶς ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς ἅ κύλιξ ἅ ποικίλα ; cf. no. 236 a.
- c.  $\text{ΙΔΑΜΞΝΗΟΣΗΜΙ}$  Ἰδαμενῆος ἡμὶ.
- d.  $\Delta \Sigma \text{ΤΥΟΥΙΔΑΗΜΙ}$  Ἀστυοχίδα ἡμὶ.

Here we have not only the *gamma* and *lambda* in the same form as on the coins of Gela and Acragas, but also  $\Psi = \chi$  and  $\vdash = \xi$ ; and further, strangely,  $\text{H}$  as a vowel-sign. For a possible explanation of these phenomena see the Addenda, p. 322 sq.

## MILETUS.

§ 66. **Inscriptions:** (i) found at *Naukratis* consisting chiefly of dedications on vases to the Milesian Apollo, (ii) found near *Miletus*.

(i) *Naukratis*.

132. On soft red-brown vases, with black bands. *Inscr. from Naukratis*, Pl. xxxii. 3, 4.

a.

ῶ ῥόλλω, σοῦ εἰμὶ.

b.

[ῶ ῥε]λλω σοῦ εἰμ[ι].

c. On an 'eye-bowl'. *Ibid.* xxxiii. 305.

[ῶ ῥόλλω] σοῦ εἰμὶ.

Other of the dedications, mostly of later date, vary the formula: in some it is  $\sigma\acute{o}s \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ , in others  $\sigma\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ . Mr E. A. Gardner (*Inscr. from Naukratis*) argues that the form  $\text{'Απόλλω}$  is a vocative. He points to as many as twelve instances in these dedications, where he thinks no other explanation is tenable. If this view is correct we have a combination of two ordinary forms of dedication, (1) where the deity is addressed by the dedicator in the vocative and the second person, (2) where the object dedicated speaks in the first person, but not to the deity. According to G. Meyer (*Gr. Gr.* § 325), in many nouns subsequently declined in the form  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $-\omega$ , &c., this form is due to false analogy, the earlier declension being  $-\omega\varsigma$ ,  $-\omega$ , &c. If  $\text{'Απόλλων}$  is one of these, this new vocative in  $-\omega$  will strengthen his opinion.

- d. On a light-brown vase, with black lines, thick. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxii. 2.



[ὁ δαίνα ἀνέθ]ηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ [ι Μι.]λησί[φ].

- e. On large thick drab bowls. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxii. 68, 69.

(i)  $\tau\varsigma\Omega\Gamma\Gamma\Omega\Gamma\Omega\Gamma$   $\text{Τῷ Ἀπόλλωνό[ς]}$   
 (ii)  $\Gamma\Lambda\Xi$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ .

See the remarks in § 67 (ii) on the form of the  $\nu$ .

- f. On 'eye-bowls', &c. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxiii. 291, 293.

(i)  $\Omega\Gamma\Omega\Gamma\Omega\varsigma\Omega\Gamma$   
 (ii)  $\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega \dots \Lambda\iota$

i.e.  $\text{'Ω Ἀπόλλω σόν εἰμι}$ . Cf. note on c supra.

- g. On rough drab bowls with brown bands. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxii. 1 a, xxxiii. 250, 258.

(i)  $\text{ΑΠΟΛΛΩΜΟΣΞΛΙ}$   
 $\text{'Απόλλωνός εἰμι}$ .  
 (ii)  $\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega\Omega$   
 (iii)  $\text{ΤΑΠΟΛΩΝ}$

i.e.  $\text{τὰ πόλλωνός εἰμι}$ .

- 132 bis. On fragments of a buff vase with scarlet deer, swans and geometrical patterns. The inscription is in one line. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxii. 1.



ΠΟΛΕΜΑ ΔΧΟΣ | | ΩΠΟΛΩΝΙ:ΚΑΙΤΗΝ  
 Γ ΟΧΟΝ:ΚΑΙΤΟΝΓΣ | | ΙΔΙΟΝ

Πολέμαρχος [μ' ἀνέθηκε τ]ὸ πόλῳνι καὶ τὴν [πρ]όχουν καὶ τὸ  
 ὑπ[οκρητή]ριον.

Compare for the nature of the objects dedicated the Sigeian inscription,  
 no. 42.

132 *ter.* On the rim of a large black lebes, in one line. *Ibid.* Pl. xxxiii. 218.

ΘΑΛΗΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΤΩΠΟΛΩΝΙ .....  
 .....ΛΗΣΙΩΙΟΓΛΑΥΦΟ

Φάνης μὲ ἀνέθηκε τὸ πόλῳνι τῷ Μι]λησίῳ δὲ Γλαύφῳ.

See below, § 67.

(ii) *Miletus.*

133. A marble lion, discovered by Mr Newton on the Sacred Way near *Miletus*, and brought by him to the Br. Mus. The inscription is written *βουστρο-φηδόν* on the back of the lion; many of the letters are difficult to read. C. T. Newton, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, n. s. vi. 1859, p. 487; id., *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1859, p. 660; id., *Hist. Disc.* II. p. 777, tab. xcvi. 66; IGA 483.

ΤΑΑΓΑΤΜΑΤΑΤΑΔΕΑΡΕΘΕΞΑΝΟΙΩΡ  
 ΨΒΛΑΟΟΙΒΧΘΑΟΤΞΔΙΑΠΞΟΝΩΙ  
 .....  
 ΚΑΙΠΑΣΙΚΛΒΕΚΑΙΒΓΒΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΚΛΙΞΥ  
 .....  
 ΑΙΩΤΥΒΤ. ΙΔΞΩΞΙΙΞΑΝΑΙΑΞΞΟΙΒ  
 .....  
 ΠΟΙΩΝΙ  
 ...

Τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ὀρ-  
 ῖωνος παῖδες τοῦ ἀρχηγού, [Θ]αλής  
 καὶ Πασικλῆς καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος κ[α]ὶ Εὐ-  
 βίος καὶ Ἀναξίλεως, δε[κά]την τῷ Ἀ-  
 πόλ(λ)ωνι.

Mr Newton thinks that the dedicators were citizens of *Miletus*, not only on account of the vicinity of that city, but because two of the names, *Thales* and *Hegesandros*, are known to have been borne by *Milesians*. Hdt. v. 125, tells us that *Hecataeus* the historian was the son of *Hegesandros*, and that he claimed

to be of most ancient descent (*ib.* ii. 43): but that the Hegesandros of the inscr. is the same man is a conjecture which can neither be proved nor refuted. The name Pasicles, l. 3, is connected with the earliest traditions of Miletus (*ib.* ix. 97). The Thales of l. 2 cannot be the famous philosopher, who according to Diog. Laert. was son of Examyas. Nor is it likely that the Anaximandros of no. 134 was the philosopher of that name.

**134.** A limestone base, found in the same place, now in the Br. Mus. The height of the stone is 0.45 m., the breadth 0.81 m., the length of the surviving portion 2.1 m. The inscr. on the front portion (*a*) measures 1.23 m. in length; on the back portion (*b*) are repeated fragments of the same inscription. Newton, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.*, *ib.* p. 487; *id.*, *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1859, p. 661; *id.*, *Hist. Disc.* ii. pp. 583 and 781, tab. xcvi. 67, 68; IGA 484.

(a)

ΟΙΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΓΑΙΔΕΣΤΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧ  
ΞΒΙΨΔΤΤΔΞΒΙΟΠΝΑΞΘ

(b)

ΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΓ / ΙΨΔΤΤ

(a) Οἱ Ἀναξιμάνδρου παῖδες τοῦ Μανδρομάχ[ου] (here should follow names) τῶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ δαῖνα ἀνέ[θεσαν] ἐποίησε δὲ Τερψικλῆς.

(b) . . . ναξιμάνδρου π[α] . . . . . ε Τερψικ[λ] . . . .

**135.** An inscription on the elbow of a chair on which is a seated figure; found in the same place and now in the Br. Mus. Newton, *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1859, p. 662; *id.*, *Hist. Disc.* ii. 783, tab. xcvi. 71; IGA 485.

ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΟΞ ΜΞΞΠΟΙΞΝ

Εὐδημός με ἐποίηεν.

**136.** A statue of a woman seated on a chair, on the right side of which the inscription is written. Formerly to be seen on the Sacred Way. Mr Newton in his visit to the district sought in vain for the monument. CIG 39; IGA 486. Five copies exist; one (*a*) in the *Antiquitates Ionicae*, Vol. i. Plate to Ch. iii. p. 29 (London, 1821), whence was taken Rose's copy, *Inscr.* p. 23, tab. iii. 4; a second (*b*) made by Cockerell, given also by Rose, *l.c.*; a third by Gell, repeated variously (*c*) by Leake, *Journ. As. Min.* p. 240; (*d*) by Rose, *l.c.*; (*e*) by O. Mueller in Boettiger's *Amalthea*, Vol. iii. p. 40, and in the copy adopted by Boeckh CIG (39: cf. Praef. p. xxvi. sq.), with a few slight corrections from Rose's copy.

CIG 39.

Λ Ξ Ι Α Ν Α Ξ Θ Λ  
 Υ Ε Χ Θ Ε Υ Α Ζ Α Ε  
 Λ Μ Δ Ζ Ω Ω Γ Ω Γ  
 Ι Ν Ω 110

[Ἐρ]μ[η]σιάνναξ ἡμέας ἀνέθηκεν [δ] . . . ἰδεω τῶπόλλωνι.

Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 26, adopting the third line from Gell (Leake, p. 250; Rose, *l.c.*), as under:

Ο Α Η Ι Δ Ε Ω Τ Ω Γ or Ο Α Η Ι Δ Ε Ω Τ Ω Γ

proposes [δ 'Α|π]ολ[ων]ἰδεω. Roehl suggests as nearer to traces of the lines [δ Εὐμ]ολ[π]ἰδεω or [δ Τ]ολ[μ]ἰδεω. Boeckh, needlessly as Kirchhoff maintains, suspected this inscription to be an archaising imitation.

**137.** An inscription on the leg of a statue found on the Sacred Way not far from *Didyma* by Lord Aberdeen. Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, p. 458, ix.; CIG 2861; IGA 487 from Lord Aberdeen's journal.

Τ Ν Α Ι Ϟ Α Ν Α Ξ Ο Τ Ε Ξ Ο  
 Τ Μ Ι Ο Ι Α Ν Σ Α  
 Ξ Ν Ω Μ Ε Ν Δ Ξ Α Ι Μ \  
 Ε .

- τοὺς ἀν[δ]ριάντ[ας] . . . Δά[τ]μιοι ἀν[έ]θη[σ]α[ν] νέας τρεῖς Κερ[αμίας]  
 Δω[ρ]ιέων σ[υ]λήσαντ[ε]ς] or the like.

The Latmians, if the reading is to be trusted, are the inhabitants of *Heraclea Latmi* in Caria. *Κέραμος*, now *Keramo*, on the gulf named after it, is also in Caria.

**138.** An inscription on the chair of a sitting figure found near *Didyma* by the Sacred Way; now in the Br. Mus. The retrograde inscription runs along the left margin of the seat, facing the spectator, from below upwards, and continues on the contiguous side margin, from above downwards, left to right. Newton, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.* vi. p. 487; *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1859, p. 661; *Hist. Disc.* ix. 784, tab. lxxiv. and xcvi. 72; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 19 sq.; IGA 488.

Ζ Ο Χ Ϟ Α Ζ Η Ζ Ο Ι Χ Ι Ϟ Τ Ζ Ο Ι Ζ Ϟ 1 Χ Ο Ι Μ Ι Ϟ Ζ Η Ϟ Α Χ  
 Α Ι Α Ϟ Μ Α Τ Ο Α Ρ Ο Ϟ Ν Ω Ν Ο Ξ  
 . . . . .

Χάρης εἰμὶ ὁ Κλείσιος Τειχιούσ(σ)ης ἀρχός, ἄγαλμα τοῦ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος.

See the remarks in § 67 below.

**139.** A stone found at *Didyma* near the ruins of the temple; the letters are 0.02 m. in height. The text below is after Newton's copy, *Disc.* II. pp. 782, 783, and tab. xcvi. 70. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* II. p. 660; Lebas, *V. A.* III. n. 221, tab. v. 5; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 18 sq.; IGA 489.

ΟΙ  
ΘΙΟΤΞΙΗ  
ΔΕΕΠΕΛΔΙ  
ΕΙΟΠΛΟΙΑ  
ΟΞΠΛΤΕΔΕΞ

... οἱ

- ηιστοι[φ] ∞ - ∞ - ∞ δ(ε) εἰπε(ν) δ[κ]αιον  
ποιεῖ[ν] - ∞ - - ∞ ∞ ὡς π[α]τέρες.

**140.** A stone found at *Didyma* near the Sacred Way. The inscr. is *βουτροφηδόν*. Ussing, using Listov's copy, *Actt. ac. Havn. tom. II. graeske og latinske Indskrifter*, p. 36, n. 4; Newton, *Disc.* II. p. 787, n. 72 a; IGA 490.

ΑΙΤΞΙ  
ΗΚΞΤΩ  
ΩΛΛΟΠ

Ἰστυ[αῖος ἀνέθ]ηκε τῷπόλλω[ν].

§ 67. Characteristics and age of the inscriptions. The presence of the Ω in these inscriptions marks the completion of the Ionic alphabet with its full tale of symbols. From the appearance of this last invented of the letters down to the latest phases of the genuine Ionic alphabet as represented, *e.g.* by the inscriptions of Halicarnassus, the history has little else to record than a gradual change in the *form* of letters in the direction of simplicity and regularity. Thus Α or Δ gave way to Α, Ε to Ε, Θ to Η, ⊗ or ⊕ to Ο, Μ to Ν, Ν or Ν, and the *βουτροφηδόν* style died out. From the survival of *koppa* to the date of no. 132 *ter* at *Naucratis* we may infer its presence at least for the earlier period of the alphabet in the mother country.

But the discovery of the inscriptions at *Naucratis* compels us to consider whether the first appearance of the Ω should not be referred to a date earlier even than the inscriptions of Abou-Symbel (cf. § 63). In the earlier of the *Naucratis* inscriptions, which are all short, though the signs for α β γ δ ζ η θ ξ ς φ χ ψ are wanting, analogy entitles us to assume their presence in the alphabet. The η had probably the closed form, but it is found in this form only in a somewhat later inscription and frequently as a detached

letter. Once (*Inscr. Naukr.* Pl. xxxii. 190) it has the peculiar form which we shall meet again in the inscription from Rhegium, no. 180, cf. § 84. It will be convenient to discuss in order (i) the actual or relative dates of the Naucratis inscriptions, (ii) the peculiarities and affinities of the alphabet, and (iii) the chronology and characteristics of the inscriptions belonging to Miletus.

(i) To the dedication by Phanes of Halicarnassus, son of Glaucus (132 *ter*), we are able to assign an approximate if not a precise date. Phanes, we learn from Herodotus (III. 4), deserted Amasis for Cambyses about 526 B.C. We may date the dedication a few years before the event, probably about 530 B.C., and the alphabet agrees very well with that of the Milesian inscriptions belonging to the latter part of the sixth century. Mr E. A. Gardner (*Naukratis*, Part I.; cf. *J.H.S.* VII. 220 sqq.) maintains (1) that the inscriptions found at Naucratis, of which only a few have been given above<sup>1</sup>, represent several stages of development widely enough separated to have extended over quite a century previous to the date of the Phanes vase; (2) that those whose characters most resemble the forms of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions are by no means the oldest of the series; (3) that therefore the older stratum of inscriptions may well go back to the latter half of the seventh century, perhaps as early as 650 B.C., if we may throw back the date of the founding of Naucratis (reputed to be approximately 630 B.C.; cf. Strabo, 801) to the earlier years of the reign of Psammetichos I. (664—610 B.C. or 654—617 B.C.)<sup>2</sup>.

(ii) The oldest inscriptions of Naucratis (represented by nos. 132 *a—g*) are retrograde or *βουτροφιδόν*. Some (132 *f*) appear to contain the remarkable combination of the three-stroke *sigma* with Ω, a combination rarely found in Ionic inscriptions possessing Ω (cf. 158 *a*); in the inscriptions found near Miletus (133 sqq.) only the four-stroke *sigma* occurs<sup>3</sup>. In others, equally old, the *sigma* is

<sup>1</sup> Besides inscriptions in the Ionian alphabet are found some in an alphabet which may be Melian (see § *bis* and § 22 *fin.*); and one (retrograde) from its ⱥ=ε seems to be Corinthian. (*Inscr. Naukr.* Pl. xxxiii. 330 ΜΥΓΤΑ . . . ; ΜΟΛⱥ . . .). Under no. 132 *g* are given three in an alphabet where Ω is wanting, as at Abou-Symbel, and the *sigma* has three strokes only.

<sup>2</sup> These conclusions are strenuously assailed by Kirchhoff (*Stud.* 44 sqq.) and by G. Hirschfeld (*Rh. Mus.* XLII. 1887, 200 sqq.). See the Appendix, p. 323 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The three-stroke *sigma* apparently occurs once or twice (beside eight instances of ξ or Ξ) in no. 133. But the form is by no means certain. ξ and Ξ are obviously variants of one another and form no chronological criterion.

characterised by its irregular form (sometimes straggling as in the Abou-Symbel, 130 *h*, and Laconian inscriptions, 247 sqq.) and uncertainty of position. The same uncertainty of position is noticeable in the forms of  $\epsilon^1$  and  $\nu$ , each of which is laid on its side. More remarkable still is the three-stroke  $\mu$ , of which there appear to be two certain instances. If the earliest form of  $\nu$  at Naucratis was as in no. 132 *e*, there would then be no confusion between the form of  $\nu$  and the three-stroke  $\mu$ . But before pronouncing upon this point caution demands that we should wait for fresh examples.

(iii) On grounds of palaeographical priority we must in default of other evidence divide the inscriptions found at Miletus into two groups; the older marked by the presence of  $\Theta$ , denoting not, as in the Abou-Symbel inscriptions, both  $\eta$  and the *spiritus asper*, but here only  $\eta$ ; the younger characterised by the later form  $\text{H}$ . As in the first group the contents furnish no positive marks of date<sup>2</sup>, the other group will be considered first. With regard to the inscription, no. 137, on the leg of a statue at Didyma, no conclusion can be drawn as to whether it belongs to the earlier or later group; for just the characteristic letter is absent. But of this and all the inscriptions found on the statues of the Sacred Way near Didyma, it may be safely said that, on the assumption of their genuineness (cf. no. 136 *note*), they are all older than the capture of Miletus at the end of the Ionic Revolt, 494 B.C., and the burning at the same time of the ancient temple of Branchidae by the Persians. Indeed the works in question must be older than the beginning of the Revolt, 500 B.C.; for it is not likely that either during the Revolt itself or in the time of the Persian Wars, during which Miletus was completely prostrate, there would have been opportunity for the erection of these monuments. Again, neither the style of the statues nor the character of the inscriptions is consistent with the assumption of a date subsequent to the Persian Wars. But one of the inscriptions records a dedication by Histiaeus to Apollo (at Didyma). There is no reasonable ground for doubting that the dedicator is the well-known tyrant of Miletus. If so, the date of the dedication must be prior to his recall to the Persian court, which took place some time before the outbreak of

<sup>1</sup> Inferences of derivation from the fact that this is the normal position of the 5th Egyptian hieratic symbol are to be accepted with caution. Similarly, the coincidence of the position of *sigma* (in no. 132 *a*) with that of the Phoenician *shin* (see the Table p. 5) may be accidental.

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks appended to no. 133.

the Revolt in 500 B.C. Now Histiaeus was already 'tyrant' at the time of the Scythian expedition, 515 B.C. (?), but when he acquired the title is uncertain. We may however with sufficient exactness place the inscription somewhere in the period Ol. 65—69 (520—501 B.C.). In another inscription, no. 138, a Chares is mentioned as ἀρχός or Lord of Teichiussa, a place near Miletus. Probably under this title, as Mr Newton (*Disc.* i. 22 sq.) suggests, we must understand one of the Dynasts or Tyrants who cropped up everywhere under the aegis of foreign rule after the subjection of the Greeks of Asia Minor by the Persians, and Chares, like Histiaeus, brought his homage to the Apollo of Didyma, contributing in Oriental fashion his own statue (ἄγαλμα) to the temenos of the God. Consequently the monument belongs to the period Ol. 58—69 (548—501 B.C.). If then we may assign these inscriptions, together with no. 139 which also has the open Η, to the period following 548 B.C., there is every reason to date those inscriptions in which the closed form Β appears, as early as the first half of the century and even earlier—a date fully borne out by a comparison with the Ionic alphabet of the Sigeian stele (no. 42) with its open form Η.

§ 68. **Erythrae.** We may conveniently add here the following inscription from Erythrae.

141. On a marble, now in the Museum at Smyrna, 0.46 m. in height, 0.31 m. in length, 0.20 m. in thickness; the letters are 0.035 m. in height. *Μουσειον*, &c., 1878, p. 60; Kaibel, *Rh. M.* xxxiv. p. 183, n. 229 a; IGA 495.

Ι	Τ	Ο	Δ	Ξ	Υ		
Λ	Α	Μ	Η	Τ	Ϝ		
Δ	Ξ	Γ	Ξ	Θ	Η	Κ	
.	Θ	Α	Λ	Ο	Υ		
Τ	Ι	:	Θ	Α	Λ	Ο	Κ
Ρ	Ι	Τ	Η	Γ	Α	Ι	Δ
+	Α	Δ	Ι	Ι	Ο	Μ	
Ξ	Υ	Η					

-- τόδε σ[η]-  
μα μήτ[η]-  
ρ ἐπέθηκ-  
[ε] θανόν-  
τι Φανο[κ]-  
ρίτη παιδὶ  
χαρίζομ-  
ένῃ.

It looks very much as if an elegiac couplet had been intended, but the engraver carelessly transposed the word μήτηρ from its place after Φανοκρίτη.

The alphabet agrees closely, except with that of the later group of inscriptions from Miletus. The Υ for Σ is certainly the fault of the stone.

## TEOS AND ITS COLONY ABDERA.

§ 69. **Inscriptions.** The following inscriptions from Teos and its colony Abdera enable us to measure the progress made in the development of the Ionic alphabet during the period of probably more than a century which had elapsed since the date of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions.

## TEOS.

**142.** An inscription of the class called "*devotiones*" (see p. 334 sq.) on two stelae found in 1709 by Sherard among Turkish tombs near Eraki, at about eight hours distance from Smyrna and one hour from Sigazik. Chishull, *Ant. Asiat.* p. 96 sqq., from copies by Sherard and Lisle; CIG 3044; Lebas, *V. A.* iii. n. 59; Roehl, IGA 497, who has taken stele A from Lebas, B from Chishull, and on the authority of Waddington (*Explic.* p. 28) in every case reads  $\odot$  for the  $\otimes$  of Sherard: cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 13 sqq. For the commentary see the Appendix, p. 334 sqq.

## A.

ΟΣΤΙΣ:ΦΑΡΜΑΚΑ:ΔΗΛΗΤΗ  
ΡΙΑ:ΠΟΙΟΙ:ΕΠΙΘΙΟΙΣΙ  
Ν:ΤΟΞΥΝΟΝ:ΗΕΠΙΔΙΩΤΗ:Κ  
ΕΝΟΝ:ΑΠΟΛΛΥΣΘΑΙ:ΚΑΙ Α  
5 ΥΤΟΝ:ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΣ:ΤΟ ΚΕΝΟ:  
ΟΣΤΙΣ:ΕΣΓΗΝ:ΤΗΝΤΗΙΗΝ:Κ  
ΩΛΥΟΙ:ΣΙΤΟΝ:ΕΣΑΓΕΣΘΑΙ:  
ΗΤΕΧΝΗΙ:ΗΜΗΧΑΝΗΙ:ΗΚΑΤ  
ΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ:ΗΚΑΤΗΠΕΙΡΟ  
10 Ν:ΗΕΣΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ:ΑΝΩΘΕΟΙΗ:ΚΕΝ  
ΟΝ:ΑΠΟΛΛΥΣΘΑΙ:ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤ  
ΟΝ:ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΣ:ΤΟ ΚΕΝΟ

## A.

"Οστις φάρμακα δηλητή-  
ρια ποιοῖ ἐπὶ Τηϊοῖσι-  
ν, τὸ ξυνὸν ἢ ἐπ' ἰδιώτῃ, κ-  
εῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ἀ-  
υτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείμεν.  
"Οστις ἐς γῆν τὴν Τηϊήν κ-  
ωλύοι σῖτον ἐσαγεσθαι,  
ἢ τέχνην ἢ μηχανῇ, ἢ κατ-  
ὰ θάλασσαν ἢ κατ' ἡπειρο-  
ν, ἢ ἐσαχθέντα ἀνωθεολή, κείν-  
ον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτ-  
ὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείμεν.



## B.

ΑΡΟΝΟΣ  
 ΞΥΟΙ:ΕΝΑΥΤΩΙ  
 ΟΣΤΙΣ:ΤΗΙΩΝ:Ε ΥΝΩΙ  
 ΗΑΙΣΥ ΝΗΤΗ: ΗΙ:Η  
 5 ΕΠΑΝΙΣΤΑΙΤΟ:ΗΔΙ  
 ΧΗΤΑΙ:ΑΠΟΛΛΥΣΘΑΙ:ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΥΤΟΝ:ΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΣ:ΤΟΚΕΙΝ  
 Ο:ΟΣΤΙΣ:ΤΟΛΟΙΠΟ:ΑΙΣΥΜ  
 ΝΩΙ:ΕΝΤΕΛΙ:ΗΓΗΙ:ΤΗΤΗ  
 10 ΙΗΙ: ΟΣΑΝ:Κ ΣΑ Τ  
 ΕΝΕΙ: ΑΡΟΝ:ΝΑ  
 ΩΣ:ΠΡΟΔΟ ΤΗ.ΠΟ  
 Λ ΤΗΝΤΗΙ  
 ΩΝ:ΗΤΟ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ  
 15 ΗΣΩΙ:ΗΘΑ ΤΟ  
 ΜΕΤΕ ΕΝ  
 ΑΡΟ ΗΙ:ΠΕΡΙΓ  
 ΝΟ:ΠΡΟΔΟ  
 ΛΛΕΥΟΙ:ΗΚΙΞΑΛΛΑΣ:ΥΠΟ  
 20 ΔΕΧΟΙΤΟ:ΗΛΗΙΩΟΙΤΟ:ΗΛ  
 ΗΙΣΤΑΣ:ΥΠΟΔΕΧΟΙΤΟ:ΕΙ  
 ΔΩΣ:ΕΚΓΗΣ:ΤΗΣΤΗΙΗΣ:Η  
 ΑΔΑΤΗΣ:ΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΣ:Η  
 ΑΚΟΝ:ΒΟΛΕΥΟΙ:ΠΕΡΙΤ  
 25 ΩΝ:ΤΟΞΥΝΟ:ΕΙΔΩΣ:ΗΠ  
 ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ:ΗΠΡΟΣΒΑΡΒΑΡΟ  
 ΥΣ:ΑΠΟΛΛΥΣΘΑΙ:ΚΑΙΑΥ  
 ΤΟΝ:ΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΣ:ΤΟΚΕΝΟ:  
 ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ:ΤΙΜΟΧΕΟΝΤΕΣ:  
 30 ΤΗΝΕΠΑΡΗΝ:ΜΗΓΡΟΙΗΣΕΑ  
 Ν:ΕΠΙΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ:ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝ  
 Ο:ΤΩΓΩΝΟΣ:ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΟ  
 ΙΣΙΝ:ΚΑΙΗΡΑΚΛΙΟΙΣΙΝ:

## B.

— ἀπὸ νόσ[ου] —  
 ξύοι (?) ἐν αὐτῷ — —  
 "Οστις Τηίων ἐ[ὶθ]ύνῳ  
 ἢ αἰσυ[μ]νήτῳ [ἀπειθεο]ῖ(ι), ἢ  
 ἐπανισταίτο [τῷ] αἰ[συμ-]  
 [ν]ήτῳ(ι), ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ  
 αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείν-  
 ου. "Οστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰσυμ-  
 νῶ[ν] ἐν Τέφῳ ἢ γῇ τῇ Τη-  
 ῖῃ — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 ὡς (or -ως) προδο- — τη[ν] πό-  
 λ[ιν καὶ γῆν] τὴν Τηῖ-  
 ων, ἢ τοῦ[ς] ἀνδρας [ἐν ν-]  
 ῆσῳ ἢ θα[λάσση] ἢ τοῦ[ς]  
 μετέ[πειτα] ? —) ἐν  
 ἀρού[ρῳ] περὶ γ[ενομένων]  
 [λοιμ]οῦ (?) , προδο[ίῃ, ἢ κιχα-]  
 λλεύοι ἢ κιχαλλας ὑπο-  
 δέχοιτο ἢ ληΐζοιτο ἢ λ-  
 ηίστας ὑποδέχοιτο εἰ-  
 δὼς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Τηῖς ἢ [θ-]  
 ἀλά[Τ]ης φέροντας ἢ [τι κ-]  
 ἀκὸν βουλεύοι περὶ Τ[ηῖ-]  
 ων τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδὼς ἢ π[ρὸς]  
 "Ελλήνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρου-  
 (del. Υ)ς, ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐ-  
 τὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνου.  
 Οἷτινες τιμωχέοντες  
 τὴν ἐπαρὴν μὴ ποιήσεια-  
 ν ἐπὶ δυνάμει, καθημέν-  
 ου τῷ γῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίο-  
 ισιν καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν

ΚΑΙΔΙΟΙΣΙΝ:ΕΝΤΗΠΑΡΗ  
 35 Ι:ΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ:ΟΣΑΝΤΑΣΤΗΛ  
 ΑΣ:ΕΝΗΙΣΙΝ:ΗΠΑΡΗ:ΓΕΓΡ  
 ΑΠΤΑΙ:ΗΚΑΤΑΞΕΙ:ΗΦΟΙΝ  
 ΙΚΗΙΑ:ΕΚΚΟΥΕ:ΓΗΑΦΑΝΕ  
 ΑΣ:ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙ:ΚΕΝΟΝ:ΑΠΟΛ  
 40 ΛΥΣΘΑΙ:ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ:ΚΑΙΓ  
 ΕΝΟΣ

καὶ Δίοισιν, ἐν τῇπαρῇ  
 ἔχεσθαι. Ὃς ἂν τὰ(ς) στηλ-  
 ας, ἐν ᾗσιν ἡπαρὴ γέγρ-  
 απται, ἡ κατὰξει ἡ φου-  
 κήϊα ἐκκόψῃ[ι] ἡ ἀφανέ-  
 ας ποιήσῃ, κείνον ἀπόλ-  
 λυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γ-  
 ἑνος.

B, l. 22. For the T in θαλάττης, see § 75.

#### ABDERA.

**143.** A base of Pentelic marble, 0.55 m. long, 0.445 m. high, 0.48 m. in breadth, found in 1866 westward of the promontory *Peitioneia* (*Piraeus*), near six large marble altars. Hirschfeld, *A. Z.* 1873, xxx. p. 21, Tab. lx. n. 7; IGA 349; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 48.

ΠΝΟΩΝΕΡΜΗΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ  
 ΤΟΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΗΣΕΣΤΗΣΕΜΠΟΛΛΑΣ  
 ΟΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΠΟΛΗΑΣ:ΕΝΦΡΩΝΕ  
 ΞΕΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ\*ΑΔΑΗΣΠΑΡΙΟΣ

Πύθων Ἑρμῇ ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοστράτου Ἀβδηρίτης  
 ἔστησεμ πολλὰς | θησάμενος πόλης.  
 Εὐφρων ἐξέποιήσ' οὐκ ἀδάης Πάριος.

πόλης: Blass, *Ausspr.* p. 24 (cf. Dittenberger, *Herm.* xv. 225 sqq.) holds that the η here represents the short open e-sound and is not a mistake for ι; cf. πόλεος, no. 160 c (*Amorgos*). See note on no. 25, § 33 (*Naxos*). Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 340.

§ 70. **Remarks on the forms and date.** In every particular but the older form  $\mathcal{M}$  for M the alphabet of the Teos inscription, no. 142, may now be said to have reached its final form; and with this exception and the ancient peculiarity of punctuating by a double dot there is nothing in the palaeographical character to indicate that this document is older than the Lygdamis inscription of Halicarnassus, no. 145, dating from about 453 B.C., and this date may be confidently taken as the inferior limit. On the other hand the document can hardly be earlier than the battle of Mycale; for, as Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup>

14) points out, in l. 23 sqq., where a curse is imprecated upon every one, (ὅστις) τι κακὸν βουλευοῖ περὶ Τητῶν τοῦ ξυνοῦ εἰδὼς ἢ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους, the *βάρβαροι* must be the Persians from whose yoke the Greeks of Asia Minor were only freed by the battle of Mycale. Moreover, after the suppression of the Ionic Revolt the Ionian towns were compelled by the Persians to settle their disputes amicably (Hdt. vi. 42); so that even if by the word *βάρβαροι* the Persians were not necessarily meant, the words of the inscription could still only have a meaning for the period during or before, and not immediately after, the Revolt. But the palaeographical character of the document precludes altogether a reference to this period. It must therefore belong to the years following 479 B.C. The imprecations pronounced against the practice of piracy point to conditions of intercourse on the Aegean waters, which are just what might have been expected before the establishment of the Delian confederacy under the hegemony of Athens; and to a date a little earlier or not much later than this event (*i.e.* than 475 B.C.), Kirchhoff assigns the document.

For the alphabet of *Abdera*, which was founded from *Teos* in the sixth century, our sources of information are (1) the coins of the fifth century, (2) the inscription given above, no. 143. The legends of the coins, exhibiting besides the name of the town also the names in Ionic dialect of numerous eponymous magistrates, are written in Ionic alphabet at exactly the stage of development which we find on the mainland in the first part of the fifth century. The inscription, to judge from the forms of *α* and *ξ* (which has the vertical stroke prolonged above and below), may be a trifle older than that from *Teos*, though the *μ* is of a later stamp. That the document, though on a monument found near the Piræus, is not Attic is at once evident. And probably it was not engraved by an Attic sculptor; not before *Euclides*, else it should have been in Attic character; much less after *Euclides*, at least not without foreign direction, for in no case since the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens is the *α* found with oblique cross-bar; similarly the peculiar form of *ξ*, the older forms of *ν* and *υ* are unknown to post-Euclidean Ionic at Athens. On the other hand a glance at the Parian inscriptions (nos. 15 sqq.) will conclusively show that the alphabet is not that of the sculptor's native country. The sculptor then, the Parian *Euphron*, possibly adapted himself to the local alphabet of the dedicator, *Python* of *Abdera*.

## EPHESUS.

§ 71. **Inscriptions.** No very ancient inscriptions from Ephesus have come down to us, unless we accept Mr Hicks's acute conjecture that some fragments (IGA 493; cf. *Add.*) found by Mr Wood have reference to a dedication by Croesus; in which case the inscription might be as old as 550 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It would be a reasonable inference from this date that no Ionic inscription with the closed form of  $\eta$  was later than the middle of the 6th century. Our object however now is to illustrate the earliest period in which the fully developed Ionic alphabet began to prevail. The duration of this prevalence may be said to extend from about OL 81 (456 B.C.), or a little earlier, to about OL 104 (364 B.C.), after which time the alphabet underwent modification in some details. Now in districts where this alphabet was either native or introduced at a very early time, it is frequently difficult or rather impossible to fix the date from a purely palaeographical standpoint, when the context offers no help. But there seems to be good reason (see the remarks below) for assigning to the very beginning of this period, if not to an earlier date, the following inscription.

144. On a blue stone, now in the Br. Mus., 0.78 m. in breadth, 0.31 m. in height, mutilated on all sides and broken into two pieces; the letters are 0.025—0.03 m. in height. It was found at *Ephesus* (Aiasuluk). CIG 2953; IGA 499.

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<sup>1</sup> The letters (1)  $\kappa R$ , (2)  $\text{DHK}$ , (3)  $\text{BA}$ , (4)  $\text{AN}$ , (5)  $\text{E}/\text{V}$ , are on five fragments of moulding (*torus*) from the bases of columns found by Mr Wood in excavating the temple of Artemis: they manifestly belong to the old temple burnt down by Herostratus. They are now in the British Museum. Mr Hicks restores thus:

- (a)  $[\text{Βασιλεὺς}] \text{Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκ]εν}.$
- (b)  $\text{Βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀνέ[θηκεν]}.$
- (c)  $[\dots\dots\dots \text{ἀνέθηκεν}]$ .

and remarks, "My restored readings are highly probable, as the words of Herodotus prove (i. 92):  $\text{Κροίσφ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλά} \dots \text{ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσφ, αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλά}.$ " The form  $R$  is strange compared with the more usual  $P$  of the Ionians of Asia Minor; but cf. no. 166.

Ο Ξ Η Μ Μ Ε Λ Α Γ Ο Κ Ρ Υ Ψ Ε Ρ  
 Ξ Ι Ο Ξ Η Λ Δ Ε Ε Γ Α Ρ Ε Ι Τ Η Ε Ι  
 Υ Ο Λ Υ Μ Ο Λ Γ Τ Ε Ρ Υ Γ Α Κ Α Λ Ε Γ Ι  
 Ρ Ε Ι Κ Α Λ Α Γ Ο Κ Ρ Υ Ψ Ε Ι Ε Ι Α  
 5 Υ Μ Ο Ξ Ε Γ Δ Ε Τ Η Ξ Α Ρ Ι Ξ Τ Ι Μ  
 Ξ Ε Ξ Τ Η Λ Δ Ε Ξ Ι Η Λ Γ Ε Τ Ο Ι Μ Η  
 Λ Ο Ξ Η Μ Μ Ε Λ Ν Ι Θ Υ Ξ Α Γ Ο Κ Ρ Ο Ν Τ  
 Υ Ε Ι Ε Υ Ω Λ Υ Μ Ο Ξ Η Λ Δ Ε Τ Η Λ Ο Α Λ  
 Ι Η Λ Γ Τ Ε Ρ Υ Γ Α Ε Γ Α Ρ Α Ξ Λ Α Ι

[In the first line the top portion of all the letters is broken off on the stone.]

. . . . . [ἐγ μὲν τῆς δεξι-  
 ῆς ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὴν πετ-  
 1 ὶμεν]ος, ἡμὲν μὲν ἀποκρύψει-  
 [ι, δε]ξιὸς, ἡν δὲ ἐπάρει τῇ-  
 [ν ε]ὐώνυμον πτέρυγα, καὶ  
 [ἐπάρ]ει καὶ ἀποκρύψει, ε-  
 5 [ὠν]υμος· ἐγ δὲ τῆς ἀριστ-  
 [ερ]ῆς ἐς τὴν δεξιὴν πετό-  
 [με]νος, ἡμὲν μὲν ἰθὺς ἀποκρ-  
 [ύ]ψει, εὐώνυμος, ἡν δὲ τὴν  
 [δε]ξιὴν πτέρυγα ἐπάρας

The inscription appears to be a fragment of some regulation relating to augury. It would seem that if a bird flying from right to left concealed its wing it was of good omen (*δεξιός*, l. 2); but if it raised its left wing, then, whether it (subsequently) raised or concealed the wing, it was of ill omen (*εὐώνυμος*, l. 4). If in flying from left to right it immediately concealed the wing it was of ill omen, but if after raising the right wing . . . . What the apodosis was, it is not worth while to speculate: nor need we waste time in trying to complete the sense of what remains on the right of the upright line. For the conjunctive forms *ἐπάρει*, *ἀποκρύψει*, cf. note on no. 142, B. 37 (*Appendix*).

§ 72. **The Alphabet.** So far as it goes (for the expressions for the pseudo-diphthongs *ou* and *eu* are absent) the alphabet of this inscription is in every respect at the same standpoint as that of the Lygdamis inscription of Halicarnassus, 453 (?) B.C. (no. 145).

That the στοιχηδόν arrangement is accurately observed in the former cannot be considered a *decisive* criterion for a later date; while on the other hand the tolerably regular punctuation by means of three dots, which there is no reason to put down to simple caprice, bespeak for the Ephesus inscription a considerable antiquity, and entitle us to assign it with probability to an earlier, though not much earlier, date than the Lygdamis inscription, in which the punctuation no longer appears.

### HALICARNASSUS.

§ 73. **Inscriptions.** From several documents of the same type (see Newton, *Hist. Disc.*, and *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, Appendix) we select for a facsimile the often-quoted Lygdamis inscription.

**145.** An oblong marble slab, now in the Br. Mus., 1 m. in height, 0.48 m. in breadth, 0.12 m. in thickness, broken into two parts, found by Mr Newton at Budrun on the site of the ancient *Halicarnassus*. Newton, *Hist. Disc.* 1863, p. 23 sqq., and tab. LXXXV.; id. *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.* 18 Dec. 1867; Sauppe, *Nachr. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Gött.* 1863, p. 303 sqq.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 4 sqq.; IGA 500; F. Buehl, *Philol.* xli. (1882) 54 sqq.; Hicks 21; Dareste, *Journ. des Savants*, 1884, p. 513; D. Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* i. (1885), 151 sqq.; for the commentary see the Appendix. The facsimile is given on p. 175<sup>1</sup>.

Τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γο]ς ἐβουλευσατ[ο]  
 ὁ Ἀλικαρνατ[έω]ν καὶ Σαλμακι-  
 τέων καὶ Λύγ[δα]μις ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ  
 ἀγορῇ, μηνὸ[s] Ἑρμαιῶνος πέμ-  
 5 πτῇ ἰσταμέ[νον] ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυ-  
 ταν[είον]το[s τ]οῦ Ὁατ[ά]τιος κα-  
 [λ] Σα[ρυσσ]άλλ[ου τ]οῦ Θεκνιῶνε[ω?].  
 . ο | . . . . μ[ν']μονας μὴ παρ[α]-  
 διδ[ό]σθαι μ[η]τέ γῆν μ[η]τε οἰκ[ε]-  
 10 [α] τοῖς μνήμ[ουσιν] ἐπὶ Ἀπολλω-

<sup>1</sup> Note that *ei* pseudo-diphthong is represented by E or El; *eu* except in τῶτο (-ω) by O.

145.

ΑΔΕΘΣΥΛΛΟ  
 ΘΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΤ  
 ΕΛΝΚΑΙΛΥΓ  
 ΑΓΟΡΗΜΗΝΟ  
 5 ΠΤΗΠΣΤΑΜΕ  
 ΤΑΝ ΤΟ  
 ΣΑ Μ  
 ΟΙ Μ  
 ΔΙΔΟ ΜΗ  
 10 ΤΟΙΣ ΜΗΝΗ  
 ΝΙΔΕΛΤΟΛΥ  
 ΥΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΙ  
 ΛΛΙΘΣΚΑΙΣ  
 ΜΟΝΕΥΟΝΤΩ  
 15 ΦΥΑΣΙΘΣΚΑΙ  
 ΝΥΑΤΙΘΣΗΝΔ  
 ΣΟΔΙΠΕΡΙΓΗ  
 ΤΩΛΕΝΟΚΤΩΚΑ  
 20 ΘΑΔΘΣΕΓΕΝΕ  
 ΡΝΥΝΟΡΚΩΚ  
 ΑΝΟΙΜΝΗΜΟ  
 ΚΑΡΤΕΡΟΝΕΝΑ  
 ΕΠΙΚΑΛΗΤΩ  
 25 ΟΚΤΩΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ  
 ΛΙΝΕΜΟΜΕΝΣ  
 ΑΟΡΚΟΝΔΕΤ  
 ΚΤΟΝΔΕΞΑΜ  
 ΑΙΓΑΡΕΟΝΤΟ  
 30 ΑΡΤΕΡΟΞΔΕΙΝΑΙΓ  
 ΤΟΤΕΙΧΟΝΟΤΕ  
 ΜΥΗΞΕΜΝΗΜΟ  
 ΝΑΓΕΓΕΡΑΣΑΙ  
 ΗΝΤΙΣΘΕΛΗΙ  
 35 ΨΗΦΟΝΛΣΤΕ  
 ΝΤΟΥΤΟΝΤΑΕΘΙ  
 ΚΑΙΤΩΠΟΛΛΩ  
 ΥΤΟΝΦΕΥΓΕΝΑ  
 ΛΙΑΞΙΑΔΕΚΑ  
 ΕΓΡΗΣΘΑΙΕΓ  
 40 ΑΜΑΚΑΘΟΔΟΝ  
 ΗΣΣΘΑΛΙΚΑ  
 ΥΜΓΑΝΤΩΝΤ  
 ΝΑΙΟΣΑΝΤΑΥΤΑ  
 45 ΡΕΡΤΑΟΡΚΙΑΕΤΑ  
 ΑΙΕΝΤΩΙΑΓΟΛΛ

Λ  
 ΝΚΑΙΣΑΛΜΑΚΙ  
 ΜΣΕΝΤΗΠΕΡΗ  
 ΡΜΑΙΛΛΝΟΣΓΕΜ  
 ΠΙΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΠΡΥ  
 5 ΘΘΑΤΑΤΙΘΣΚΑ  
 ΘΟΕΚΥΙΛΛΝΕ  
 ΜΟΝΑΣΜΗΓΑΡ  
 ΓΗΝΜΗΤΕΘΙΚ  
 ΙΝΕΠΙ ΑΓΟΛΛ  
 ΜΙΟΣΜΝΗΜΟΝ  
 ΙΑΜΥΛΤΟΚΑΣΒ  
 10 ΛΑΚΙΤΕΛΝΜΝΗ  
 ΕΓΑΒΑΤΕΛΤΟΑ  
 ΡΜΙΛΛΝΟΣΤΟΠ  
 ΣΘΕΛΗΔΙΚΑΞ  
 ΔΙΚΙΛΝΕΠΙΚΑΛ  
 ΚΑΜΗΣΙΝΑΡΟΤ  
 15 ΝΟΜΛΔΕΚΑΤΑΓ  
 ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣΟΤ  
 ΙΔΕΛΣΙΝΤΟΥΤΟ  
 ΔΕΤΙΣΥΣΤΕΡΟ  
 ΤΟΧΡΟΝΟΤΩΝ  
 20 ΝΛΝΟΡΚΟΝΕΝΑΙΤ  
 ΗΓΓΗΝΗΤΑΘΙ  
 ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣΗΜΙ  
 ΣΤΟΝΔΕΟΡΚΟΝΕΙ  
 ΝΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΘΣ  
 25 ΑΙΘΙΚΙΛΝΟΙΤΙΝΕ  
 ΛΩΝΙΔΗΣΚΑΙΠΑΝΑ  
 ΘΝΕΙΜΗΥΣΤΕΡΟ  
 ΙΝΟΜΟΝΤΟΥΤΟ  
 ΚΕΑΙΗΠΡΟΘΗΤΑ  
 30 ΙΝΑΙΤΟΝΝΟΜΟ  
 ΑΥΤΟΡΕΠΡΗΣΩ  
 ΕΙΝΑΠΕΡΑΚΑΙΑ  
 ΗΝΔΕΜΝΗΙΑΥ  
 ΤΗΡΩΝΑΥΤΟΝ  
 35 ΓΛΗΙΚΑΙΜΗ  
 ΑΙΕΣΑΛΙΚΑΡ  
 ΣΕΛΝΔΕΤΩΣΣ  
 ΛΙΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ  
 40 ΡΑΒΑΙΝΗΚΑΤΟ  
 ΚΑΙΛΣΓΕΓΡΑΦ  
 ΛΙΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΝ

- νίδεω τοῦ Λυ[γδά]μιος μνημονε-  
 ύοντος καὶ [Πα]ναμύω τοῦ Κασβώ-  
 λλιος καὶ Σα[λ]μακιτέων μνη-  
 μονευόντων[ν Μ]εγαβάτεω τοῦ Ἀ-  
 15 φνάσιος κα[ι. . .]ρμίνωνος τοῦ Π[α]-  
 ννάττιος. ἦν δ[έ τι]ς θέλη δικάζ[ε]-  
 σθαι περὶ γῆ[ς ῥ] οἰκίων, ἐπικαλ[ε]-  
 τω ἐν ὀκτωκα[ῖς]εκα μηνίν, ἀπ' οὗ τ-  
 ὁ ἄδος ἐγένε[το ], νόμῳ δὲ κατὰπ[ε]-  
 20 ρ νῦν ὀρκῶσ[αι τοῖς] δικαστάς· ὅτ[ι]  
 ἂν οἱ μνήμο[νες ε]ιδέωσιν, τοῦτο  
 καρτερόν εἶνα[ι. ἦν] δέ τις ὕστερον  
 ἐπικαλῇ τοῦ[του] τοῦ χρόνου τῶν  
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα [μην]ῶν, ὅρκον εἶναι τ-  
 25 ῶ νεμομένῳ [τ]ήγ γῆν ἢ τὰ οἰκ-  
 [ί]α· ὀρκοῦν δὲ τ[οῖς] δικαστάς ἡμί-  
 [ε]κτον δεξαμ[ένου]ς. τὸν δὲ ὅρκον εἰ-  
 [ν]αι παρεόντος [τοῦ ἐ]νεστηκότος· κ-  
 αρτερούς δ' εἶναι γ[ῆς κ]αὶ οἰκίων, οἵτινες  
 30 τότ' εἶχον, ὅτε [Ἀπο]λλωνίδης καὶ Πανα-  
 μύης ἐμνημό[νευ]ον, εἰ μὴ ὕστερο-  
 ν ἀπεπέρασαν. [τὸ]ν νόμον τοῦτον  
 ἦν τις θέλη [συ]χέαι ἢ προθῆτα-  
 [ι] ψῆφον ὥστε [μὴ ε]ἶναι τὸν νόμο-  
 35 ν τοῦτον, τὰ ἐόν[τα] αὐτοῦ πεπρήσθω  
 καὶ τῶπόλλων[ος] εἶναι ἱερὰ καὶ α-  
 ὑτὸν φεύγειν α[ιεί]. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτ-  
 ῶ ἄξια δέκα [στα]τήρων, αὐτὸν [π]-  
 επρῆσθαι ἐπ' ἐ[ξ]α[γ]ωγῇ καὶ μ[ηδ]-  
 40 αμὰ κάθοδον [εἶν]αι ἐς Ἀλικαρν-  
 ησσόν. Ἀλικα[ρνη]σσέων δὲ τῶς σ-  
 υμπάντων τ[ούτ]ω ἐλεύθερον εἶ-  
 ναι, ὃς ἂν ταῦτα μ[ὴ π]αραβαίνει κατό-  
 περ τὰ ὅρκια ἔτα[μον] καὶ ὡς γέγραπτ-  
 45 αὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ῳ, ἐπικαλεῖν.

§ 74. **Importance of the inscription.** The high interest of this inscription for our present purpose lies in the fact, firstly, that on historical grounds we are able to fix the date with tolerable certainty



at about 453 B.C.; the arguments leading to this conclusion will be found in the commentary (*App.*); and, secondly, that we have in it a picture of the Ionic alphabet almost exactly in the form in which it was legally adopted at Athens in Ol. 94. 2 (403 B.C.) and about the same time in the rest of Hellas. We learn then that the Ionic alphabet during the interval between (about) 453 and 403 B.C. had not undergone alteration in any essential particular.

§ 75. **The Alphabet.** On this inscription the  $\circ$  has regularly a dot in the middle, thus making it undistinguishable from  $\theta$ . The circumference was evidently grooved by a compass-like tool with the dot as a centre. A peculiar form  $\Upsilon$  beside the more usual  $\Gamma$  is found in the inscription, but only in proper names of non-Hellenic, possibly Carian, origin, such as  $\circ\alpha\Upsilon\acute{\alpha}\Upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\Pi\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\Upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . It is possible that this symbol represents not a  $t$ -sound, but some kind of sibilant, if at least the conjecture is right that on the silver and copper coins of Mesembria the legends  $\text{ΜΕΤΑ}$  and  $\text{ΜΕΤΑΜΒΙΑΝΩΝ}$  are to be transcribed  $\text{Μετα-}$  and not  $\text{Μετα-}^1$ . There is at any rate no inscriptional or other evidence of a form  $\text{Μεταμβρία}$ . The Pamphylian alphabet moreover may be cited as additional evidence of a special sign for a sibilant in the S.W. district of Asia Minor (§ 123). Cf. also no. 142, B. 22 (*Teos*).

It may be well to quote here, merely on the ground that it is said to have been found at *Halicarnassus*, the following retrograde inscription on an electrum stater now in the Br. Mus. (see Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 526):

Α Μ Θ ς Ι Μ Ε ρ Ο Λ Ε Α Θ

i. e.  $\phi\alpha\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\lambda\mu\iota$   $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ . This, which is Mr Newton's original reading, is supported (*Ztschr. f. Numism.* x. 1883, p. 149) by Sallet. He explains  $\phi\alpha\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  to be the genitive =  $\Phi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  of  $\Phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}$  an epithet of Artemis (? here of Ephesus), and compares it with the legend 'Diana Dauphena' on a coin of *Coela* (Thracian Chersonese). For other views see Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxvii. 1879, p. 27, who reads  $\Phi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; and P. Gardner, *ib.* p. 184 (cf. *id.* *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. iv. 8), who maintains that there is no letter between the  $\alpha$  and the  $\nu$ , and reads  $\Phi\Lambda\text{Ν}\text{Ο}\Sigma$  (i. e.  $\Phi\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ) comparing (wrongly acc. to Fraenkel, *l.c.*)  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , no. 130 *a*, and referring the coin to  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$  of Halicarnassus (cf. no. 132 *ter* and § 67, *Naucratis*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note, p. 10, on the possible connexion of this form with the *san* and the *sampi*. It is remarkable that the latter as a numeral sign = 900 is relegated to the very end of the alphabet, even after  $\omega$ . It is said not to occur on any inscription earlier than the 13th or 14th century, but this may be accidental. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 12, infers from its position that it was adopted by the Ionians only in the course of the 6th century B.C.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IONIC ALPHABET BETWEEN 600 AND 450 B.C. IN THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN AND ON THE COAST OF THE EUXINE.

§ 76. Rate of development probably the same on the mainland of Asia Minor and in other places. The examination of the inscriptions from Miletus, Teos, Ephesus and Halicarnassus has enabled us to form a tolerably accurate picture of the condition and development of the Ionic alphabet on the mainland coast of Asia Minor during the 6th and the first half of the 5th century B.C. We may presume that wherever intimate relations existed with the Ionic mainland, the rate of development was the same or nearly the same. We will conclude this division of the subject with a review of the alphabet as represented by inscriptions (i) of the Milesian colonies (Proconnesus, Cyzicus); (ii) of Chios, with the coins of its colony Maroneia in Thrace; (iii) Samos and its colony Amorgos, with Samothrace; (iv) the Ionic colonies on the coast of the Euxine. To these will be subjoined (v) a few Ionic inscriptions of uncertain origin.

(i) Proconnesus and Cyzicus.

146. The upper inscription in Ionic character on the so-called Sigeian monument, now in the Br. Mus. The facsimile has been given above and already noticed under the head of the Attic alphabet, no. 42; cf. 45, note.

147. A marble 0.5 m. in height, 0.65 m. in breadth, mutilated above, found in 1874 among the ruins of *Cyzicus*, and now in the Museum of the Greek Philological Society at Constantinople. The marble contains two inscriptions; one, written *βουστροφνηδόν* and ancient, of which barely two lines remain, with letters 0.025—0.035 m. in height; the other entire, but of more recent date, with letters 0.015 m. in height. Mordtmann, *Herm.* xv. p. 92 sqq.; IGA 491.

A.

ΗΛΗΝΤΗΝΔΕΠΟΛΙΣΜ  
...  
κΙΔΕΜΙΩΤΕκΩΔΕΗΥΑ

B.

ΕΠΙΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΟΥ  
...  
ΠΟΛΙΣΜΗΔΙΚΕΩΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΙΝΑΙΣΗΠΟΥΠΑΙΣΙΝ  
...  
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΙΝΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΙΝΑΤΕΔΕΙΗΝΚΑΙΠΡΥ  
...  
ΤΑΝΕΙΟΝΔΕΔΟΤΑΙΠΑΡΕΞΝΑΥ:ΠΟ  
5 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΠΠΩΝΙΗΣΚΑΙ  
ΤΗΣΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΑΠΟΔΩΝΙΗΣ  
ΤΩΝΔΕΑΛΛΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΑΤΕΛΕΣΚΑΙΕΠΙ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΙΝΔΗΜΟΣΟΡΚΙΟΝΕΤΑΜΟΝΤΗΝ  
ΔΕΣΤΗΛΗΝΤΗΝΔΕΠΟΛΙΣΜ... ΝΗΕΔ Κ  
10 ΤΩΙΜΗΔΙΚΕΩ

A. — — [τὴν δὲ στή]λην τήνδε πόλις Μ-  
άνη ἔδωκε τῷ Μεδίκ[ω.]

B. Ἐπὶ Μαιανδρίου  
πόλις Μηδίκω καὶ τοῖσιν Αἰσίου παισὶν  
καὶ τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν ἀτεδείην καὶ πρυ-  
τανεῖον δέδοται, παρέξ ναυ. . ο  
5 καὶ τοῦ ταλάντου καὶ ἵππωνίης καὶ  
τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἀνδραποδωνίης·  
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πάντων ἀτελές. καὶ ἐπὶ  
τούτοις δῆμος ὄρκιον ἔταμον τὴν  
δὲ στήλην τήνδε πόλις [Μά]νη ἔδ[ω]κ[ε].  
10 τῷ Μηδίκω.

The aristocratical party appears to have been banished and on their return to have bargained with the popular party that the whole state, πόλις, should grant special immunities to the children and descendants of two men, Medices and Aesepus, who as adherents of the banished party had lost their lives in the disturbances. The inscription at a much later date was copied doubtless by interested persons, in the alphabet of the period, probably, to judge from the

ΑΞΠΣ, shortly before the Christian era; but in the later edition are several obvious mistakes—Μηδικεω for Μεδικεω, ἀτεδείην for ἀτελ., πρυτανεῖον for πρυτανήιον, δέδοται for δέδωκε, ἀτελής for ἀτέλεas. In l. 1 before Μηδικεω should probably come Μάνη τῷ. In l. 7 εἶναι is omitted; in l. 8 after δῆμος should come καὶ ἀριστῆες or a similar expression. In l. 4 the word apparently partly illegible to the later engraver may have been ΝΑΥΠΗΓΙΟ.

A. Μάνης is a Phrygian and Paphlagonian name; see Pape's lexicon. Note the omission, remarkable in so early an inscription, of the *iota* in the dative (so also in the later copy); other examples in Ionic inscriptions are αὐτῇ, no. 150 (Chios), τῇ βουλῇ, Lb. no. 39 (Erythrae; not much later than 394 B.C.), δημοσίῃ CIG 2691 e, Lb. 379 (Mylasa, 355—354 B.C.). Cf. note on no. 242 (Thes-salian).

B. 1, 2. As Roehl remarks, the name Maeandrios well befits the eponymous archon of a Milesian colony; and Aesepus too is the name of a river near Cyzicus. 3, 4. πρυτανήιον is a brief expression for σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανίῳ. 4 sqq. If Roehl's conj. ναυπηγίου is right, the exceptions to the ἀτέλεια were the ναυπήγιον and τάλαντον, or fees paid by those who used the dockyard and the public scales; ἱππωνίη and ἀνδραποδωνίη or dues payable on the purchase of horses and slaves; and the τετάρτη, a tax of 25 per cent.

148. An inscription on a fragment of a marble patera found at *Cyzicus* by Dawkins and by him brought to Oxford. CIG 3695; IGA 501.

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— — Π Η Δ Ε Ξ Π Ο Ν Η Ξ Ι Ν

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— — — πη δεσπότησιν, i. q. Atticὸν δεσποίναις. The patera seems to have been dedicated by some woman to Demeter and Persephone.

## (ii) Chios.

149. On the four faces of a parallelepipedon of white marble, broken above, 1.25 m. in height, 0.535 m. in breadth, 0.25 m. in thickness. On three of the sides the arrangement is στοιχηδόν. Discovered in *Chios* in the quarter called Βουράκι. Ἀμάλθεια 2555; Μουσείον, &c., περ. δειν., 1876, p. 37 sqq.; Παρνασσός, Vol. II. fasc. 2, Feb. 1878, p. 134 sqq.; Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* III. 1879, p. 230 sqq.; Blass, *Misc. Epigr.*; IGA 381. For the commentary see the Appendix.

[Several of the letters in the top lines and at the sides are imperfect, but there is no doubt of the reading. In the original the outer shafts of the ζ and η are slightly curved.]

α.

ΟΞΑΠΟΤΟΥΤΟΜΕΧΡΙ  
ΤΡΙΟΔΟΗΣΕΡΜΩΝΟΞΑΝ  
ΕΡΕΙΤΡΕΣΑΠΟΘΗΣΤΡΙΟΔΟΑ  
ΡΙΕΡΜΩΝΟΣΣΗΣΕΣΤΗΝΤΡΙΟΔ  
5 ΟΝΕΞΑΠΟΤΟΝΤΟΜΕΧΡΙΤΟ  
ΔΗΛΙΟΤΡΕΣΣΥΛΠΑΝΤΕΣΟΡ  
ΟΙΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑΠΕΝΤΕ  
ΟΣΗΤΩΝΟΡΩΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΕ  
ΞΩΓΑΞΑΔΟΦΙΤΙΣ ΗΝΤΙΣΤ  
10 ΙΝΑΤΩΝΟΡΩΝΤΟΝΤΩΝ  
ΗΕΞΕΛΗΙΗΜΕΘΕΛΗΙΗΑ  
ΦΑΝΕΑΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΕΠΑΔΙΚΙ  
ΗΙΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΞΕΚΑΤΟΝΣ  
ΤΑΤΗΡΑΣΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΚΑΤΙ  
15 ΜΟΞΕΣΤΩΓΡΗΞΑΝΤΩΝΔΟ  
ΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΞΗΝΔΕΜΗΓΡΗ  
ΞΟΙΣΙΝΑΥΤΟΙΟΦΕΙΛΟΝΤΩ  
ΝΓΡΗΞΑΝΤΩΝΔΟΙΠΕΝΤΕ  
ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΣΟΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ  
20 ΗΝΔΕΜΗΓΡΗΞΟΙΣΙΝΕΝΕΙ  
ΛΗΙΕΣΤΩΝ

β.

. Ν Τ Ε Κ Α  
Α Ε Σ Β Ο Λ Η  
Ε Ι Κ Α Ν Τ Ω Ν  
Π Ε Ν Τ Η Μ Ε Ρ Η  
Σ Ι Ν Τ Ο Σ Δ Ε Κ Η 5  
Ρ Υ Κ Α Ξ Δ Ι Α Π Ε  
Μ Ν Α Ν Τ Ε Σ Ε Σ Τ  
Α Σ Χ Ω Ρ Α Σ Κ Η  
Υ Σ Σ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Κ Α  
Ι Δ Ι Α Τ Η Σ Π Ο . 10  
Ε Ω Σ Α Δ Η Ν Ε Ω Ξ  
Γ Ε Γ Ω Ν Ε Ο Ν Τ Ε  
Σ Α Π Ο Δ Ε Κ Ν Υ Ν  
Τ Ε Σ Τ Η Ν Η Μ Ε Ρ  
Η Ν Η Ν Α Ν Λ Α Β Ω 15  
Ι Σ Ι Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Π  
Ρ Η Χ Μ Α Π Ρ Ο Σ Κ  
Η Ρ Υ Σ Σ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν  
Ο Τ Ι Α Μ Μ Ε Λ Λ Η  
Ι Γ Ρ Η Ξ Ε Σ Θ Α Ι 20  
Κ Α Γ Δ Ι Κ Α Σ Α Ν  
Τ Ω Ν Τ Ρ Ι Η Κ Ο Σ  
Ι Ω Ν Μ Η Λ Α Σ Σ Ο  
Ν Ε Σ Α Ν Η Ρ Ι Θ Ε  
Υ Τ Ο Ι Ε Ο Ν Τ Ε Σ 25

α.

·ος· ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι [τῆς]  
τριόδου ἢ ᾗ ἔς Ἑρμωνόσσαν [φ]-  
έρει τρεῖς· ἀπὸ τῆς τριόδου ἀ[χ]-  
ρι Ἑρμωνόσσης ἐς τὴν τριόδ-  
5 ον ἕξ· ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι τοῦ  
Δηλίου τρεῖς· σύ[μ]παντες οὖρ-  
οι ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε.  
Ὅση τῶν οὔρων τούτων ἔ·

c.

Η Δ Ι Κ Α  
 Ι Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο Σ Η Γ Λ Ι Ξ Δ Ε Ξ Α Μ  
 Η Δ Ι Κ Α Ϊ Ε Σ Θ Ω Κ Α Ν Ο Φ Λ Η Ι  
 Γ Ε Ρ Α Γ Ο Δ Ο Τ Ω Τ Ω Ι Δ Ε Π Ρ Ι Α  
 5 Ε Ν Ω Ι Π Ρ Η Χ Μ Α Ε Σ Τ Ω Μ Η Δ Ε Ν  
 Σ Α Ν Τ Α Σ Π Ρ Η Σ Ι Σ Α Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Α  
 Γ Ο Ι Η Ι Ε Π Α Ρ Α Σ Θ Ω Κ Α Τ Α Ν Τ  
 Ο Β Α Σ Ι Λ Ε Ο Σ Ε Π Η Ν Τ Α Σ Ν Ο Μ  
 Ι Α Σ Ε Π Α Ρ Α Σ Γ Ο Ι Η Τ Α Ι  
 10 Τ Α Σ Γ Ε Α Σ Κ Α Ι Τ Α Σ Ο Ι Κ Ι Ε Α  
 Ε Π Ρ Ι Α Ν Τ Ο Τ Ω Ν Α Ν Ν Ι Κ Ω Γ Α  
 Δ Ω Ν Ι Κ Ε Ξ Ι Ο Ξ Η Γ Ε Π Ο Λ Ι Ο Σ Γ  
 Ε Ν Τ Α Κ Ι Σ Χ Ε Ι Λ Ι Ω Ν Τ Ρ Ι Η Κ  
 Ξ Ι Ω Ν Τ Ε Σ Σ Α Κ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Α Θ  
 15 Ν Α Γ Ρ Σ Η . Τ Ο Χ Ε Ι Λ Ι  
 Ν Ε Π Τ Α Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Θ Α Ρ Γ Ε Λ Ε Ο  
 Φ Ι Λ Ο Κ Λ Η Σ Ϊ Η Ν Ο Δ Ο Τ Ο Τ Α Ν  
 Υ Α Δ Η Ι Σ Ι Ν Δ Ι Σ Χ Ε Ι Λ Ι Ω Ν Ι  
 Τ Α Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Θ Ε Ο Π Ρ Ο Π Ο Σ Κ Ο  
 20 Ν Ο Π Ι Δ Η Σ Τ Α Γ Κ Α Μ Ι Ν Η Η Ι Χ  
 Ι Λ Ι Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Ο Κ Τ Α Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν  
 Τ Α Κ Η Φ Ι Ο Σ Τ Α Ε Μ Μ Ε Λ Α Ι Ν Η  
 Α Κ Τ Η Ι Τ Ρ Ι Σ Χ Ε Λ Ι Ω Ν Ε Π Τ Α Κ  
 Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Ε Ν Ε Ν Η Κ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Β Ι

σω, πᾶσα Δοφίτις. Ἦν τίς τ-

- 10 *ωα τῶν οὔρων τούτων*  
*ἡ ἐξέλη ἡ μετέλη ἡ ἀ-*  
*φανέα ποιήσει ἐπ' ἀδικί-*  
*ῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκατὸν σ-*  
*τατήρας ὀφειλέτω καῖτι-*  
 15 *[μ]ος ἔστω, πρηξάντων δ' οὐ-*  
*ροφύλακες· ἦν δὲ μὴ πρή-*  
*ξουσιν, αὐτοὶ ὀφειλόντω-*  
*ν, πρηξάντων δ' οἱ πεντε-*

d.

Ρ Ο Ι  
Ε Ι Λ Ι Ω Ν Ε Ν Α  
Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Λ Ε Ν Κ  
Ι Π Ρ Ο Σ Π Υ Θ Ω Τ  
Η Ν Ο Ι Κ Ι Η Ν Τ 5  
Ν Α Ν Δ Ρ Ε Ο Σ Π  
Ν Τ Α Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Π  
Ε Ν Τ Η Κ Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν  
Δ Υ Ω Ν : Α Σ Μ Ι Ο Σ  
Θ Ε Ο Π Ο Μ Π Ο Σ Α 10  
Τ Υ Α Ι Ο Τ Α Ν Ο Ι  
Ω Ι Χ Ε Ι Λ Ι Ω Ν Τ  
Ρ Ι Η Κ Ο Σ Ι Ω Ν Δ  
Ε Κ Ω Ν Δ Υ Ω Ν : Ι  
Κ Ε Σ Ι Ο Τ Ο Φ Ι Λ 15  
Ω Ν Ο Σ Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ  
Σ Λ Υ Σ Ω Τ Ο Ι Κ  
Π Ε Δ Ο Ν Δ Ι Η Κ  
Σ Ι Ω Ν Ε Ν Ο Σ

καίδεκα τοὺς οὐροφύλακας·

20 ἣν δὲ μὴ πρήξουσιν, ἐν ἐ[π]-  
[α]ρῇ ἔστων.

- |    |                   |                   |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|
| b. | ..... [οἱ π]-     | ς, ἀποδεκνύν-     |
| 1  | [εν]τεκ[αἰδεκ]-   | τες τὴν ἡμέρ-     |
|    | α ἐς βουλή[ν ἐν]- | 15 ἣν ἣν ἂν λάβω- |
|    | εικάντω[ν ἐν]     | ισιν, καὶ τὸ π-   |
|    | πέντ' ἡμέρη[ι]-   | ρῆγμα προσκ-      |
| 5  | σιν· τοὺς δὲ κή-  | ηρυσσόντων        |
|    | ρυκας διαπέ-      | ὅ,τι ἂμ μέλλη-    |
|    | μφαντες ἐς τ-     | 20 ι πρήξεσθαι·   |
|    | ὰς χώρας κη[ρ]-   | καὶ γδικασάν-     |
|    | υσσόντων κα-      | των τριηκοσ-      |
| 10 | ὶ διὰ τῆς πό[λ]-  | ίων μὴ ἴλασσο-    |
|    | εως ἀδηνέως       | νες, ἀνηρίθε-     |
|    | γεγωνέοντε-       | 25 υτοὶ ἐόντες.   |

- c. [ — — — — —. ἦν δέ τι]-  
 [ς τοὺς πριαμένους ἀποκλητ]-  
 1 [η] ἡ δικά[ζεται, τοὺς ἀποκλ]-  
 [η]ϊομένους ἡ [πό]λις δεξαμ[έ]-  
 [ν]η δικαζέσθω, καὶν ὄφλη, [ί]-  
 περαποδότω· τῷ δὲ πρια[μ]-  
 5 ἐνφ πρήγμα ἔστω μηδέν· [δ]-  
 ς ἂν τὰς πρήσις ἀκρατέα[ς]  
 ποιῇ, ἐπαράσθω κατ' αὐτ[οῦ]  
 ὁ βασιλεός, ἐπὴν τὰς ν[ομα]-  
 ίας ἐπαρὰς ποιῇται.  
 10 Τὰς γέας καὶ τὰς οἰκία[ς]  
 ἐπρίαντο· τῶν Ἀννικῶ πα[ί]-  
 δων Ἰκέσιος Ἡγεπόλιο[ς π]-  
 ευτακισχειλίων τριηκ[ο]-  
 σίων τεσσ[ερ]ακόντων, Ἀθ[η]-  
 15 ναγ[ό]ρ[η]ς Ἡ[ροδό]του χειλί[ω]-  
 ν ἑπτακοσίων· Θαργελέο[ς]  
 Φιλοκλῆς Ζηνοδότου τὰν [Ε]-  
 υάδησιν δισχειλίων [έπ]-  
 τακοσίων, Θεόπροπος κο[ί]-  
 20 νοπίδης τὰγ Καμινῆη χ[ε]-  
 ιλίων καὶ ὀκτακοσίων [έπ]-  
 τά· Κήφι[ο]ς τὰ ἐμ Μελαίνη[ι]  
 Ἀκτῇ τρισχειλίων ἑπτακ-  
 οσίων ἐν[ε]νηκόντων Βί[ας]  
 25 [Ἀσίω] (spatium vacuum)

- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| d. — ροι —        | γναίου τὰν Οἶ-       |
| [χ]ειλίων ἐνα-    | φ χειλίων τ-         |
| κοσίων· Λεύκ-     | ριηκοσίων δ-         |
| ιππος Πυθῶ τ-     | έκων δυῶν· Ἱ-        |
| 5 ἦν οἰκίην τ[η]- | 15 [κ]εσίου τοῦ Φίλ- |
| ν Ἀνδρέος π[ε]-   | ωνος Στράτ[ι]-       |
| ντακοσίων π-      | [ο]ς Λυσῶ τοῖ[κ]-    |
| ευτηκόντων        | [ό]πεδον διηκ-       |
| δυῶν· Ἀσμιος      | [ο]σίων ἐνός.        |
| 10 Θεόπομπος Ἀ-   |                      |



150. A blackish stone, 0.70 m. in height, 0.36 m. in length, 0.065 m. in thickness, broken on the left side, found in *Chios*. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* III. 1879, p. 316 sq.; IGA 382.

ΕΣΛΗ ΤΟΙΟΙΥ  
 ΝΑΙΚΣΟΔΟΝΓ  
 ΑΡΑΤΙΝΔΕΤΟΣ  
 ΙΜΑΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΝ  
 5 ΑΣΠΑΣΙΗΣΕΣ  
 ΙΚΑΤΑΠΘΙΜ  
 ΗΣΟΡΓΗΣΔΑ  
 ΑΓΑΘΗΣΕΥΩ  
 ΔΗΣΤΟΔΕΜΝ  
 10 ΙΑΑΝΤΗΕΡΕΣ  
 ΤΗΣΕΝΤΟΠΑΡΑ  
 ΚΟΙΤΙΣΕΗΝ

[The editor remarks that the letters ΩΣΜ are straggling, and the shafts of the Η slightly curved.]

Ἐσλῆ[ς] τοῦ[τ]ο [γ]υναικὸς ὁδὸν π[α]ρὰ τ[ῆ]νδε τὸ σ[τῆ]μα  
 λεωφόρον | [Α]σπασίης ἐσ[τ]ὶ καταπιμ[έν]ης·  
 ὁργῆς δ' αἰ[ντ] ἀγαθῆς Εὐω[π]ίδης τόδε μν[ή]μα  
 αὐτῇ ἐπέσ[τη]σεν, τοῦ παρὰκουίς ἔην.

1. 1. On ἐσλῆς see no. 277, note. Of ΤΟΤΟ for τοῦτο there are occasional instances in pre-Euclidean Attic, e.g. CIA I. 128, 133. 1. 2. For this use of λεωφόρος (ὁδός) cf. Plat. *Legg.* 763 c. 1. 4. On αὐτῇ = αὐτῇ see no. 147, note.

(iii) **Samos (151—157) with Amorgos (158—161): Samothrace (162) and the coast of the Euxine (163).**

151. An inscription, apparently an epitaph, on a small marble slab found in *Samos*, in a village N. W. of the ancient Heraeum. C. Curtius, *Rh. M.* XXX. p. 160 and Lübeck progr. 1877, p. 3; IGA 383.

ΤΡΩΤΟ+ΑΡΙΟΣ Δημ[ά]νδρου τ[οῦ] Π[ρ]ωτοχάριος.  
 ΣΤΟΓΔΥΛΜΘΔ

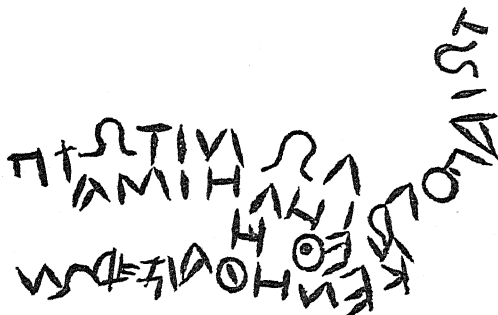
152. A statue of Hera, 1.92 m. in height, found about 1875, in *Samos* near the Heraeum: beneath is a low base made of the same marble. On the robe of the statue is an inscription beneath the girdle running downwards, with letters

0.01 m. in height, distant 0.02 m. from each other. Girard, *B. C. H.* iv. 1880, p. 483 sqq.; IGA 384.

ΧΗΔΑΜΝΗΞΜΑΛΝΕΘΙ ΚΖΛΤΗΔΗΑΓΑΛΜΑ

Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθ[η]κ[ε]ν τῆρη ἄγαλμα.

**153.** On a solid bronze votive hare, bought at *Samos*, now in the Br. Mus. Length  $2\frac{8}{10}$  in.; height  $1\frac{9}{10}$  in. Bröndsted, i. p. 109; Rose, *Inscr.* p. 326, pl. xli. 2; CIG 2247; IGA 385; BMI ccxxx.



Τῶ Ἀπόλλωνι τῶ Πριηλῆϊ (?) μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἑφαιστίων.

According to Mr Newton (BMI *l. c.* whence this note is condensed) the  $\Lambda$  in Πριηλῆϊ is quite certain. Probably the engraver omitted the stroke necessary to complete a  $\Lambda$ ; this is more likely than to suppose that in the Ionic dialect of *Samos* at this period Πριηλῆϊ was used for Πριηνῆϊ. The  $\Pi$  of Ἑφαιστίων are very difficult to make out. The inscription is written throughout retrograde. On the left shoulder of the hare is a round hole, which probably once held the arrow or javelin with which it was represented as slain. The body is depicted as bounding forward, the head thrown back in agony; the motion is rendered with great spirit. According to Paus. ii. 31. 9 the Apollo Pythios was worshipped at Priene from very early times (see Panofka, *Res Samiorum*, p. 63). The epithet τῶ Πρ. in this inscription may have been added to distinguish the Apollo, to whom the dedication is made, from the Pythian god.

**154.** A stone found in *Samos* not far from the Heraeum. It is broken on the left. C. Curtius, *Rh. M.* xxix. p. 160; and Lübeck progr. 1877, p. 3; IGA 386.

ΙΡΑΓΟΡΗΞΟΙ  
ΟΡΕΥΑΝΕΟΗΚΕ

[Ἡ]ραγόρης ὁ [Ἡρα-  
γό]ρε[ω] ἀνέ[θ]ηκε.

**155.** An inscription, apparently an epitaph, on a stone 0.42 m. in height, 0.34 m. in breadth, 0.10 m. in thickness, found in *Samos*, to the north of the ancient town. C. Curtius, *l. cit.*; IGA 387.

Ο Μ Π Ι Ο Ξ Ε Μ Ι	[Π]όμπιός εἰμι
Τ Ο Δ Ι Μ Ο Κ Ρ Ι Ν Ξ	τοῦ Δ[η]μοκρίνε-
Ο Ξ	[υ]ς.

Πόμπιος is probably genitive.

**156.** A white marble base found at *Olympia*, 0.84 m. in breadth in front; the letters are 0.02 m. in height and arranged *στοιχηδόν*, except that the latter half of the second line is straggling and possibly written over an erasure. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 82 sq.; Kaibel, *Rh. M.* xxxiv. p. 203 n. 940 a; IGA 388; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 23. Cf. the next inscription.

ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ ΛΟΚΡΟΣ ΑΣΤΥΚΛΕΟΣ ΤΡΙΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΝΙΚΩΝ  
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΔΕ ΞΤΗΣΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΒΡΟΤΟΙΣ ΕΣΟΡΑΝ

ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ ΛΟΚΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΙΣΕΦΥΡΙΟΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ  
ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Εὐθύμος Λοκρὸς Ἀστυκλέος τρὶς Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων,  
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.

Εὐθύμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε.

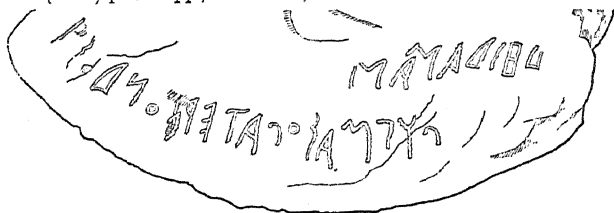
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

Euthymus won his third Olympic victory in Ol. 77=472 B.C., cf. Paus. vi. 6. 6. Curtius (*l.c.*) conjectures that the sculptor Pythagoras was one of those Samians who in Ol. 71. 3=494 B.C. left Asia for Sicily and took possession of Zancle (cf. Hdt. vi. 23), and then became subjects of Anaxilas, who was tyrant of Rhegium 494—476 B.C. Pausanias knows only one sculptor, Pythagoras the Rhégine. If it is he who here calls himself a Samian, the title might have reference to his fatherland and the school of art from which he probably came, while he would be called a Rhégine after his new home, where he developed under his master, Clearchus of Rhegium. If this view is right, the text of Pliny (the only writer who distinguishes *two* persons) rests on a misconception: xxxiv. 60; *fuit et alius Pythagoras Samius.... supra dicto facie quoque indiscreta similis*. For anecdotes about Euthymus cf. also Plin. vii. 152, Strabo, 256. Note in the last line the non-Ionic form Πυθαγόρας. In the second line there is an obvious attempt to make it of the same length as the first.

**157.** A slab of Pentelic marble found at *Olympia*, 0.07 m. in thickness, 0.23 m. in height, 0.24 m. in breadth, entire below, but on the other sides broken; it probably formed part of a base. The letters are a little larger than in the preceding (*q.v.*). IGA 388 a.

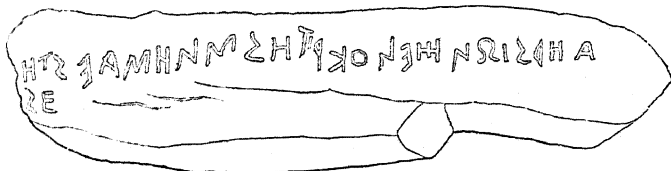
Θ Α Γ Ο Ρ	[Πυ]θαγόρ[ας
Ε Π Ο Ι Ε	Σάμιος] ἔποιει
Ι Τ Ο Ι Α Ι Ν Ι	ι τῷ [Δ]ι νικῶν ἀνέθηκεν.]

**158.** On a rock on the northern side of a small acropolis of the ancient *Aegiale* in *Amorgos*. The facsimile of this and the next two inscriptions are reduced to about one-tenth of the size of the originals. Ferdinand Duemmler, *Mitth.* xi. (1886) p. 97 sqq.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 32.



The legible words appear to be Πύγμας ὁ πατήρ and above Δηιδάμαν[τι]. The inscription was probably sepulchral. Duemmler proposed Πυγμαλον πατήρ (or πατέρος or πατέρι) and above Δηιδάμας, but *san* is unheard of among the inscriptions hitherto found on islands not reckoned as Dorian (no. 167, even if its alphabet belongs to Euboea, was not found on the island), and the *iota* which he supposed to have the crooked form in Πυγμαλον is certainly straight in Δηιδ-. There is nothing to show whether the η, which had the closed form and represents the vowel-sound, denoted also the *spiritus asper*, nor whether Ω was in use.

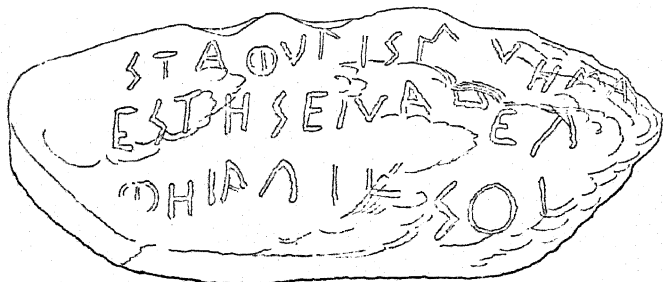
**158 a.** On an upright slab of grey marble at *Arcesine* in *Amorgos*. *Ibid.*



Ἄρσιων Ξενοκρίτης μνήμα ἔστησε.

Though the inscription is retrograde, the position of the signs for μ and ν is as for the left to right direction, and σ in either direction is ς. The sign for ξ recalls the Argive form, nos. 77 a, b; cf. p. 20. The name Ἄρσιων is new: Ξενοκρίτη is the name of a Cumaean woman, Plut. *De mul. virtut.* 26. Like the last, this slab probably served as a tombstone.

**158 b.** On a slab of marble, which appears to have served as a tombstone, found at *Arcesine* in *Amorgos*. *Ibid.*



Σταφυλῖς μνήμα | ἔστησεν ἀδελ|φῇ Ἀλεξοῦ.

The orthography  $\kappa\sigma$  in Ἀλεξοῦ, beside  $\xi$  in the preceding inscription, is to be noted; but the reading is very uncertain. Duemmler (*l.c.*) observes that probably in Amorgos as in Thera (cf. 1 *b*, etc.) and Boeotia (cf. 199 *a*, *b*, etc.) originally only the names were given, and in the nominative case, on tombstones; while in Melos (cf. 8 *a*, etc.) patronymics were added. In these inscriptions of Amorgos we have already complete formulas. Where in Amorgos (cf. 158 *b*, 161) and Thessaly (237) we have μνήμα, in Attic it is σῆμα: when a verb is added, it is ἔστησε.

158 *c*. An oblong stone found in Amorgos near the ruins of the ancient Aegiale. Ross, *Inscr. inedd.* II. 119; CIG Add. 2263 *b*; Rang. 2223; IGA 389.

⋈ O Δ A X Ω Λ Γ A v.l. R<sup>2</sup> | for Γ; cf. next inscr.

Ἀγλωχάρους for Ἀγλωχάρους (cf. § 75, remarks on Φάνους) sc. μνήμα. Roehl asks, with probability, "An nomin. Ἀγλώχαρος?"

158 *d*. A tombstone from Arcesine. Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1884, p. 85 sq.; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 33.

ΔΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΗΣΕΜΙΜΝ	Δημαυέτης εἰμὶ μν-
ΟΓΑΣΤΜΑΤΣΗΤΑΜΗ	ῆμα τῆς Λαμψαγό-
ΔΕΟ	ρεω.

159. Two inscriptions on a rudely polished stone found in Amorgos: the letters of the first (*a*) are about 0.06 m. in height, those of the second (*b*) larger. Ross, *Inselreisen*, II. p. 54; IGA 390 and *Add.* p. 183.

*a.*

Ε Δ Α Ε Ι Σ Μ Ε Ε Ο Ο Ι Ε }  
Ε Υ Α Μ Ε Ι Ν Ο Ν

Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* I. (1884) 227, taking the third E of l. 1 to be a misformed  $\Xi$ , proposes: Ἐδασίς με ὀδοίη | ἐπ' ἀμεινον. The E in ὀδοίη he defends by reference to 160 *b*, and condemns as premature generalisations on the use of the signs for the *e*-sounds (cf. § 33 *fin.* and no. 32 *a*).

*b.*

Α Β Ι Δ Ε Ε Ι Η Γ

αβγδεζ[ζ]η[θ]. Weil who copied the inscription asserts that the | = γ is certain; cf. the v.l. in no. 158 *c* and an inscription of Amorgos, Rang. 2001, Ross, *Inscr. inedd.* 142 ΑΙΛΩΘΕΣΤΗΣ. The stroke before H may be an

imperfect ζ (cf. the abecedarium from Colle, p. 18); the sign following Η may be part of Θ (θ) or □. That the alphabet was not the later Ionic seems to be shown by the presence of the sign for *digamma*. Compare the abecedarium from Calymna, p. 19. But it is possible that the sign following ε is a misformed ζ.

160 a. Found on a cliff near the village of Brutzi in *Amorgos*. IGA 391 and *Add.*; more accurately, Halbherr and Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* 1. (1884) 225.

ΦΑΙ

ΞΡΤΝΘΞΠΟΤΕΚΑΓΟΣΪΒΑΚΗΜΕΜΙΜ^ΛΞΝ  
ΟΕΛΙΒΕΑΤΞΙΛΑΜΑ

Comparetti transcribes: Φαισυτλης ποτε κάγώ συνβάκην ἔλιν[α]μ[ε]ν | ... α, Μάμαλι Σταθιλέου. But the explanations needed to enforce a semblance of probability for the interpretation are numerous. E.g. συνβάκην is held to mean 'turbot' and compared with σύαξ and Mod. Gr. συνάκι; ἔλιναμεν (rather -ομεν, for the mutilated letter may just as well be an Ο) may be from a λινω for λινεύω, cf. δινω, δινεύω; the open η may be the fault of the stone.

b. Found on the site of the ancient *Arcesine* near the village of Kastri. Very rude letters. Dubois, *B. C. H.* vi. (1882) p. 187 sqq.; Roehl, *Imagg.* p. 46.

ΒΩΜΟΝΔΙΞΝΝΞΩΞ Βωμόν Διενύσω[ι]  
ΗΠΟΚΡΑΤΞΞΗΠΟΚΙΞΞ Ίπποκράτης Ίπποκλής.

Note (1) Ε=η; (2) Ι=λ as at Argos, though in characters so rudely engraved too much stress must not be laid on the form; (3) the strange ligature of the Ι with the Π. The form *Διένυσος* is new; the last letter in the text is more likely to be either a badly written Ε (cf. the Tanagraean datives, nos. 215, 216) or a mistake for Ι than an example of crooked *iota*. The cult of Dionysus at *Arcesine* is known from another inscription (Ross, *Inscr. Gr. ined.* no. 135): 'Αγαθίνος Ἀγαθίνου τοῦ Κλεοφά[ντου] Διονύσω Κισσοκόμα καὶ τῷ [δῆμῳ].

c. On a square stone block, *ibid.* *B. C. H. l.c.*; Roehl, *op. c.* p. 47.

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΞΞΤΗΞΠΟΤΞΟΞ Ἀρχοντες τῆς πόλεος  
ΞΩΝΔΡΟΞΠΞΙΞΑΝΔ Σώνδρος Πείσαν[δρος].

For the ε in πόλεος cf. note on no. 143.

d. On a rock, *ibid.* *B. C. H. l.c.*; Roehl, *l.c.* p. 46. An inscription of three lines; the following words are distinguishable at the beginning:

ΙϞϞΛΑΙΩϞΑΥ i.e. καὶ ἄνδρὶ . . .

e. On a piece of calcareous stone, *ibid.* *B. C. H. l.c.*; Roehl, *op. c.* p. 46.

ΙΡΞΤΠΑΛ  
ΞΞΙ

Dubois, *l.c.*, suggests Τῇρει Παλ[α]ίῳ, adding, 'On sait que le culte d'Héra, probablement introduit par les Samiens, est le plus important d'Amorgos.'



## (v) Ionic inscriptions of uncertain origin.

**164.** A small blue glass vessel in the form of a dolphin, found at *Cameiros*, and now in the Br. Mus. Hirschfeld, *A. Z.* 1873, p. 108; IGA 496.

ΠΥΘΞΝ ΕΜΙ Πυθέω εἰμί.

As both the alphabet and the dialect of this inscription are Ionic, it is probable that the vessel came to Rhodes in the way of commerce.

**165.** An inscription on the marble base (0.70 : 0.90 m.) of a bronze statue, found at *Olympia*. The letters are 0.03 m. in height. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 227; IGA 498; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 41, who says that the letters of the word *Μίκων* are very faint on the stone.

a.

ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣΔΙΔΥΜΙΟ:ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ  
ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΟΝ

b.

ΜΙΚΩΝ:ΞΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ:ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

a. Καλλίας Διδυμίου Ἀθηναῖος παγκράτιον.

b. Μίκων ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.

Cf. Pausanias vi. 6. 1 Καλλία δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ παγκρατιαστῇ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος. From Paus. v. 9. 3 again we learn that the victory of Callias was won in Ol. 77=472 B.C. The same Callias occurs as a victor in the games at various places in CIA I. 419, where he is thought to be the person about whom the Pseudo-Andocides, *Or. c. Alcib.* 32, says: ἀσχιστον δὲ φανήσεσθε ποιοῦντες, εἰ τοῦτον μὲν ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων χρημάτων ταῦτα κατεργασάμενον, Καλλίαν δὲ τὸν Διδυμίου (Nom. Διδυμίας) τῷ σώματι νικήσαντα πάντας ἀγῶνας τοὺς στεφανηφόρους, ἐξωστρακίσσατε, πρὸς τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πόνων ἐτίμησε τὴν πόλιν. It is remarkable too that Mico who has used the Ionic alphabet in this inscription has intermixed Ionic forms in an Attic inscription CIA I. 418, though it is possible of course that the engraver and not Mico was responsible for the inscription; Fraenkel and Roehl perhaps needlessly infer that Mico must have been by birth an Ionian. Of him Pliny, xxxiv. 88, says: *Mico athletes spectatur*.

**166.** Inscription on the outer margin of a bronze tripod found at *Dodona*, Carapanos, *Dodone*, p. 40, Tab. xxiii. 2; IGA 502.

ΤΕΡΨΙΚΛΗΣ:ΤΩΙΔΙ:ΝΑΙΩΙ:ΡΑΨΩΛΙΔΟΣ:ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

Τερψικλῆς τῷ Δι Ναῖφ ραψῳδὸς ἀνέθηκε.

Terpsicles would seem to have been an Asiatic Ionian or from one of the neighbouring Ionian islands. For the form of ρ see p. 172, note.



§ 77. **Remarks on the Alphabets of the foregoing.** *Proconnesus.*

We have seen above (on no. 45) that there are strong grounds for assigning the inscriptions on the Sigean monument to as early a date as the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. If this date be accepted, the monument gains in interest and importance from the fact (1) that in the Ionic portion of it we have an example thus early of  $\Omega$ , and (2) that the appearance of H in the open form affords an inference of a still earlier date for the inscriptions of the mother-country, Miletus, with their  $\Xi$  (and  $\Omega$ ). On the other hand the absence of the  $\Omega$  on the Abou-Symbel inscriptions (if assigned to the period 594—589 B.C.) is so far as it goes an argument for placing the Sigean monument nearer the end than the beginning of the first quarter, if not rather in the second quarter, of the century. But this consideration loses weight, if, as has been suggested (§ 63), the differences between the Abou-Symbel and the Milesian alphabets are local rather than chronological.

*Cyzicus.* The upper portion of the marble from Cyzicus (no. 147) shows by its general style and  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  arrangement that it dates from the sixth century B.C. The lower portion, with which we are not now concerned, may be at least five centuries later. The other inscription from Cyzicus (no. 148) represents the Ionic alphabet of Ol. 80 = 460 B.C. or later.

*Chios, &c.* The two Chian inscriptions given above obviously represent the fully developed Ionic alphabet, and in default of other indications of date the longer inscription, no. 149, may safely be assigned to the period of the Ephesus inscription (no. 144) of about 460 B.C. or later, and the Lygdamis inscription of Halicarnassus (no. 145) of about the same period. The differences between the letter-forms of the three inscriptions are so slight as to be hardly worth noticing; the form of  $\xi$  is on the Chian inscription (no. 149)  $\Xi$ , which affords a presumption of relatively later date than those of Ephesus and Halicarnassus (nos. 144, 145), which have  $\Xi$ . Turning now to the coins of Maroneia we find that some of them go as far back as the beginning of the fifth century. The complete alphabet, which is the Ionic in its full development, may be collected from the legends on these coins of the name of the town and of the names of eponymous magistrates. The forms of  $\eta$  and  $\sigma$  are, as was to be expected H,  $\xi$ ; and the  $\theta$  appears only in the form  $\Theta$ .

*Samos, &c.* The inscriptions of Samos and Amorgos may be considered together. According to a trustworthy tradition the Samians were in possession of Amorgos about the middle of the seventh century and founded on it the three towns Aegiale, Minoa, and Arcesine. In later times, as numerous later inscriptions prove, it was occupied by Milesian cleruchs, but from what date is not known. But at any rate for the sixth century we may assume a Samian population on Amorgos. Now the inscriptions given above plainly belong to different periods, but except in the latest group no inference of precise date can be drawn from the context. Nor does the examination of the palaeography lead to very positive conclusions. No. 158, with its  $\pi$  resembling that of Thera, may head the list. Then a second group will be made up of the following (with perhaps no. 159 *a, b*), the characteristics of which are set forth in a tabular form.

		$\eta$	$\theta$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\varphi$
158 <i>a.</i>	Amorgos: <i>βουστροφηδόν</i>	H		HH	$\rho^1$	
<i>b.</i>	Amorgos: <i>left to right</i>	H		K S ?	$\rho$	
<i>c.</i>	Amorgos: <i>retrograde</i>	?			$\rho$	
<i>d.</i>	Amorgos: <i>left to right</i>	H			$\rho \xi$	
160 <i>a.</i>	Amorgos: <i>βουστροφηδόν</i>	⊞			$\rho$	
<i>d.</i>	Amorgos: <i>retrograde</i>	?			?	$\varphi$ (κα $\varphi$ ω)
<i>e.</i>	Amorgos: <i>βουστροφηδόν</i>				$\rho$	
151.	Samos: <i>βουστροφηδόν</i>	⊞	?		$\rho$	
152.	Samos: <i>left to right</i>	H	⊗		$\rho$	
153.	Samos: <i>retrograde</i>	H	⊙		$\rho$	

To a third group will belong those inscriptions (nos. 154, 155, 160 *b, c, f*) in which there is no trace of retrograde or *βουστροφηδόν* arrangement and which exhibit fluctuation in the forms of the signs for  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\nu$ . Lastly come the inscriptions written in the fully developed Ionic alphabet (nos. 156, 157). Now to one of these we have been able to assign a precise date, fixed by the 3rd Olympian victory of Euthymus, Ol. 77 or 472–469 B.C. Between this last and the inscription on the bronze hare (no. 153), which is retrograde (though it has the later form  $\odot$ ), there is a very long gap. Probably

<sup>1</sup> On the combination of the three-stroke  $\sigma$  with  $\Omega$  in this inscription cf. what is said on p. 165.

we shall not be far wrong in assigning the first inscription (no. 158) to the beginning of the sixth century or even earlier, and the second and third groups to the second half of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth.

In the Euthymus inscription, it is to be noted, we have evidence that the Ionic alphabet had attained its full development, in Samos at least, perhaps as many as fifteen years before the date of the Lygdamis inscription of Halicarnassus, to which so much importance has been attached above (§ 74).

The relief from Samothrace (no. 162), so far as can be determined by the style of the art and the character of the writing, belongs to the sixth century B.C. and may be as early as the middle of the century. Whether the artist lived in Samothrace and the inscription consequently must be taken as an example of the alphabet in use in Samothrace at the time, we have no means of proving. A tradition (Paus. vii. 4. 3) not absolutely trustworthy assigns the colonisation of the island to Samos, but at what period is not stated.

*Euxine coast.* There remains the inscription on the votive-offering presumably dedicated to Aphrodite Apaturos, from the coast of the Euxine (no. 163), and the sepulchral inscription from *Olbia* (no. 163 *a*). The character of the writing in the former is so ancient that Boeckh is inclined to refer the inscription to the period Ol. 70—80, or the first half of the fifth century B.C.; and in fact it cannot be much later, unless we are to suppose that among the colonists of this region the development of the alphabet was much more slow than in the mother country where the Ω had been adopted early in the sixth century. If the second word is to be read Ἀπαρούρω[ι], i.e. with Ο = ω, a much earlier date than 450 B.C. is possible; but unfortunately no positive reliance can be placed on the accuracy of the copy. The drawing of the relief itself is, ridiculously enough, in the style of the time of Louis XIV. or Louis XV. The inscription from *Olbia*, though it is of a somewhat later stamp than no. 163, may well belong to the early years of the fifth century.

## WESTERN GROUP.

### THE TOWNS OF EUBOEAE.

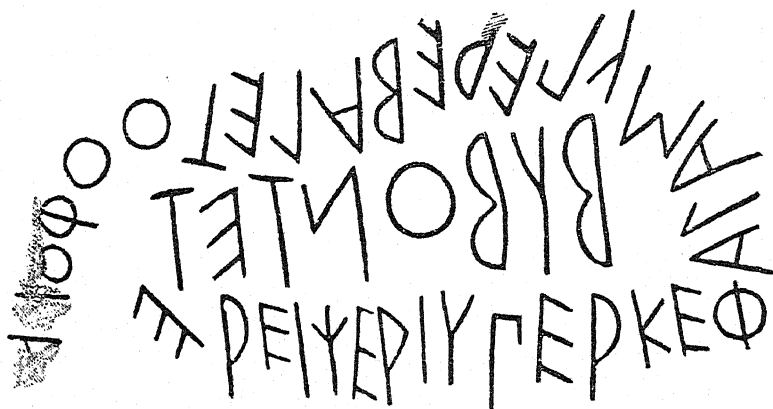
#### (i) Carystus, Styra, and Eretria.

##### § 78. Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

**168.** *Carystus*. On a wall at the top of a hill not far from the ancient *Carystus* is a very fragmentary inscr. which appears to contain the forms ΑΞΜΡΣΤ and has been read—*μης τῆς* [Α]ρ[έμυδος?—έργ]άσατο. Rangabé, *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Eubée*, p. 238; Bursian, *Quaestt. Eub. cap. sel.* p. 37; IGA 371.

<sup>1</sup> We have deemed it safer not to include the following inscription definitely in the Euboean section, as Roehl has done. Until there is a greater consensus of opinion as to the alphabet to which it belongs, it may be provisionally placed here. For further remarks see the Appendix, p. 373.

**167.** A rude dark-coloured oval stone, said to be sandstone, 0.68 m. long, 0.33 m. in height, 0.39 m. in thickness, found at *Olympia* in the Pelopium. The inscr. is complete. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 153; IGA 370. Cf. Karsten, *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto*, Halle, 1882, p. 9; Comparetti, *Riv. d. fil.* xi. 554 sqq.



Βύβων τῇτέρῃ χειρὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς ὑπερέβαλε τὸ οὐφὸ[ρ]α,  
i.e. acc. to Roehl ὁ ἐφόρα. Wilamowitz, *Lect. epigr.* 12, reads κεφαλᾶ(μ) μ' and  
claims the inscription for Elean.

**169.** *Styra.* More than 400 leaden plates, measuring from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, and some of them with writing on both sides, found in 1860 enclosed in an earthenware vessel in a tomb near the ancient *Styra*. For what object they served is doubtful; they may have been lots or voting tablets. Each contains a single name. They were first brought to notice by Cumanudes at Athens in 1860. For the subsequent editorial history see Roehl, IGA 372, where the plates are given in facsimile, numbered 1—432. A selection, which will be sufficient for illustrative purposes, is given below. The numbers are those of IGA.

8	{ ΔΙΣΨΥΛΙΟΝ ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ	Αἰσχυλίων Εὐπολῖς
45	ΑΡΨΕΔΕΜΟΣ	Ἀρχέδημος
57	ΒΕΒΥΡΙΟΣ	Βεβύρι[ο]ς
63	ΓΛΑΘΟΝ	Γνάθων
98	ΑΠΙΡΕΘΕΟΣ	Ἐπιρήθεος(?) or Ἐπιιορήθεος(?)
109	ΗΣΨΑΤΙΟΝ	Ἑσχατίων
118	ΕΥ+ΕΝΙΔΕΣ	Εὐξενίδης
124	ΙΕΥ+ΙΣ	Ζεῦξις
125	ΗΕΓΑΜΟΝΕΥΣ <sup>V</sup> <sub>K</sub> <sup>V</sup> <sub>N</sub>	Ἡγ[ε]μονεύς Κυν. (Lenormant), ΗΕΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΣ (Lampros)
186	ΚΟΡΥΔΟΣ	Κόρυδος
260	ΜΕΤΥΙΚΟΣ	Μέτ[ο]ικος
269	ΜΟΦΙΔΕΣ	Μοψίδης (Lenormant)
341	{ ΣΑΜΟΝ ΨΑΡΟΠΣ	Σήμων (cf. no. 38) Χάροψ
345	ΣΑΔΑΜΙΣ (retrograde)	Σιμάδης
382	ΦΙΛΑΙΓΙΡΕΣ	Φιλαυγίρης (cf. no. 214 d)
409	ΨΑΡΟΠΣ	Χάροψ

On 269 Roehl remarks: "Hae laminae Styrenses consonantem ψ bis significant literis ΠΣ, cf. titi. 341. 409; contra Chalcidensibus inscriptionibus propriae sunt literae ΦΣ. Suspicio falsi hinc adversus titulum Lenormantianum orta nobis crescit quum videamus fere idem nomen in vase Chalcidensi (see Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 118) occurrere; ΜΑΟΦΣΟΣ . . . . . Quod autem in lamina Lenormantiana scriptum esse dicitur ΜΟΦΣ—, in vase Chalcidensi scriptum est ΜΑΟΦΣ—, ea re tantum abest ut suspicio nostra refutetur, ut etiam augeatur. Nam litera Α, quae desideratur apud Lenormantium, errore

deest in Kirchhoffii libro, quem quin tractet nemo falsarius titulorum antiquissimorum facere potest." On the vexed question whether Mons. Lenormant was rightly called "homo suspectae fidei" (IGA 14) the curious may be referred to an article on the subject by Roehl, *Herm.* xviii. 97—103.

On some of the plates the abbreviated name of the father is added on the same side, cf. no. 125. Roehl inclines to think that the abbreviated forms were nominatives not genitives; though in some we find decided genitives, e.g. 238 *Λυσικράτης Οικουρίωνος*. Some plates are written retrograde, e.g. no. 345. Some forms are at variance with the Ionic of Euboea: 155 *Καλλίστροτος*? 217 *Λαοκράτης*, 233 *Λυσαγόρας*, 267 *Μνησικλῆς* (unless ε has fallen out by mistake: the remainder of the plates have -κλέης), 350 *Σκοπάνωρ*, 402 *Χαρίλαος*, 416 -αντίδας.

**170.** *Eretria.* A base found at *Olympia*, 3.06 m. long, composed of two blocks of Parian marble 0.28 m. in thickness, 1.18 m. in breadth, on a sub-structure of limestone. The letters are 0.055 m. in height. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 226; IGA 373.

ΘΙΑΞΙΟΞΕΠΟΙΕ

Φιλήσιος ἐποίει.

ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΞΤΟΙΔΙ

Ἐρετριεὺς τῷ Δί.

Cf. Paus. v. 27. 9 Βωὼν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριεύς ἐστὶ Φιλήσιου. On the base itself was found a gilded ear, and close to it a horn.

**171.** *Euboean.* A gem formerly belonging to the collection of Badesights de Laborde, now in the Br. Mus. "en caractères archaïques, très-fins et très-espacés," Froehner, *Mélanges*, &c. p. 14; IGA 376.

ΔΟΡΙΕΞΕΡΟΙΕΞΕ

Δουρίης ἐποίησε.

(ii) **Chalcis.**

**172.** A slab mutilated on all sides, found at *Chalcis*. Pittakis, *Ephem.* 3581; IGA 375.

ΑΛΡΑΥΛΟΣ

ΔΙΟΑΕΙΝΑΥΤ

ΜΟΣΚΛΕΑΡ....

ΥΡΟΟΡΟΒΙΕ

5 ΔΑΤΥΟΣΟΡΟΙ

ΘΑΛΑΡΙΔΟ

ΟΝΑΘΑΙΝΑ

v. l. □ for □ acc. to Pittakis.

- ..... \*Αγραυλος . . . .  
 ... δίου. ἀειναῦτ[αι] . . .  
 ... μος Κλεαρ . . . . .  
 ... ὕρου. Ὀροβιή[της] . . (or Ὀροβιε[ύς] ?)  
 5 ... δάτυος Ὀρο[βιήτης] . .  
 ... [Φ?] αλάριδο[ς] . . . . .  
 ... [Γ]νάθαινα ?

The ἀειναῦται are mentioned by Plut. 2. 298 c as a magistracy at Miletus, which held its sittings on shipboard: but the passage throws no light upon this fragment.

§ 79. **The Alphabets.** Premising that the alphabets of Styra, Eretria, &c. on the one hand and that of Chalcis on the other agree in all essential points, differing only in the form of *lambda*, which in the Chalcidian branch is λ, a peculiarity occurring elsewhere in Hellas proper only in Boeotia and Attica, we note (i) the use of the Ψ or Ψ and + with the values respectively of χ and ξ, thus marking the Euboean alphabets as belonging to the Western division: for ψ there is no sign; it was probably represented by πσ (but cf. note on 169. 269): (ii) of *digamma* there is no trace in the inscriptions, but its presence in the alphabet of the mother country Chalcis (and probably Styra and Eretria) may be inferred from its occurrence on the vase-inscriptions of the Chalcidian colonies: (iii) Ε or Η is used only for the *spiritus asper*: (iv) μ appears in the forms Μ Μ (though on the inscriptions of the Chalcidian colonies the older Μ Μ is also found): (v) ν has the forms Ν Ν Ν: (vi) Ο represents ο, ου, ω: (vii) *koppa* appears to have gone out of use at least in Styra, as may be inferred from Ἐπίκουρος, Κύκνος, &c. (unless the reading on the lead-plate no. 169. 98 Ἐπιγρήθεος is to be trusted); in Chalcis its absence is accounted for by the dearth of inscriptions, for it appears in those of the colonies: (viii) *sigma*, though conforming generally to the type Σ (except in the later inscriptions which have Σ), appears in various rounded and curved forms according to the caprice of the engraver. Whether the *san* may be claimed for Chalcidian, must depend upon the provenance of no. 167.

§ 80. **Age of the inscriptions.** These, if we may include the athlete-inscription no. 167, may be grouped in three periods, distinguished by the forms of σ and θ. Thus the athlete-inscription with

its  $M = \sigma$  is obviously the oldest, and this conclusion is borne out by the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  arrangement, and is not necessarily invalidated by the absence of the sign for *spiritus asper*. Next follow the leaden plates of Styra, some of which are written retrograde. Third in order we may place those documents which exhibit the three-stroke  $\sigma$  but the later  $\theta$ : to this section belongs the stone-fragment no. 172 (in which the first letter of l. 6 is probably a mis-shapen  $\phi$  or  $\theta$  and not the *spiritus*). Lastly come the inscriptions which have the four-stroke  $\sigma$  and later  $\theta$ : these are the Eretrian marble, no. 170, and the Euboic gem, no. 171. The coins of Chalcis ( $\Psi\text{AL}$ ), as containing none of the crucial letters, afford little means of comparison; they appear to belong rather to the latest of the periods distinguished above. If we may accept the date assigned to them by numismatists (cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 117), the latter half of the fifth century B.C., the period designated above as the *third* may well fall within the first half of the fifth century B.C.

§ 81. **Dialect of the inscriptions.** The dialect is probably Ionic throughout, as may be seen from such forms as  $\text{Ἀριστοκλίδης}$  IGA 372. 29,  $\text{Διωνίδης}$  IGA 372. 78,  $\text{Ξέινος}$  IGA 372. 296. In the athlete-inscription no. 167 Kirchhoff (*A. Z.* xxxvii. 153; cf. Comparetti, *l.c.*) would read  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and alter  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  to  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho[\alpha]$ ; but even so the word is open to objection, for in hardly any Aeolic or Doric dialect is  $\xi\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ) found, and in any case it is not likely that the crasis would be preceded by the *tenuis*.

## THE ERETRIAN AND CHALCIDIAN COLONIES.

§ 82. **Relation of the alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies to the Italic alphabets.** The Colonies of Eretria and Chalcis on the Macedonian and Thracian coasts are unrepresented by inscriptional remains. The legends of the older coins of the Eretrian colony Mende<sup>1</sup> on the isthmus of Pallene,  $\text{ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ}$  later  $\text{ΜΙΝΔΑΟΝ}$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 120) adds a caution that this Mende must be distinguished from the town of the same name near Aenos, mentioned only by Pausanias. After describing (v. 27. 12) a votive offering  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\tilde{\nu} \Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta \text{Μενδαίων}$  and quoting the epigram upon it, Pausanias adds  $\text{Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Ἀένω πόλει}$ . That this and not the Mende on Pallene is meant, as some try to show by





V A R I L

Λ  $\overline{\text{O}}$ 

Χαρίλεώ εἰμι | Λ ?

I I W 3

**176.** On a fragment of tufa-stone, about 0.67 m. in height, 0.67 m. in breadth, 0.28 m. in thickness, dug out near *Cumae*, and now in the Museum at Naples. The letters are large. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. 1858, vi. p. 49 sqq. tab. 1; IGA 527.

K P I T O B

Κριτοβούλης.

3 3 1 0

**177.** On a fragment of tufa-stone found in the same place as the last. It is the upper part of an old tombstone and measures 0.4 m. in height and 0.54 m. in breadth. Now in the Museum at Naples. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. 1858, vi. p. 55 sqq. tab. 2; IGA 528.

D E M O V

3 0 1 9 A

Δημοχάριδός εἰμι τοῦ . . . . .

E M I T O

**177 a.** A tomb inscription found at *Cumae*. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 353; *Bull. d. inst.* 1885, p. 52; Kirchhoff, *Stud.* 120 sq.

H V Γ V T E I K Λ I N E I T O V T E I Λ | E N O Σ H V Γ V

Ἐπὺ τῇ κλίνῃ τούτῃ Ἀῆνος . Ἐπὺ . . .

*Κλίνη* in the sense of 'bier' occurs in Plato, *Legg.* 947 v, d, Dion. H. 8. 59. Perhaps here it means a 'compartment of a tomb'. With *ἐπὺ* cf. Lesb., *Arcad. ἀπύ*, Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 62; *τοῦτε* as an *adverb* is common in the Delphian inscriptions, Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 352.

**178.** A bronze lamina of *Zancle* 0.00075 m. in thickness, found at *Olympia*, near the Philippeum, before the wall of the peribolus. It is much mutilated. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 141, tab. xviii. 5; Curtius, *Ausgr.* iii. tab. 25; IGA 518.

I H E D O V

3 A T V A 3 V

I O M E N O 3

3 3 3 3 3 1 V

5 / E M I O 3 B V

I A V 3 3 3

V K L E N K 3 3

A D V O T

3 3 V V M A

10 3 3 O H 3 3 3

1. 2 . . . ι ἡ δον . . νγ(?)αντας . . . .

3. 4 [δικα]ζόμενος νικηθείη

5. 6 [πολ]εμίους βληθῆναι

7. 8 [Δά]νκλην κ[αί] τὸν Δα[νκλαῖον]

9. 10 [τοῦ]ς συν[μάχο]ις οὗς —.

To judge from the alphabet, the inscription should be older than the capture of Zancle by the Samians (493 B.C.).

179. A thin lamina of bronze, found at *Olympia*, in eight fragments seven of which have been pieced together. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 51 sq.; IGA 374.

	ΠΙΟΙΣΦΟ	ΛΒΑ
	ΣΑΝΚΑΙ	ΙΟ
	ΙΤΟΙΠΝΟ	
	ΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΤΕΤ	ΝΕ
5	ΝΑΝΕΒΟΣΝ	CVNA
	ΙΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΦΕΝ(Ο	ΣΑΛΛΕΝ
	ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙΔΕΣΤΟΝΕΝ	ΕΑΘΟΤΙ
	ΛΕΣΟΟ ΘΟΦΕΝ(ΟΝΤ	ΜΕΝ
	ΝΕΠΙΔΕΜΟΝΘΑΙΡΕ	ΘΟΔΕΠ
10	ΛΔ ΔΕΔΙΚΑΣΑΙΕΝΠΕΝΤΕΜ	
	ΕΝΔΕΝΟΝΟΜΜΥΝΤΟΘΟΤΙΔΑΝΕ	
	ΑΒΟ ΣΕ ΝΒΟΜΟΝΤΟΠΟ	
	Ι ΝΤΙΔΙΦΟΙΣΚΑΤΑΤΟ	
	ΟΟΝ ΕΙΝΑ	

1. 1 .... πίοις φο(ου ω) -- 2 .... [ο]σαν καί. 3 [Ἀπόλλων]ι τῷ Πυθ[ῶ]. 4 ... ον καὶ ἄρξε(η)τ[αι] νε -- 5 ... [ε]ν ἀνήβους (or ἀνηβος) ν ... γυνα[υκ] .... 6 .... [ο]ι (φ) κατὰ τοῦ φεύγο[ντο]ς ἀλλη[ν] .... 7 δικασταὶ δ' ἔστων ἐν[ν]έα. ὅ,τι [δ' ἀν]. 8 [ἐ]λέσθω-(?) ὁ φεύγων τ[ῶν] μέν. 9 .... ν ἐπίδημον. αἰρεῖ[σ]θω δὲ π .... 10 .... δὲ δικάσαι ἐν πέντ' ἡμ[έρ]... 11 ... ην δ' ἔχων ὀμνύτω. ὅ,τι δ' ἂν ἐ... 12 ... α βοῦς ἐ[πὶ τὸ]ν βωμόν τῶπό[λλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου.] 13 [τοῖς δ]ντιδίφοις κατὰ το...

The inscription should belong either to Chalcis or one of its colonies; the form of γ seems to point to the latter. For the Θ and Ο cf. note on p. 64 and no. 289 a.

180. A block of Parian marble 0.26 m. in height, 0.98 m. long, 0.755 m. thick, found at *Olympia* S. of the Heraeum. The letters are 0.02—0.026 m. in height. Furtwaengler, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 149 sqq.; IGA 532; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 81.

ΜΙΟΡΣΟΙΚΕΟΝΕΝΤΕΣΕΕΙ  
 ΝΚΑΙΘΕΑΙΣΓΑΡΑΙΣ  
 ΑΙΥΡΕΜΑΤΟΝΗΟΡΡΑΓΟΙΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΕΣΕΝ  
 ΕΛΘΟΜΕΡΕΙΤΑΕΝ+ΑΜΕΝ

[On the stone the ϝ is more rounded and less angular than is represented by the type.]

[Τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε Μίκυθος (or Σμικ.?) ὁ Χοίρου, Ῥηγίνος καὶ ἀπὸ  
πορθμοῦ Μεσσή-]νιος Φοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ,  
[Χάριν δέξιν ἀποδιδούς ἀνέθηκα ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ φθισιῶντος θεοῖς πᾶσι]ν καὶ  
θεαῖς πάσαις.  
[ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐς τὴν ἱερικὴν τέχνην ἀναλώματα χρόνου καὶ πόνου κ]αὶ  
χρημάτων, ὥς σαφοῖ, πλεῖστα ἐγέν[ετο]  
[καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέρηνα . . . . . ἐπὶ πᾶν] ἐλθών, ἔπειτα εὐξάμην . . .

The text has been tentatively restored from data supplied by Hdt. vii. 170 and Paus. v. 26. This marble and the next are from the bases of offerings dedicated by the Rhegine Micythus; and in that case they are necessarily of later date than Ol. 78. 2=467 B.C., when Micythus migrated from Rhegium to Tegea: cf. Diod. xi. 66, where the story is told of Micythus's honourable guardianship of the sons of Anaxilas. We obtain further a later limit of date if Furtwaengler (*l. c.*) is right in inferring from the stratum of building rubbish in which it was found that no. 181 cannot be older than the middle of the fifth century B.C. — l. 3 ὡς σαφοῖ i.e. ὡς σφῶς is Roehl's conjecture for ὅσσα Φοι of Furtw. This and Φοικέων (*l. l.*; 181, l. 1) must be added to the instances of *F* collected by Erman, *Curt. Stud.* v. p. 250 sqq. § 3; they help to bear out the statement that the Euboeans and Chalcidians of Magna Graecia retained the *F* longer than the rest of the Ionians. On the question whether the *F* is found in any other Ionic inscriptions than the Chalcidian see the note on no. 27 (*Naxos*). The confusion in the dialect of this and the next inscription may be due (cf. Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 128) to Micythus's long sojourn in more than one home.

181. Fragments of Parian marble one of which (*a*) 0.285 m. in height, 0.45 m. in breadth, 0.51 m. in thickness, was found at *Olympia*, N. E. of the Temple of Zeus. It is broken on the right and beneath, and on the left was leaning against another stone of which a few fragments survive (*b—f*). Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 139, tab. xvii. 1; Furtwaengler, *ib.* xxxvii. p. 149 sqq.; IGA 533; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 31.

*a.*

Ι Ο ϝ Ι Ο Ι Κ Ε Ο Ν Ε  
Κ Α Ι Θ Ε Α Ι ϝ Π Α ϝ Α  
Α Ι Β Ρ Ε Μ Α Τ Ο Ν Ο  
Ε Λ Θ Ο Ν Ε Π Ε Ι Τ Α Ε

<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>f.</i>
Ο ϝ	Ε			Λ
Λ Ε Θ	. Ε	Δ Ε	Κ .	Δ Ε Ι
...				

[Τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε Μίκυθ] (*b*) ος [ὁ Χοίρου, Ῥηγίνος] (*e*) κ[αὶ ἀπὸ  
πορθμοῦ Μεσσ[σῆ]ν]ιος, Φοικέων ἐ[ν Τεγέῃ,]

[χάριν ἀξίην ἀποδιδούς α] (δ) νέθη[κα ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ φθισιῶντος θεοῖς πᾶσιν]  
καὶ θεαῖς πάσα[ις]

[ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν ἡγερικὴν τέχνην ἀναλώματα χρόνου καὶ πόνου κ]αὶ  
χρημάτων, ὥ[ς σαφοῖ, πλείστα ἐγένετο]

[καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέρηναι . . . . . ἐπὶ πᾶν] ἐλθών, ἔπειτα ε[ὑξάμην] . . . .

This inscription probably was not by the same hand as the last, not merely because the arrangement there was throughout *στοιχηδόν*, here only partially so, nor because the sign for *spiritus asper* was there added and here omitted, but chiefly because (i) the λ is different in the two inscriptions, (ii) the α in the one has the crossbar horizontal, in the other oblique. The non-Chalcidian λ may be due to the influence of the Samians, who occupied Messene in the fifth century B.C.: cf. no. 182 and the note.

182. Two fragments of a base of white volcanic (?) stone, found at *Olympia* in the palaestra. The dimensions of the fragments as combined are 0.80 m. in height, 0.72 m. in breadth, and 0.81 m. in thickness in the thickest part. The upper inscription, that of the artist, is much mutilated; the lower, by a different hand, is well preserved. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 142, tab. xix. 1; xxxix. p. 83; IGA 536; Blass, *DI.* i. 1169.

ΑΙΜΕΚΑΛΟΜΓΕΛΕ	ΑΛΞΙ ΖΕΠΟΙΕ
... ..	...
Λ Ν Κ Ι Η Σ Ο Λ Ν	Κ Κ Ι Δ Ξ Ο
... ..	...
Ι Ε Ρ Μ Η Ι Ρ	Γ Ι Ν Ο Σ

[Γλαυκία]ι με Κάλων γεν[εαί F]αλει[ορ] ἐποίη.

[Γλα]υκίης ὁ Λ[υ]κκίδεω

[τῶ]ι Ἑρμῇ ῥ[η]γῖνος.

Cf. Paus. v. 27. 8: οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φερεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα, κηρύκειον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγῖνον, ποιῆσαι δὲ Κάλλωνα (leg. Κάλωνα) Ἥλειον. The Elean inscription of the artist is followed by the Ionic-Chalcidian inscription of the donor. In the Η we recognise the encroachment of Ionicism as in no. 181, where see the note. The reading *φαλειορ* (for -ος) is due to Blass *l.c.*, who acutely conjectured that the ζ was not σ (which in the next two lines has four strokes) but the remnant of ρ: he also points out that the dialect requires *ἐποίη*, not *ἐποίη*.

183. Two Chalcidian inscriptions on paterae, formerly at *Gela*; now in the Museum of Palermo. The letters are 0.007 m.—0.008 m. in height, carelessly incised on the rims. IGA 519, 520.

a.

ΗΙΠΟΔΡΟΜΕΣΤΟΔΕΔΟΔΟΛΠΕΔΙΟΙ

Ἴπ(π)οδρομῆς τόδε δῶρον Πεδιοῖ.

b.

ΑΡΦΥΛΕΣΤΟΔΕΔΟ ΟΛΠΕΔΙΟΙ

Ἀρϕύλης τόδε δῶ[ρ]ον Πεδιοῖ.

The alphabet shows that the inscriptions are not Geloean but Chalcidian. Roehl takes Πεδιοί to be dative of a female name Πεδιώ. The similarity of the two inscriptions he explains by supposing that Pedio herself wrote them on the two presents made to her. Fick however (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 127) prefers Πεδίφ, dative of Πέδιος (or Πεδίος), a Sicilian hero; cf. Πεδιοκράτης or Πεδιακράτης (see Pape, *Lex.*).

184. On the bottom of a small bronze patera found in the same place as no. 177 among the ashes. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. 1858, vi. p. 68; IGA 529.

ΔΕΜΟΝΟΣ Δήμωνος.

185. On two amphorae from Cumae in the collection of the Count of Syracuse: the letters are incised. *Bull. Nap.* vii. p. 136; IGA 530, 531.

a. ΨΑΙΡΙΩ:ΕΛΛΙ Χαίριώ εἰμί.

b. ΒΙΩΤΟ Βιότου.

186. On a bronze caduceus from Longana (near Messene) found in a Sicilian tomb, and now in the Br. Mus. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 40; IGA 522.

ΛΟΝΓΕΝΑΙΟΣΕΜΙΔΕΜΟΣ . . . .

Λουγγναῖός εἰμι δημόσ[ιος].

It is natural to suppose that under Chalcidian rule the name of the town was Longene, not Longana. On the Ionic Λ see the notes to 181, 182.

187. An inscription (which the Ψ shows to have been brought to Agrigentum from some Chalcidian colony) written on a bronze handle, found at Agrigentum. Published by its possessor, Baldassare Romano, *Antichità inedite di vario genere*, Palermo, 1854, p. 16, tab. 6, n. 14; IGA 521.

ΨΡΥΞΙΠΟ Χρυσίπ(π)ου.

Cf. § 65, note.

# 188—194. Vase inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

188. A vase from Voici, representing preparation for battle, with black figures, touched with violet and white, on a light ground. CIG 7381; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 124.

a.	b.	c.
ζΟΦΟΔΟΛΛΔ	ΒΙΠΠΟΥΛΥΤΕ	ΤΥ+ΙΣ
Δημόδοφος	Ἴππολύτη	(?) [Ζε]ῦξις

<sup>1</sup> For the study of ancient Greek vases, which does not come within the scope of this work, the reader is referred to Inghirami, *Pitture di vasi fittili*: Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*: Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des Monuments Céramographiques*: Dumont and Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce Propre*, I. *Vases Peints*: Lau, *Die griechischen Vasen*.

d. +ΟΓ (?) τοξ-	e. ΟΤΝΥΦ Φλυτώ <sup>1</sup>	f. ΞΑΦΙΔΞΠ Περίφας	g. ΞΟΦΥΑΝΥ Γλαῦκος
h. ΞΟΔΥΝΟΠ Πόλυ[β]ος	i. ΞΟΘΥΑ+ Ξάνθος	h. ΞΟΙΠΟΓ 'Ρόπιος	

189. An amphora of the Pembroke collection with black figures on a light ground, representing the fight for the corpse of Achilles. CIG 7686; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 124. Probably a is retrograde; the λ is then the Chalcidian form.

a. ΞΘΕΥΕΛΟΣ Σθένηςλος	b. ΔΙΟΜΕΔΕΣ Διομήδης	c. ΑΥΙΛΛΕΥΣ 'Αχιλλεύς
d. ΞΙΓΑΠ Πάρις	e. ΑΙΑΞ Αΐας	f. ΞΞΥΛΙΑ Αινέης
h. ΛΕΟΔΟΦΟΣ Λεώδοφος	i. ΞΟΠΠΙΥΞ 'Εχιππος	g. ΞΟΦΥΝΥ Γλ[α]ῦρος

190. Two vases in the Leyden Museum with black figures on a bright ground, both with the same representation of a dance of Satyrs and Maenads, having in some cases the same inscriptions. Only the uncorrupted names are quoted. CIG 7459 and 7460; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 125.

(1)

a. ΞΙΛΛΟΣ Σίμος	b. ΜΥΡΟ Μυρώ	c. ΙΟΞ Φιώ	d. ΞΠΓΟΜ Μολπή
e. ΑΝΤΙΕΣ Αντίης	f. ΟΤΝΥΧ Κλυτώ	g. ΞΟΙΑΙΠΙΘ 'Ιπ(π)αῖος	h. ΟΘΥΑ+ Ξανθώ
i. ΔΟΡΚΙΣ Δορκίς	h. ΑΘΟΥ Χώρα	l. ΟΕΑΤΙΕΣ 'Οφατίης	

(2)

a. ΞΟΠΠΗ 'Ιπ(π)ος	b. ΙΟΘΥΑ+ Ξαν[θ]ώ	c. ΕΙΟ (?) [Φ]ιώ (?)	d. ΞΒΕΙΟΦ Φοιβή
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<sup>1</sup> For these female names in -ω or -φ, see note on no. 109 b.

e.	f.	g.
ΔΙΚΙΟΔ	ΝΑΙΣ	ΔΟΡΟ
Δορκίς	Ναῖς	Δωρο-

191. An amphora from Volci with black figures on bright ground, representing the contest of Heracles with Geryones. CIG 7582; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 126.

a.	b.
ΑΘΕΛΑΙΕ	ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ
Ἀθηναίη	Ἡρακλῆς
c <sup>1</sup> .	d.
ΞΥΟΙΟΥΑ	ΕΥΡΥΤΙΟΝ
Γαρυφώνης	Εὐρυτίων

192. An amphora of the Munich Museum, with black figures on a bright ground, representing the fight of Heracles with Cyenus. CIG 7611; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 126.

a.	b.
ΣΥΟΥΟΥ	ΣΕΛ > . . . . H
Ούγυ[ο]ς	Ἡ[ρακλ]ῆς

193. A Volcentine amphora of the Munich collection, with black figures, touched with violet and white, on a light ground, representing the contest of Zeus with Typhon and the delivery of the boar's head by Meleagros to Atalanta. CIG 7382; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 127.

a.	b.	c.
ΑΛΛΑΤΑ	ΣΥΕΛΕ	ΣΟΙΤΥΝΥ
Ἀταλ[άντη]	[Π]ηλεύς	Φλύτιος
d.	e.	
ΜΑΟΦΕΟΕ	ΙΕΥΣ	
Μάοφος	Ζεύς	

194. A vase of the Magnoncours collection with figures coloured as above. CIG 7708; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 126.

a.	b.	c.
ΑΔΡΕΣΤΟΣ	ΤΥΔΙΥΣ	ΟΜΑΥΟΣ
Ἀδρηστος	Τυδ[ε]ύς	-όμαχος

§ 84. **The Alphabet.** The alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies agrees closely with that of the mother-state, especially in the peculiar form of the *lambda*, λ. The use of an older form of the μ, Μ, V,

<sup>1</sup> The form of γ on the vase is more like λ or >; but the thickness of the lines makes it frequently difficult to determine the actual form of the letters: e.g. the forms of σ often so completely lose their angles or curves that it is hard to say whether λ, ζ or ξ is meant. For Γαρυφώνης see p. 210, note.



on the oldest documents, and the rounded form of the *gamma*, C, constitute no essential difference. The occurrence, however, of the forms L and C side by side may be regarded as a characteristic mark by which to recognise the alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies. Of the remaining signs it is necessary only to remark that no  $\psi$  was present, as is shown by the  $\phi\sigma$  of  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta$  on the Tataia inscr. (173) and  $\text{Μάοψος}^1$  on a vase of Volci (193 d); and that the occurrence of the *koppa* and the X or  $\vdash = \xi$  abundantly justifies the inference of their presence in the mother-alphabet also. The form of *digamma*, Γ, as confirmed both by the vase inscriptions and those of Rhegium is peculiar; it occurs also in the Ionising alphabet of Tarentum (cf. no. 271 and note). Lastly, on the marble of Rhegium, no. 180, is found a form of the *spiritus asper*, [Γ], which we have noticed in the Naucratis inscriptions (§ 67), and which strikingly recalls the *cheth* of the Moabite stone (see table, p. 5); while on the similar Rhegine inscription, no. 181, it appears to be omitted altogether (in the word  $\omega[\varsigma]$ ).

§ 85. **Age of the inscriptions.** In attempting to separate the inscriptions into relative chronological groups, we may take into account (i) the direction of the writing, (ii) the forms of certain signs, especially those for  $\theta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\sigma$ , and *spiritus asper*; but none of these latter, as will be seen, afford an absolutely safe criterion. We may, however, group in a first period those inscriptions which are written *βουστροφῆδόν* or retrograde, together with those which, though having the left to right direction, must from their place of origin (as in the case of many vases) or similarity of style be ranked with the former. But even in this first group we must recognise an older stratum and a younger transition stratum: thus those examples in which the oldest form of  $\mu$  occurs will readily be classed as the most ancient; while some of the vase inscriptions appear to exhibit the  $\Sigma$  side by side with the  $\varsigma$ , the  $\boxplus$  and the  $\otimes$ ; and one *βουστροφῆδόν* inscription, that of Zancle, no. 178, has actually the open H<sup>2</sup> (cf. no. 42). The characteristics of this first period may be studied in nos. 173—178 and many of the vase inscriptions 188 sqq.

In the second period we may class generally those inscriptions which are not *βουστροφῆδόν* but have three-stroke  $\varsigma$  or S. The un-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. however the note on no. 169, 283.

<sup>2</sup> We have already experienced difficulty in using the forms of  $\eta$  as a criterion in the case of Samos and Amorgos; see the Table, p. 194.

stable nature of the alphabet during this period is shown, e.g. by the occurrence of  $\Xi$  and  $\Theta$  on the same inscription, no. 179, which, owing to its semicircular *gamma*, we have considered to belong rather to a colony of Chalcis than to the mother-country. For this period see nos. 179—181, 183.

The third period is marked by the introduction of the  $\Sigma$  and the encroachment of Ionic forms, as for instance the  $H=\eta$  in the Rhegine inscription no. 182. See nos. 186, 187.

Now if Kirchhoff (*A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 141) is right in assuming the Zancle inscription, no. 178, to be earlier than 494 B.C., the date of the capture of Zancle by the Samians, we may fairly consider the older vase inscriptions to be at least as old as this, and the two tomb inscriptions of Cumae (176, 177) to be slightly older; while the lekythos and the basin of Cumae are shown by their  $\Lambda\Lambda$  to be considerably more ancient, perhaps as old as the middle of the sixth century B.C. Of those inscriptions again, which we have grouped in the second period, the two Rhegine marbles cannot be earlier than 467 B.C., the year in which Miccythus migrated from Rhegium to Tegea, and are proved by the position in which they were found at Olympia (see no. 180, *note*) to be not older than the middle of the fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>; and the Rhegine dedication of Glaucias (182) with its  $H=\eta$  and its  $\Sigma$  must be later still.

§ 86. **Dialect.** It needs only a glance to see that the dialect of almost all the inscriptions is decidedly Ionic. Compare the forms *Taraiḗs* (173), *Φειδίλειω* (174), *Δημοχάριδος* (177), &c. It is thus all the more strange that the collection of vases quoted above should have been reckoned under the head of 'Doric,' in spite of the fact that the inscriptions on them are plainly Ionic<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the conception of a 'Doric' alphabet is vague and misleading, if by it is meant that an alphabet belongs to the Western group; for the alphabets of this group are neither exclusively Doric nor contain the alphabets of

<sup>1</sup> That, however, they cannot be much later, if at all, seems clear from a comparison of the Rhegine coins, with the legend  $\text{PECI}|\text{V}|\text{O}\Sigma$ , purporting to have been minted by Anaxilas. These therefore should fall within the period 492—476 B.C. and show that the  $\Sigma$  was in full use at least as early as 476 B.C. Indeed unless the vase inscriptions are to be considered archaïsing imitations, it must have come into use beside the  $\varsigma$  very much earlier.

<sup>2</sup> The  $\alpha$  of *Γαρυφόνης*, 191 c, Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 126, attributes to a peculiarity of this section of Ionic, for which analogies are not lacking in the cognate dialects and even in that of Asia Minor. Cf. note on no. 27 (*Naxos*).

all Doric stems. The inscriptions on the vases are shown in nearly all cases (1) by the  $\vdash = \xi$  and  $\vee = \chi$  to belong to the Western group, (2) by the  $\perp = \lambda$  and  $\text{C} = \gamma$  to have come from a Chalcidian colony.

## BOEOTIA.

§ 87. **Inscriptions.** Our materials for the construction of the Boeotian alphabet consist of inscriptions from Thebes, Orchomenos, Lebadeia, Coroneia, Thespieae and the neighbourhood, Thisbe, Acræphiae, Tanagra and the neighbourhood, Leuctra, Plataeae, together with some of Boeotian origin but found in other places. The inscriptions, upwards of 200 in number, are for the most part epitaphs and of small extent. As a full transcription would be both tedious and needless, it will suffice to give a representative selection. (For explanations of dialectic peculiarities unnoticed in this section the student is referred to Meister, *Gr. Dial.*, and the Index of Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*)

## Thebes.

**195.** Found in a village church between *Thebes* and *Tanagra*, written on a blue stone. IGA 183.

$\beta \diamond \varphi \alpha \varsigma$        $\beta \acute{o} \varphi \alpha \varsigma$  or  $\beta \acute{\omega} \varphi \alpha \varsigma$ .

(The *koppa* on the stone is angular, like the other letters.)

**196.** Engraved and painted in red on the handle of a black cyathus, found between *Thebes* and *Phyle*. IGA 186.

$\beta \epsilon \perp \odot \mid \rangle$        $\beta \epsilon \lambda \phi \acute{\iota} \varsigma$ : probably a Boeotian female name for  $\Delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \acute{\iota} \varsigma$ .

**197.** On the lid of a bluish limestone sarcophagus, found at *Thebes* in 1853. Bursian, *Bull. d. inst.* 1854, p. xxxv.; Rang. 2272; Vischer, *Epigr. u. arch. Beitr.* p. 47, tab. vi. 5 (Kl. Schriften, p. 70 sqq.); Keil, *Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.* n. s. suppl. iv. p. 54; IGA 187 (from Vischer's copy).

$\odot \mid \phi$      $\text{IBP}^{\text{M}} \text{C} \varsigma$   
 $\text{N} \Xi \Xi \text{N} \vee \text{ID} \text{R} \text{IO}$   
 $\text{E} \varsigma \text{IO} \vee \text{ID} \Xi \text{Y} \varsigma$

...  $\iota[\delta] \alpha \mu[o] \varsigma$   $[\text{M}] \epsilon \nu \nu \acute{\iota} \delta[a] o$  'Εσγονιδεύς.

Bursian l. 2 reads  $\text{M} \Xi \text{N} \vee \text{ID} \Delta \text{O}$  and l. 3  $\text{E} \varsigma \text{IO} \vee \text{ID} \text{EY} \varsigma$ . Vischer explained  $\epsilon \sigma \gamma \omicron \nu \acute{\iota} \delta \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma$  to mean 'a descendant.' Roehl prefers 'Εσγ. or 'Εσπ. as a deme-name. On the genitive in -ao of A-stems see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 345.

**198.** Written on the flutings of a small column found at *Thebes*, now in the Museum. Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. 1879, p. 130 sqq.; IGA 191.

ΔΙΟΜΟΛΟΙΟΙ Δι' Ὁμολωῖοι  
ΑΙΤΜΟΝΔΑΣΑΡΟΔΕΚΑ Ἀγ[ε]μῶνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας].

On the (locative) dative in -οι in Boeotian (late Elean, Delphian, Acarnanian, Arcadian) see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 350.

**198 a.** On the drum of a column, found at *Thebes*. IGA 240; Larfeld, *Inscr. Boeot.* no. 279.

ΠΥΡΩ (Πύρρω) ἄρχοντ[ος].

**199. a.** On a tomb-stone found at *Thebes*, now in the Museum. Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. p. 143; IGA 198.

ΠΟΛΥΣΣΤΡΟΤΑ Πολυσστρότα.

b. On a base of white stone found at *Thebes* in 1841. Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 844; Rang. 366; IGA 243.

ΥΠΡΑΪΑ [Εὐ]πραξί[α].

**200.** Two continuous fragments (*a* 1—14, *b* 15—28) of a stone resembling Hymettian marble found at *Thebes*, now in the Museum. (*a*) Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. 1879, p. 140 sqq.; (*b*) Kaibel, *Herm.* viii. p. 420 sq.; IGA 300.

[Δα]μπρι[ῆος] . . . . .	15 . . . . . [Ἀρίστων] . . . . .
[Π]ολυκλείος, Γλ[αυκ] . . .	. . . λιος, Ἀμφι . . . . .
. . . . οδότιος, Ξένων . . .	. . . . ς Θιογένειο[s] . . . . .
. . . ς, Λυσίας Κλιδαμίδ[ας]	[Ἰπ]ποκύδεις Τιμών[ιος] . . .
5 [Τε]λεστήος, Φιλόξεν[ος] . .	[Ὀλ]υμπιόδωρος Πρα . . . .
. . . δότιος, Ἀντίδρο[s] . . .	20 . υρομοκλῆς Μνα[σ] . . . .
. . . νοστος Ἀπολλοδώ[ριος] . .	Φίλιππος Ἀνδρεῖ[τιος]
. . . στίας Πτωλλίος[s] . . .	. κράτεις Μοττύλ[ιος]
Μέννει Διοξότι[ος] . . . .	[Βρα]σίδας Νικοστρότ[ιος] .
10 . . . κλίδας Ἀμινάδαο . . .	[Ἰσ]μεινοτέλεις . . . . .
. . . κίδαο, Ἀρίστηχμο[s] . .	25 ὄνιος, Μνασίας . . . . .
[ι]ος, Πτωλλίει Ἐπιστ . . .	ριος, Χαρτάδα[s] . . . . .
Χαρίδας Ἀριστογι[γόνιος]	[Ἀρι]στογιγόνιος, Δι . . .
. . . [Ἰ]π[α]τόδωρος Μ . . .	. . ιογ[ένειος]

Each name in the list is followed by an adjectival patronymic, except that nouns ending in -δας are in the genitive (l. 4 Κλιδαμίδαο). The use of these adjectival patronymics continued in Boeotian inscr.: to the end of the 4th century B. C. (cf. 166 b Add., 241). For an estimate of their value in determining the relative chronology of inscr. see Larfeld, *Syll. inscr. Boeot.* p. xii. sqq. The present inscr. is anterior to the adoption of the Ionian alphabet, but Η=η has been introduced

200.

α.

Α Μ Π Ρ Ι Η Ο  
 ... ..  
 Ο Λ Υ Κ Λ Ε Ι Ο Σ Γ Λ Α  
 ...  
 Ο Δ Ο Τ Ι Ο Σ Ξ Ε Ν Ο Ν  
 Σ Λ Υ Σ Ι Α Σ Κ Λ Ι Δ Α Μ Ι Δ Α  
 5 Ε Λ Ε Σ Τ Η Ο Σ Φ Ι Λ Ο Ξ Ε Ν  
 ...  
 Δ Ο Τ Ι Ο Σ Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Ρ Ο  
 Ν Ο Σ Τ Ο Σ Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Δ Ο  
 Σ Τ Ι Α Σ Π Τ Ο Ι Λ Λ Ι Ο  
 Μ Ε Ν Ν Ε Ι Δ Ι Ο Ξ Ο Τ Ι  
 10 Κ Λ Ι Δ Α Σ Α Μ Ι Ν Α Δ Α Ο  
 Κ Ι Δ Α Ο Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Η Χ Μ Ο  
 Ο Σ Π Τ Ο Ι Λ Λ Ε Ε Π Ι Σ Τ  
 Υ Α Ρ Ι Δ Α Σ Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Γ  
 Υ Π Α Τ Ο Δ Ο Ρ Ο Σ Μ  
 ... ..

β.

15 Ι Σ Τ Ο Ν  
 .....  
 Λ Ι Ο Σ Α Μ Φ Ι  
 Σ Θ Ι Ο Γ Ε Ν Ε Ι Ο  
 ...  
 . Π Ο Κ Υ Δ Ε Σ Τ Ι Μ Ο Ν  
 Υ Μ Π Ι Ο Δ Ο Ρ Ο Σ Π Ρ Α  
 ...  
 20 Υ Ρ Ο Μ Ο Κ Λ Ε Σ Μ Ν Α  
 Φ Ι Λ Ι Π Π Ο Σ Α Ν Δ Ο Ρ Ε  
 Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ι Σ Μ Ο Τ Τ Υ Λ  
 ...  
 Α Σ Ι Δ Α Σ Ν Ι Κ Ο Σ Τ Ρ Ο Τ  
 ...  
 Σ Μ Ε Ι Ν Ο Τ Ε Λ Ε Ι Σ  
 ...  
 25 Ο Ν Ι Ο Σ Μ Ν Α Σ Ι Α Σ  
 Ρ Ι Ο Σ Ψ Α Ρ Τ Α Δ Α  
 Σ Τ Ο Γ Ι Τ Ο Ν Ι Ο Σ Δ Ι  
 Ι Ο Γ Ε Ο Σ  
 ... ..

to replace the older  $\alpha$  (l. 11 Ἀρίστηχος), while  $\Xi = \eta$  ( $\epsilon$ ) when it is derived from  $\epsilon$ . The mixed nature of the alphabet is shown further by  $\Lambda = \lambda$ ,  $\circ = \omega$ ,  $\Psi = \chi$ , but  $\Xi = \xi$ . The later  $\mid$  takes the place of the older  $\text{E}$  (l. 27 Ἀριστογυῖνος); but the older  $\text{E}$  has not in every place given way to the later  $\text{E}$ , e. g. l. 9 Μεν $\text{E}$  but l. 12 Πτωλλ $\text{E}$ . These last are masculine nominatives, which have lost their  $s$ . Cf. Ἀκύλλει in an archaic catalogue of Tanagra, no. 217. l. 9 Διοδότιος for Διοδότιος: cf. Θεόδοτος, no. 217. On the whole subject of Boeotian vocalism see Larfeld, *op. cit.* pp. xv.—xxvii; Meister, *Gr. Dial.* pp. 214—252; and Blass, *Ausgpr.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 48—50. In l. 20 Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, 122) suggests Δρομοκλῆς (-εῖς).

201. At Thebes on a stone resembling Hymettian marble. IGA 301.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΞΕΝΕΣ Ἀριστοξένεις.

202. Thebes (?). Two inscriptions (a) on the right, (b) on the left thigh of a small bronze statue, found at Chalcis: now in the Berlin Museum. Koehler, *Mith.* i. p. 97 sq.; Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. 1879, p. 139 sq.; IGA 129.

a.                      b.  
 ΓΤΟΙΟΝΜΑΙΤΟΙ      ρ  
 ΙΟΙΝΞΜΙΒΙΟΙ      ζ  
                           π  
                           ⊕  
                           π  
                           Δ  
                           Λ

a.  
 Πρωτων, Μάστος  
 τοῖ Ἴσμηνιοι (sc. Ἀπόλλωνι)

b.  
 ἀνέθεαν (cf. 223 b).

Taking into account the fact that there was a celebrated temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, that ἀνέθεαν is a Boeotian form, and that Πρωτων or Πρωτων is a Boeotian name (see Pape, *Lex. s. v.*); and that Apollo himself under the name Πρωῖός had a temenos (cf. 214 b, c); we may perhaps conclude that the statue somehow found its way to Chalcis from Thebes.—Two persons, Ptoion and Mastos, dedicated to the god a statue of a fighting man, to indicate that they had themselves returned safe from battle (Roehl). For the *spiritus asper* in Ἴσμ. cf. ΗΙΣΜΕΝΑ IGA 286 (Coronea).

### Orchomenus.

203. Several short inscriptions found at Orchomenus. See IGA and Larfeld, *Syll.*, for the list of previous editors. The references below, except the last two, are to IGA.

a. 168 ΕΠΙΒΑΚΕΥΦΑΙ  
 ΕΠΙΔΕΥΣΟΛΙ

Ἐπὶ Βακείφαι. (Cf. Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. 257.)  
 Ἐπὶ Δέξυνι.

- b. 217 ΕΠΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΔΙΚΑΙ 'Επ' Ἀριστοδίκαι.  
 c. 258 ΚΥΔΙΛΛΕ Κυδίλλει.  
 d. 259 ΚΑΛΛΙΓΙΤΟΝ Καλλιγίτων.  
 e. 292 ΔΑΜΑΣΣΙΣ Δάμασσις.  
       ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛ Δαμοφίλ . . .  
 f. 293 ΕΑΝΑΧΙΔΟΤΟΣ [F]αναξίδοτος.  
 g. 294 ΗΕΡΑΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ Είραιόδωρος.  
 h. 295 . ΝΟΚΛΙΕΣ . . . νοκλίεις.  
 i. 296 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΔΑ Ἀριστομέδα or Ἀριστο-  
       μείδα.  
       ΚΕΦΑΛΛΙΣ Κεφαλλῖς.  
 k. 297 ΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΙΚΥΠΑΡΙΞΟΙ Φίλων τοῖ Κυπαρίσσοι.  
 l. *Mith.* vii. 360. A tombstone.  
       ΕΠΑΔΕΙΔΙ 'Επ' Ἀδεισίδι (?).  
 m. *Ibid.* A tombstone.  
       ΘΙΑΛΕΝΙΑ Θιαλένια: Boeotian form of  
       Θεογένεια.

a. For the formula cf. no. 118 b (*Selinus*), 206 b (*Lebadea*), etc.

204. Found at *Delphi*, apparently a dedication by an *Orchomenian*. Copied and edited by Dodwell, *Glass, and top. tour*, &c. ii. p. 509; Boeckh, *Proem. lectt. univ. Berol. hibern.* 1821-22; Rose, *Inscr.* p. 99, tab. xiii. 1; CIG 25; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> p. 132 (who defended its genuineness against Boeckh's suspicion of 'archaising imitation': see § 89 below); IGA 165, (where is given the facsimile of Dodwell's copy, which shows that it must have been made rudely with perhaps a quill-pen); Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 101. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 142, *note*.

ΙΟΘΑΛΟ>ΥΠΟΛΔ  
 ΚΟΙΟΤΙΟΣΞΕΥΣΕΡΥΟΜ  
 ΥΠΑΤΟΔΩΡΟΣΞΑΚΙΣΣΤΟΤ  
 ΕΡΟΣΑΤΑΝΞΘΞΒΑΙΟ

. [ιο]θαλο[ς δ] Πολ[α?] . . . ἀνέθηκε (or  
 δ δέινα . . . ἄλω [τ]ῷπόλ[λ]ωνι ἀνέθηκε)  
 [Β]οιώτιος ἐξ Ἐρχομ[ενῶ]  
 Ὑπατόδωρος Ἀ[ρ]ισστο[γέτων]  
 ἐποεῖσάταν Θηβαίω.

The form of *θ* is certainly due to the error of the copyist. The punctuation by means of three lines, instead of dots, may be an error in the copy, but precisely the same peculiarity occurs in an inscription on the ancient Attic ἀλτήρ, no. 41 a. On the spelling Ἐρχομενός see the note to no. 269. 12.

## Lebadea.

**205.** On a square black stone found at *Lebadea* in 1834. CIG 1678 b; Lb. 785; Keil, *Syll.* p. 194; 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 2409; Larfeld, *Syll.* 60; IGA 150. Three copies are subjoined (a) from CIG, (b) from 'Εφ. ἀρχ., (c) from Ross.

α.

ΛΕΒΑΔΕΑ.Ο..ΚΕΦΟΑΛΟ  
ΑΠΟΤΑΣΕΥΔΟΚΑΣ  
ΑΣΨΟΝΤΕΣΕΜΠΕΔΒΕ  
ΩΕ++ΙΓ  
5 ΘΕΟΚ  
ΕΠΛΛ

b.

Ε.....ΛΑ..Λ.  
ΑΠΟΤΑΣΚΕΡΔΟΚ  
ΑΡΙΟΝΤΕΣΕΜ..  
Σ...Σ...Π.Ν.  
Φ.Ο.Κ  
.ΓΚ.  
..Ο.Κ

c.

. . . . .  
ΑΠΟΤΑΚΕ.ΔΟΚ  
ΑΔ.ΟΝΤΕΣΕΜ  
Λεβαδεια[ι]ο[ι] Τρ]εφώ[νι]ο[ι]  
ἀπὸ τᾶς ἐ[σ]δοκᾶς  
ἀ[ρ]χοντες . ἐμ πε[λ]τοφόρας ἀπεγράψαντο  
[Δ]έξιπ[πος]  
5 Θεοκ . . . .  
'Επ[αμ] . . . .

In l. 2 *ἐσδοκά* may be the same word as Att. *ἐκδοχή*=succession. Meister, however (*DI.* i. 407), who reads further [παρ]ασχόντες ἐμπεδον (cf. CIG), takes it to be equivalent to *ἐκδοσις* 'contract,' as in the Tegeatan inscription, Cauer, *Del.* 457. In that case the restoration ἐμ πελτοφόρας must of course be cancelled. The formula ἐμ πελτ. ἀπεγρ. for the enrolment of recruits is common in Boeotian inscriptions; see e. g. Cauer, *Del.* 110. l. 4. For the ξξ cf. the Locrian ψάφισις, no. 231 l. 45.



**206.** Several short inscriptions from *Lebadea*. Larfeld, *Syll.* 59, 61, 63, 64 a, 62; IGA 214, 256, 290, 291, 257, 303.

- a. ΜΝΑΣΙΔΙΚΟΣ Μνασίδικος.  
 b. ΕΠΙΠΡΟΚΛΕΙΕΜΙ Ἐπὶ Προκλεῖ (or Προκλεῖν) εἰμι.  
 c. ΠΡΟΚΛΙΕΣΣ [Π]ροκλείεις.  
 d. ΘΕΑΓΕΝΕΣ Θεαγένης.  
 e. ΕΠΡΛΛ Ἐπ' Ἀγκ . . . or Ἐπ' Ἀλκ . . .  
 or Ἐπαλκ . . .  
 f. ΧΑΡΕΣ Χάρεις. Note the Ionic χ.

**206 bis.** Two inscriptions copied by Lenormant at *Lebadea*. Lenormant, *Rh. M.* xxi, 1866, p. 401, n. 283 and p. 402, n. 284; Larfeld, *Syll.* 59 a, b; IGA 215, 216.

- (i) ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣΣΤΡΟΜΒΙΥΟ Καλλίνικος Στρομβίχω.  
 (ii) ΦΙΛΟΤΕΝΟΣΕΝΠΟΡΟ Φιλόξενος Εὐπόρῳ.

Larfeld remarks of the two inscriptions: "sunt ficticii. Genetivum adjectivi patronymici loco exaratum in titulo tam vetusto tuo iure offendas." Cf. note on no. 200.

### Coronea.

**207.** Several short inscriptions, consisting of names only. They are collected in IGA (see numerical references below) and Larfeld, *Syll.* 94 sqq.

IGA

- a. 211 ΦΟΙΣΙΑΣ Φοισίας.  
 Leake, *Travels*, &c. ii. p. 134, has Σ and the upper part of the φ is triangular: Rang. 35 and Lolling Δ: Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 2373 Δ, Rang. 2149 Σ.  
 b. 212 ΠΙΣΙΔΟΡΙΔΑΣ Πισιδωρίδας (for Πεισι.).  
 c. 255 ΑΛΕΤΙΜΕΝ Ἀλεξιμέ[νης] (the λ slopes backwards).  
 d. 264 ΗΕΡΜΑΙΑ Ἑρμαία.  
 e. 286 ΗΙΣΜΕΝΑ Ἴσμήνα.

For the *spir. asp.* cf. no. 202.

- f. 287 (from Ross)  
 . . ΠΥΟΝΙΚΟ [Ῥ]π[λ]όνικο[s] (Meister, *N. Jahrb.* 1882, 522 sqq.).  
 g. 288 ΕΥΡΥΤ. Μ. Σ Εὐρύτ[ι]μ[ο]ς.  
 h. 289 ΗΕΡΜΑΙΣΚΟΣ Ἑρμαῖσκος.  
 i. 302 ΨΑΡΟΚΛΙΑ Χαρόκλια-for Χαρόκλεια.  
 Note the Ionic λ.

Thespieae<sup>1</sup>.

**208.** On a stone in a ruined chapel about three miles W. of *Thespieae* found and copied by Ross in 1833. Copied again by Schillbach 1857—59. Ross, *Ad A. Boeckhium epist. epigr.* Halle, 1850, p. 12; Keil, *Arch. Anz.* 1850, n. 21, 22, p. 208; Meineke, *A. Z.* 1851, n. 25, p. 285; Keil, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* Suppl. iv. p. 533 sqq.; Kaibel, *Ep.* 496; Larf. 212; IGA 146.

ΛΛΑΜΕΡΟΛ...Ξ  
 ΔΑΙΛΟΠΑΤΕΡ .  
 ΠΞΘΞΚΞΘΑΝΟΣ  
 ΤΙΟΣΟΙΛΟΣΟΣ  
 5 ΠΞΠΘΟΣΘΞΚΞ  
 ΑΠΟΘΙΛΛΑΝΟΣ

[In both Ross's and Schillbach's copies the form representing  $\theta$  is square like the symbol for  $\xi$  in the alphabets of Formello and Caere (§ 12). Both copies are given in IGA; Ross's in facsimile.]

[M]νᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀλ... εἶδαι μ' ὁ πατεῖρ [ἐ]πέθεικε θανό[ν]τι  
 Ὅσ[θ]ίλος, ο[ἱ] πένθος θέικε[ν] ἀποφθίμενος.

1. 1. Various attempts have been made to restore the name: Ὀλ[αF]εἶδαι Ross, Ο[ικ]λεῖδαι Keil, and this or Ο[λ]εἶδαι Meineke: Ὀ[F]ι[λ]εἶδαι Meister, *DI.* i. 765. The  $\epsilon\iota$ , though a genuine diphthong is expressed by E, where we should have expected E|; but cf. ΔιοκλΕδα, *Meg.* no. 114, Κ[λ]Ετος *Arg.* no. 73, ΦιλοκλΕδα[s] *Leucad.* no. 105, ἈριστοκλΕδ[ης] *Styra*, IGA 372. 28. 11. 2, 3. The objection of Kaibel (who reads ἀνέθηκε) that ἐπέθηκε is followed by the simple dative, not by ἐπὶ with the dative, is met by observing that νᾶμ' ἐπ' Ὀ. are to be taken together, and ἐπὶ τὸν τύμβον (? ἐπὶ τοῦ τύμβου) to be understood after ἐπέθεικε (Meister, *l.c.*). The absence of a sign for the *spiritus asper* is remarkable in an inscription of such apparently high antiquity.

**209.** A relief of exquisite ancient art found at *Thespieae* (Ἐρημόκαστρο), now in the Museum at Athens. The inscr. is written below the figures. Kaibel, *Herm.* viii. p. 417 sq.; Cumanudes, *Ἀθην.* iv. p. 110; Robert, *A. Z.*, xxxiii. p. 151 sqq.; Koerte, *Mith.* iii. p. 311, tab. xv.; IGA 145; Larf. 218.

ΛΛΑΜΕΠΙΛΑΘΟΝΙ [M]νᾶμ' ἐπὶ Γάθωνι  
 ...  
 ΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ κᾶριστοκράτει.

On the use of νᾶμα for σῆμα see the note to no. 158 b (*Amorgos*).

<sup>1</sup> Add under this head the inscriptions on the eight stelae noticed on p. 228.

210. Short inscriptions. Collected in IGA and Larfeld, *Syll.*

IGA

- a. 147 ΘΕΟΔΕΚΤΑΣ Θεοδέκτας.
- b. 204 ΕΠΙΘΥΣΣΑΙ 'Επὶ Λιθύσσα. The form of λ is more likely to be a slip for λ than a conscious imitation of the Argive form.
- c. 205 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΑ . . ΑΛΙΟΝ Διονύσιος 'Α[ρπ]αλίων[ι]. (On the rim of a vessel.) Fick (*G. G. A.* 1888, p. 122) proposes 'Ασφαλίων.
- d. 206 ΓΑΜΕΔΕΣ ΕΠΟΕΣΕ Γαμείδεις ἐποίησε. On a small casket now in the Br. Mus. Γαμείδεις according to Meister (*DI.* i. 794) is only an abbreviation of 'Αγαμείδεις. The same inscription occurs twice painted on an oinochoe in the Louvre (De Witte, *B. C. H.* ii. 1878, p. 551). Fick, *l.c.*, compares Γάδωρος (*Arcad.*).
- e. 206 α (on a small cantharus, now in the Museum at Berlin. On each side are figures of three men; on one side the inscr. has been erased, on the other preserved).  
ΚΛΕΙΞ ΡΓΟΣΚΑΛ Κλείεργος Καλοκεῖ (sc. donavit).  
ΙΞΟ  
Roehl (who reads Καλοκ(λ)ῆι) remarks: "Non ausus sum scribere Καλοκ(κ)εῖ, quia ante terminationem hypocoristicam non solet omitti altera consonantium." Cf. no. 217 'Ακυλλεῖ. Meister (*DI.* i. 793) regards Καλοκεῖ as the dative of an abbreviated name, Καλόκεις, with κ for κκ. For Κλείεργος, i.e. Κλέεργος cf. ΘΕΙΟΓΙΤΑ IGA 261 (Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. 244). Otherwise Fick, *l.c.*
- f. 207 (between Thisbe and Thespiæ)  
ΛΕΥ . ΙΝΑΣ Λευ[κ]ίνας.
- g. 209 (between Thisbe and Thespiæ)  
ΦΡΑΣΣΕ Φράσσει.
- h. 210 (between Thisbe and Thespiæ)  
ΨΕΙΡΑΤΤΣ ['Ε]χε[κ]ράτ[ει]ς. Meister (*DI.* i. 790) says: "durch Aphaeresis aus 'Εχεκράτεις entstanden."
- i. 250 ΦΕΙΑΡΙΝΟ Φειαρινώ or Φειάρينو[ς].
- j. 253 ΕΠΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΙ 'Επ' Αντιφίλοι.
- k. 262 ΚΟΡΡΙΝΑΔΑ Κορρινάδα[ς]  
ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ἀνέθεικε  
ΓΟΙΙΗΡΜΑ [τ]οῖ [']Ερμα[ι].

There is said to be after ἀνέθεικε a stroke on the stone, which cannot be part of Λ, for ν ἐφελκυστικόν is not found on Boeotian prose inscriptions.

- l. 280 FE+ΙΑΣ      *Feξίλας* (or *Feχίλας*; for  $\vdash = \xi$  see § 89).

Roehl compares the names *Τρίτος Τεταρτίων Πέμυς Πεμπτίδης* 'Εβδομίσκος. Meister (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.) objects that analogy would require rather *Feκτίλας*, and suggests (*DI.* i. 783) [*Α*]εξίλας, supposing that the λ was in the form  $\vdash$  as it appears to be in *b* above.

- m. 282 ΠΕΙΘΟΝΔΑΣ      Πειθώνδας.

- n. 284 (between *Thisbe* and *Thespieae*)

ΕΥΧΑΛΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΤΙΔΙΟΜΥΣΟΙ  
... ..  
ΝΕΟΜΕΔΕΣΕΡΛΟΝΑΝΤΑΛΛΑΘΟΝ  
ΛΛΑΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΤΟΔΕ

[Ε]ὐ[χὰ]ν ἐκτελέσαντι Διωνύσοι Νεομίδεις  
ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

For ἐκκτ. cf. ἐκκ τῶν CIA II. 314, 40 and Ἐκκτωρ, 38 B (*Corinth*).

### Thisbe.

**211.** Found at *Thisbe* (Κακόσια) in the wall of a private house on a long narrow stone. Leake, *Mus. Cr.* II. p. 577; Rose, *Inscr.* tab. XIII. 2, no. 10; Leake, *Travels*, dc. II. p. 513, tab. xx. n. 94; Lb. n. 374; IGA 148.

ΙΔΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΑΘΑΝΑΙ . . . δ' ἀνέθεικεν Ἀθάναι.

The first word may be *τόνδε* or *τὴνδε*.

**212.** On a small lekythus of *Thisbe*, now in the Berlin Museum. IGA 210 a.

ΘΞ

ΠΟΙΜΑΝΟΡΙΔΑΣ ΜΕ<sup>Λ</sup> ΑΟΚΕ

Ποιμανορίδας μ' ἐπέ[δ]ωκε ('insuper dedit').

The *φ*e appears to be the beginning of an unfinished inscription.

**213.** *Thisbe*. Rang. 31; Keil, *Syll.* LX a; Lb. tab. VII. 20; IGA 167; cf. Kaibel, n. 487.

ΣΤΟΙ ΑΙΥΣΕΛΝΟΙΣΙΦΑΝΕΣΦΙΛΟ  
ΣΠΟΤΑΡΙΣΣΤΕΝΟΝΕΛΠΡΟΜΑΥΟΙΣ

[Α]στοῖ[s κ]αὶ ξείνοισι φανείς φίλο[s εἰμι] . . .  
[δ]ς ποτ' ἀρισστεύων ἐν προμάχοις [ἔπρεον].

An inscription from Halicarnassus (Lb. 508) begins a hexameter with the words *ἀστοῖς καὶ ξείνοισι*.

## Acraephiae.

214. Found at
- Acraephiae*
- (Carditza). IGA and Larfeld
- ut supra*
- .

IGA

- a. 151 ΚΡΙΤΟΛΚΑΙΘΕΙΟΣΔΟΤΟΣΤΟΙ
- 
- ΔΙΤΟΠΟΡΕΙ

Κρίτων καὶ Θεῖοςδοτος τοῖ Δι τῶπωρεῖ.

A dedication to Ζεὺς Ὀπωρεὺς. For σδ in Θεῖοςδοτος, compared with ζ in Θεόςδοτος no. 217, see Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 95 sqq. On the form *θειος*- see Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 121.

- b. 162 . . . . ΦΙΕΣΣΙΗΕΡΟΙΠΤΟΙ . . . .

[Ῥ]φίεσσι, εἰρωῖ Πτωῖ[οι]. Roehl remarks: "Putas serpentes sacras in oraculo illo satis celebri alitas esse."

- c. On a spear-head of unknown provenance, attributed by Fränkel (
- A. Z.*
- XL. 1882, p. 387 sq.) to
- Acraephiae*
- .

ΤΟΠΤΟΙΞΟΣΗΙΑΡΩΛ τῶ Πτωιεῖος ἱερόν: i. e. sacred to Apollo Ptoïeus (Ptoïos). Cf. Fränkel *l. c.* who attempts to remove the difficulty involved in the mention of an Apollo Ptoïeus and a Heros Ptoïeus in the same district.

- d. 218 ΚΑΘΙΣΟΔΟΤΑ Καφισοδότα.

[The bar of the Α is curved, bulging below.]

- e. 298 ΣΘΙ ΛΑΙΓΡΑ -ς Φιλαιγίρα[ο].

So Roehl, who conjectures that the space indicated by Leake (*Travels, &c.* ii. tab. xi. n. 49) between the | and the L may have been occupied with a relief. The name Φιλαιγίρας (-ης) was also found on one of the Styra lead plates, see no. 169, 382.

## Tanagra.

215. Retrograde or *βουστροφῆδον* inscriptions (a, b) on calcareous stone, now in the Museum at Tanagra, (c) on a black *cantharus* 0.145 in height, found at Tanagra and now in the Mus. Archaeol. Soc. at Athens, (d) on a small *cantharus* found at Tanagra, now in the Berlin Museum, (e) in large letters on a square stone, found near Tanagra by Leake and first published by him. IGA and Larfeld *ut supra*.

IGA

- a. 124 ϠΟVIΘVA [Ξ]άνθιχος.  
b. 125 ΘΣΙΓΞ Ἐπὶ Σ[θεν] . . . .  
c. 126 ϠΟΒΟΔΟΙΛΑΔ Δαλιόδωρος.  
d. 126a VΟQI ϠΠ Πρίφων.

[The letters are very rudely scratched.]

The same name occurs on a Carystian tombstone in the Museum at Athens (Pervanoglu, *Die Grabsteine der alten Griechen*, p. 36) and on the stamp of a tile said to have been found in Aegina (IGA 555 a):

ΠΡΙΨΟΝΕΙ Α...ΟΛΟΤΑ

ΠρίΨων ἐ[π]α[ξα Ψ]ολώτα.

The inscription forms a complete circle. Roehl (*l.c.*) observes that the  $\perp$  and the masculine genitive in  $\alpha$  of the first declension (if the restoration is right) are found nowhere else than in Opuntian Locris; but, it is rare to find an inscription of so small a community travelling so far. (There is no instance of this  $\alpha$ -genitive in the inscriptions in epichoric character.)

- e. 127 ΕΠΙΓΛΑΥ      'Επὶ Π[ρ]αύχαε.  
ΞΑΨ

The masc. Πράχος is frequently found: thence Πράχῃ, Boeot. Πράχα. For the  $\alpha\epsilon = \alpha$  (and  $\alpha\epsilon = \alpha$ ) not unknown in Attic (ΑΕΘΡΑ on a vase, CIG 7746; cf. Κροῆσος *ib.* 7756; ΨΟΡΑΕ on another vase, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836, p. 310) and so common in the inscriptions of Tanagra as almost to be characteristic, see Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. 238; Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>2</sup> § 15; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 351, who reads Πλαύχαε.

**216.** Various short inscriptions, which have either  $\boxplus$  or  $\boxtimes$  [ $\boxtimes$ ], with others apparently belonging to the same period. IGA and Larfeld *ut supra*.

IGA

- a. 130 (on a broken earthenware vase)

$\boxtimes$ ΕΡΙΠΙΟΝ    Θειρίπ(π)ιον: a woman's name.

The sign for  $\epsilon$  has four strokes; so in *h.* 152 *infra*.

- b. 131 (on a tomb-stone, 0.77 m. in height, 0.40 m. in breadth, 0.45 m. in thickness)

ΕΠΙΣΘΕΚΑΔΑΜΟΕΕΜΙ 'Επὶ 'Ἑκαδάμοε εἰμί.

For the 'F cf. 'M, no. 100 (*Corcyra*), and 116 (*Megara*) with the note. The top of the A is flat; so in *g.* 139 *infra*.

- c. 132 (on calcareous stone)

ΕΠΙΚΑΛΙΘΕΣΙΔΙΕΜΙ 'Επὶ Καλ(λ)ιθει[ρ]ίδι εἰμί.

- d. 134 (a stone, with a hollow at the top, 0.35 m. in height, 1.00 m. in breadth, 0.24 m. in thickness)

ΕΠΙΡΥΑ 'Ιπ(π)άρχα.

- e. 135 (a marble)

ΕΠΙΛΥΣΑΝΙΑΕΘΙΑΡΙΔΑ 'Επὶ Λυσανίας 'Ιαρίδα[ο].

- f. 137 (a calcareous stone, in the form of a chest, 0.50 m. in height, 0.70 m. in breadth, 0.32 m. in thickness.)

ΑΘΑΝΟΛΙΤΙΣ Ἀθανογιτίς.

- g. 139 (a calcareous stone)

ΘΙΟΜΝΑΣΤΑ Θιομνάστα.

- h. 152 (a blue marble)

ΑΒΑΞΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ἀβαεόδωρο[ς]. The σ appears to have four strokes.

The name is derived from Apollo Abaeus.

- i. 153 (on a long black marble, rudely inscribed. Leake, who found it near the ruined church of S. Paraskeve not far from Andritza, conjectured that it had come from the temple of Dionysus at Tanagra, in the ruins of which he had found many similar stones)

ΑΕΣΥΡΟΝΔΑΣΑΕΛΙΤ Αέσχρώνδας Αέγιτ . . .  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΕ Διονύσοε.

With the name Aegitas comp. Βωότης, Ἰππότης, Λυκίτας.

**217.** A black stone 0.85 m. in length, 0.80 m. in breadth, 0.35 m. in thickness, found at Tanagra and now in the Museum. The inscription consists of names written in 17 lines arranged in four columns. Of these names only the most useful for our purpose are given below. Cumanudes (in cursive only) Ἀθην. iv. p. 213; IGA 157.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΘΕΝΟΣ

Ἀριστόθοενος.

ΑΒΑΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ

Ἀβαεόδωρος.

ΛΟΘΘΙΔΑΣ

Γοθθίδας.

ΧΑΡΩΝΔΑΣ

Χαρώνδας.

ΛΑΚΡΙΔΙΩΝ

Λακριδίων.

ΒΑΧΧΥΛΙΔΑΣ

Βαχχυλίδας.

ΑΚΥΛΛΕ

Ἀκύλλει.

ΦΕΡΓΑΕΝΕΤΟΣ

Φεργαένετος.

ΑΜΙΝΟΚΛΕΕΣ

Ἀμινοκλέεις.

ΜΕΓΓΙΔΑΣ

Μεγγίδας.

ΙΣΣΤΙΑΙΔΑΣ

Ἰσστιαίδας.

ΘΕΟΖΟΤΟΣ

Θεόζοτος (cf. 214a).

ΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ

Δαμόξενος.

ΦΙΣΟΚΛΕΕΣ

Φισοκλέεις.

ΧΟΕΡΙΛΟΣ

Χοερίλος.

This stone resembles the Tanagraean tombstones in that it has an oval hollow at the top, perhaps for purposes of libation. Roehl conjectures that, if the stone came from a cemetery, it may have commemorated those Thebans and Tanagraeans who fell in the battle against the Athenians in 426 B.C.; nor is it inconsistent with this conclusion that two Eretrians (ll. 16, 17 Φανόδαμος Ἐρετριεύς, Εὐναος? Ἐρετριεύς) took part with Boeotians in this battle, for neither of them, as the names show, was of Ionic origin: cf. Strabo x. c 448 ἐποίκους δ' ἔσχον ἀπ' Ἡλίδος, and the name Σαρίδαμος on a coin (Mionn. *Suppl.* iv. 364, *Ahr.* i. 229). — Ἀκύλλει. For the termination cf. note to no. 210 *e*. These Boeotian masculines ending in a double consonant followed by -η (later -ει) are very common and may be hypocoristic abbreviations (cf. Blass, *Miscell. epigr.* p. 10 sq.): thus we find Φράσσει, Κυδίλλει, Πτωίλλει, Φαστιούλλει, Βουκάττει, &c.

**218.** *a.* A stone at Tanagra, now in the Museum. H. 0.30 m.; B. 0.40 m.; T. 0.80 m. Cumanudes, *Ἀθην.* iii. p. 169; Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* ii. p. 589, tab. xxvi. 8; IGA 164.

Ω ΞΕΝΟΚΛΙΑ Ξενόκλια for Ξενόκλεια, v.l. Loeschke ΨΞ.

*b.* Tanagra. IGA 169.

ΨΑΜΙΨΑ Σαμίχα.

[The vertical line of the Ψ is crossed by a stroke near the bottom.]

*c.* A calcareous stone found at Tanagra. H. 0.35 m.; B. 0.23 m.; T. 0.07 m. IGA 172.

ΑΡΝΕΣΙ+Α Ἀρνεσίχα.

Apparently we have an Ionic χ creeping in.

*d.* A black stone found at Tanagra. IGA 266.

ΛΑΩΤΩΣ Λάωτος.

**219.** A relief of tufa-stone, on which are represented two men, 2 m. in height, 0.53 m. in breadth below and 0.42 m. above, found at Tanagra. The hexameter runs beneath the relief, the names on either side of the figures. Cumanudes, *Ἀθ.* ii. p. 405; Conze, *Actt. Acad. Vindob.* 1875, p. 620; Robert, *A. Z.* xxxii. p. 150; Dumont, *C. R. de l'Ac. des inscr. et b. l.* 1878, p. 89; Koerte, *Mittheil.* iii. p. 308, tab. xiv.; IGA 265.

ΑΜΦΑΛΚΕΣ	ΣΤΑΣΕΠΙΚΙΤΥΛΟΙΣ	ΔΕΠΙΔΕΡΜΚΙ	ΔΕΡΜΥΣ	ΚΙΤΥΛΟΣ
...				

Ἀμφάλκεις [ἔσ]τασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι ἢ δ' ἐπὶ Δέρμνι. | Δέρμνις. | Κιτύλος.

### Leuctra.

**220.** Short inscriptions on fragments of stone or marble from Leuctra (τὰ Παραπονγγιά) or the neighbourhood. IGA and Larfeld *ut supra*.



IGA

- a. 201 ASKASSTOΔAΛΛOΣ . . . ας Κασστόδαμος.  
So Decharme *Arch. d. miss. sc.* 1867, p. 516, n. 24, comparing other Boeotian names from  $\sqrt{\kappa\alpha\delta}$ , 'Ιοκάστη, 'Επικάστη, Κάδμος, &c. But Meister (*DI.* i. 851) reads 'Ασπασστ.
- b. 202 ΚΑΦΙΣΟΔΟΤΟΣ Καφισόδοτος. Copied by Lenormant in 1859.
- c. 249 ΤΛΕΠΤΟΛΕΜ Τληπτόλε[μος].  
Meister (*DI.* i. 852) ['Εχε]πτόλε[μος]. So Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 122, remarking of Roehl's reading that "der Dialekt  $\alpha$  erheischt."
- d. 271 ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ Τιμοκράτεις.
- e. 272 ΨΑΡΙΑΣ Χαρίας.

## Plataeae and other places.

**221.** On the exterior margin of a small black cantharus found in a tomb near Plataeae. Hauvette-Besnault, *B. C. H.* iv. 1880, p. 547; IGA 247 a.

Α Π Ρ Λ Ι Δ Α Π Ε Λ Λ Ι

Γοργίδαό εἰμι.

**222.** a. From the church of S. Nicholas at Plataeae, found by Pittakis in 1834. 'Εφ. ἀρχ. n. 2428; IGA 166.

ΕΛΙΑΣΙΔΡΙ [F]έλιξ 'Ιδρι[αο]. *Fiδp.* would be more in accordance with the Boeotian dialect.

b. From Plataeae, east of the ruins. IGA 200.

| . . Ε Σ Ι Π Π Δ . |  
 | Ε Π Ι |  
 | Α Μ Α Ρ Α Τ Ω |

[Κτεί]σινπο[s]. (?) A later hand has added ἐπὶ [Δ]αμαράτω.

**223.** a. A piece of limestone found at the foot of *Cithaeron*, not far from Krékouki, near the road leading from Athens to Thebes; now in the Museum at Thebes. The lines are 0.06 m. apart from each other. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* ii. p. 589, tab. xxvi. 1; Kaibel, *Rh. M.* xxxiv. p. 197 n. 756 a; Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. p. 134 sqq.; IGA 143; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 44.

ΑΜΑΤΡΟ . ΤΟΔΑΓΑΛΜΑ  
ΝΘΑ Δ Ε Γ ΙΣΘΑΘΝΤΙΣΕ  
ΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΦΥΔΑΔΑΣΚΑΙ

[Δ]άματρο[s] τόδ' ἄγαλμα [δ δεινα ἔστασεν ἀπαρχάν]

[ἐ]νθάδε γ[ά]ς, ὀράοντι σε[βόσμον] - υ υ υ υ

[Τ]εισαμενός Φυδάδας καὶ . . . . [ἱποησάταν.]

b. A stone found in the same place, now in the Museum at Thebes. IGA 144.

ΑΝΕΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΑΞ ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ

— ἀνέθειαν ταῖ Δάματρι.

The district in which Krékouki is situated formed, in the fifth century, part of the territory of Plataeae; at an earlier date it had belonged to Hysiae. At or near the place where the two inscriptions were found was a very ancient temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, isolated in a wood and almost forgotten but brought into prominence by a well-known episode of the battle of Plataeae. Cf. Plut. *Aristid.* 11, Hdt. ix. 57, 62. There is nothing however to indicate that these two dedications should be connected with the circumstances of the battle. It is probably a coincidence that the name Tisamenos is also that of the soothsayer on the occasion (Foucart, *l. c.*). Several restorations of the text have been attempted: the above is from Roehl, who remarks: "nomen Κυδάδας Tisameno adjectum potest esse gentilicium." Possibly the third line was in prose. Observe further (1) the *koppa*, rare in Boeotian; cf. IGA 221 Ἐπ[ι] Ὀυρ[αι?], (2) the form ἀνέθειαν: cf. no. 202, (3) the ταῖ=τῇ, elsewhere found only in the Tanagraean of the Boeotian inscriptions: cf. note on no. 215 e.

224. Two inscr. from *Haliartus*<sup>1</sup> (Mazi); (a) on a piece of calcareous stone built into the wall of the church of S. Constantine, (b) on a block of smooth calcareous stone from the steps of the church of S. John. Io. Schmidt, *Mittheil.* v. p. 132; (a) IGA 149; (b) *ib.* 254; (b) (a) Larf. 142.

a.	Κ Α Λ Λ Ι Α	Καλλία
	Α Ι Γ Ι Θ Ο Ι Ο	Αἰγίθ(θ)οιο.
	Τ Υ Δ Ε Υ Π Ρ Α Σ	τὸ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ', δ]
	Π Α Ρ Ο Δ Ο Τ Α	παροδῶτα.

b. ΚΑΛΟΝ ΝΟ Κалонνώ.

a. The metrical form of the inscr. is indicated by the Epic Αἰγίθιοι=Αἰγί-σθοιο=Αἰγίσθου and by the non-Boeotian πρᾶσ[σ'] for πρᾶτ[τ']. The passer-by (παροδῶτα=παροδῖτα) is supposed to call on the departed Callias and Callias bids him fare well (Roehl, *l. c.*). Wilamowitz (*Lectt. Epigr.* Gött. 1885, p. 13) supposes the monument itself to be represented as speaking: "I am the tomb of Callias."

225. Found at *Aulis* (Rhitzona). Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* ii. p. 590, n. 16, tab. xxvi. 23; IGA 234.

ΜΥΛΛΙΥΙΔΑΟΝ Μυλλιχιδάων (?)

226. On the inside of a patera, now in the Berlin Museum, said to have been found at *Abae* in *Phocis*; the alphabet however is not Phocian, but rather that of Boeotia or Opuntian Locris. IGA 298 a.

<sup>1</sup> Coins, at least down to 315 B.C., appear to recognise only the spelling Ἀπιατρος or Ἀπιατρος. See Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 293.

ΣΟΞΙ  
 ΝΙΚΑ                      Νίκα Καλ(λ)ικράτεος.  
 ΚΑΛΙΚΡ

The Α in 1. 2 strangely enough belongs to both words.

**227.** On the upper rim of a cantharus, now in the collection of Philemon at Athens. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 131; IGA 219.

VARESEDOKFEVΠΛΟΙΟΝΙΜΕ  
 Χάρεϊς ἔδωκε Εὐπλοίωνι με.

§ 88. **The Alphabet.** The Boeotian alphabet may be completely collected from the inscriptions as given above. The forms of α, δ, Ϝ, θ, ρ, φ, χ differ in detail in the several inscriptions, but call for no special remark; the varieties are doubtless attributable to the caprice of the individual writers. As distinguishing peculiarities of the Boeotian alphabet we may note (i) the form of *lambda* λ, which it shares with Attic and Chalcidian; (ii) the occasional occurrence, as on the inscriptions of Tanagra (216 α, λ), of the Ε with four instead of three horizontal strokes<sup>1</sup>; (iii) the variation in the mode of representing ξ, which is sometimes expressed by χσ, as in the inscriptions from Orchomenos (203 α), Thisbe (213), Tanagra (218), Plataeae (222 α), the Delphian dedication (204), though the sign + seems also to have been known and used; see the inscriptions from Thebes (199 β), Lebadea (205, 206 bis), Coronea (207 c), Thespieae (210 l?), Tanagra (217). It would not be safe however to infer that inscriptions with χσ were necessarily earlier than those with +; for χσ occurs on the Delphian inscription, no. 204, which may be one of the latest (see § 89). We find even +ξ occasionally (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 140). Probably there was no special sign for φ; on the Thespian stelae (see p. 228) it is represented by φσ. *Koppa* was sparingly in use and perhaps only in the earlier periods (see nos. 223 α and note: 215 d).

§ 89. **Age of the Inscriptions.** Of three signs, those for σ, θ and the *spiritus asper*, only the last two can be relied upon as criteria of relative age: for if the date inferred for the Delphian dedication (204) is right, it will appear that the Ϝ (or in its reversed form, ϝ) survived along with the rarer Σ to the latest times of the alphabet. On the other hand, judging by the analogy of other alphabets, we may reasonably consider the inscriptions with Ο (as

<sup>1</sup> The same peculiarity is found, side by side with the normal three-stroke form, on the Phrygian inscriptions of the Midas tomb: see § 121 below.

the Delphian) to be of later date than those with  $\oplus$ ; similarly those with  $\mathbb{H}$  to be later than those which have  $\mathbb{B}$ .

For the determination of the actual dates the inscriptions given above are singularly barren of hints. Two only are worth consideration; these are the long list of names found at Tanagra (217), and the Delphian dedication (204).

With regard to the former all that can be said is that it *may* be a list of those Tanagraeans and Thebans who fell in battle against Nicias and the Athenians in 426 B.C. This inference however is borne out by the discovery of a list of names engraved  $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  on 8 stelae (with fragments of a 9th) found in a cemetery near Thespieae (*DI.* 791 *a—h*). There are on the eight stelae 94 names, which are written in so fixed and regular a style that Kirchhoff (*Stud.* 4 141) considers a date earlier than the last half of the fifth century inadmissible and holds the monuments to be commemorative of those Thespians who fell in the battle of Delium, 424 B.C. [Thuc. iv. 96; cf. 133  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$  καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μάχῃ ὃ τι ἦν αὐτῶν (the Thespians) ἀνθὸς ἀπωλώλει]. On these stelae  $\odot$  stands for  $\omicron$  ( $\omega$ ) and  $\theta$ ,  $\mathbb{R}$  for  $\rho$ ,  $\mathbb{L}$  or  $\mathbb{V}$  for  $\lambda$ ,  $\mathbb{Z}$  for  $\sigma$ ,  $\mathbb{X}$  for  $\xi$ ,  $\mathbb{Y}$  for  $\chi$ ,  $\Phi\mathbb{Z}$  for  $\psi$ ,  $\mathbb{D}$  for  $\delta$ . The engraver of the Tanagra list writes  $\mathbb{D}\mathbb{L}\odot\oplus\mathbb{V}$  as against the  $\mathbb{D}\mathbb{V}\odot\Phi\mathbb{X}\mathbb{Y}$  of the Thespian stelae; but these are differences which probably depend upon the usage of individual engravers and do not argue a local peculiarity. The same explanation may be given of the fact that at Thespieae we find generally the *sigma* with four strokes, at Tanagra generally with three. Turning to the Delphian inscription we find that of the two artists whose names appear in it, one, Hypatodorus, is mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 19, as having flourished about Ol. 102 (372 B.C.); but that he had done considerable work before this time seems to be clear from the statement of Pausanias (x. 10. 3—4), who saw at Delphi a joint work of Hypatodorus and Aristogiton representing the Seven against Thebes, a votive offering intended to have been dedicated by the Argives from the spoil of a battle near the Argolic Oenoe, in which, by the help of Athenian auxiliaries they had defeated the Lacedaemonians. This battle, not known otherwise, can only have taken place in the so-called Corinthian War 394—387 B.C., and the joint work seen by Pausanias cannot well be later than 387 B.C. Now the inscription in question, recording an offering by a Boeotian from Orchomenus, must be older than 367 B.C., the date of the destruction of Orchomenus by the Thebans.

We have then a period from about 394 to 367 B.C. to which we may refer the inscription. Kirchhoff is inclined, from the description of the donor as 'a Boeotian from Orchomenus,' and not simply 'an Orchomenian,' to narrow the range to the period of the subjection of the Boeotian towns under the supremacy of Thebes Ol. 100. 4—105. 1, 377—360 B.C., arguing that it would not have fallen in the period between the peace of Antalcidas and the restoration of the Boeotian League, i.e. it must be earlier than 387 B.C. or later than 377 B.C. But against this view (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 132) it may be urged (Roehl, IGA 165) that the qualification Βοιωτίας was prefixed to ἐξ Ἐρχομενοῦ merely that the Orchomenus might not be mistaken for the Arcadian town of the same name; cf. no. 127 c τοῦ Κυπρίου τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, CIG 2907 Κύπριος ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος<sup>1</sup>.

Accepting however the conclusion that the inscription is not earlier than about 394 B.C., we may infer from the absence of the *spiritus asper* that inscriptions with the open form such as the list from Tanagra (217) are at least several years older, and this is in favour of the dates suggested above for that inscription and the names on the Thespian stelae. Those, then, which have the older forms of both θ and the *spiritus* may belong to the middle of the fifth century or earlier, perhaps even to the sixth<sup>2</sup>; though there is little trace of a tendency to βουστροφῆδόν or retrograde arrangement.

It is to be noted that Boeckh attributed the use of the Boeotian alphabet in the Delphian inscription to archaising affectation; but there is nothing to hinder the supposition that the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Boeotia followed some Olympiads later than was the case in Athens and elsewhere. It is certainly remarkable that the old alphabet continued to be used on coins down to the time of Epameinondas. The occurrence of legends like ΨΑΡΟ and ΧΑΡΟ, ΕΥΕ and ΕΧΕ on exactly similar coins of this time show that it was a time of transition, and to that period must probably be assigned such examples as ΑΡΙΣΤΟΞΕΝΕΣ (201), ΧΑΡΕΣ (206 f), ΨΑΡΟΚΛΙΑ (207 i).

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff now (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 142 note), abandoning his former position, no longer assigns the unknown battle of Oenoe to the Corinthian War, and thinks that the Delphian dedication may be considerably older than the date he at first assigned.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck (*Gesch. d. Gr. Plast.* i. 155), on the ground of the style and art of the sculpture, refers no. 209 (*Thespieae*) and no. 219 (*Tanagra*) to the sixth century, and regards the former as earlier in style than the latter by a considerable period.

## PHOCIS.

## § 90. Inscriptions.

**228.** On two sides of an altar, having at the top two hollows (*escharae*), which was discovered among the ruins of *Crissa* near the village now called *Χρυσό*. It is in breadth 0.65 m. and measured in length when it was found 1 m. One of the *escharae* was broken without injuring the inscription. The letters are large and not very deep, but difficult to read. Published from a bad drawing of Gropius by Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, Vol. I. (1820) p. 369; Rose, *Inscr.*, tab. xli; CIG 1. More accurately Ulrichs, *Reisen u. Forschungen in Griechenland*, I. p. 31; *Actt. acad. Bavar.* III. 1, p. 95; and (with variations) *Ann. d. inst.* 1848 p. 57 tab. A. -Lb. tab. v. 3 and tab. XII. F. n. III. (from Ulrichs in *Actt. ac. Bav.*). Other copies by O. Mueller and Velsen (cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 134); and, after the stone had been fractured (about 1840, to repair a church and 1870, by an earthquake), by Cumanudes, *δήλωσις περὶ δύο ἐπιγραφῶν*, 1858 and by R. Weil. Kirchhoff, *Philol.* VII. p. 192 sqq. After him 'infeliciter tentavit' Garrucci, *Civiltà cattolica*, quad. 650 p. 206 sqq., July 21, 1877. IGA 314. Below is given Ulrichs's copy (*Ann. d. inst.*) as the most representative of the original form of the altar. The inscription is *βουστrophedon* and has the further peculiarity of beginning from the bottom line, which is retrograde.



Τάσδε γ' Ἀθαναία δ.....ς Φ.....ιστος ἔθηκε  
 Ἥρα τε, ὡς καὶ κείνος ἔχοι κλέφος ἀπθιτον αἶφει.

On the reading γ' in l. 1, which seems fairly established from the copies, Kaibel (*Ep.* 742) remarks: Particulae γε pronomini demonstrativo in donariis additae usum cognitum habuit Haupt, cum egregie versum Cypseli arcae inscriptum corrigeret Λαοῦδας οὐτός γα Φάναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, ubi quem Pausanias sequitur (v. 18, 4) auctor vetustior τάχ' ἀναξ legerat. For ἀπθιτον cf. *καταπιθμένης*, no. 150 (Chios). αἶφει: Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 106.

**229.** An archaic inscription on a rude fragment of rock 2.1 m. long, and 1.3 m. broad, found in 1861 at Delphi near the spring Castalia a little below the Sacred Way. It appears to have fallen in 1870 into its present position from the Phaedriad rocks owing to an earthquake. The letters are 6—9 ctm. in height. Wescher, *Bull. d. inst.*, 1861 p. 135. Wescher et Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, p. 304 n. 480; Wescher, *Ann. d. inst.*, 1860 p. 5 sqq. tab. A; IGA 319; D. Comparetti, *Riv. d. fil.* xi. 548 sqq.

ΟΙ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ	οἱ πεντεκαῖδεκα
ΤΟΝ ΛΑΔΥΑΔΑΝ ΤΩΝ	τῶν Λαδυναδᾶν τῶν
Θ _ _ ΣΥΜΜΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜ	θ[εῶ] συμ(μ)άχων καὶ ἀμ
ΕΠΙΤΡΙΨΑΑΡΩΝ	.... ἐπὶ Τριχᾶ ἄρχον-
ΑΠΕΔΕΙΤΑΝ ΜΝΑ	[τος] ἀπέδειξαν μνᾶ-
Σ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΤΟΡΕΣ ΚΑ	ς δεκατέτορες κα[ὶ]
Η ΜΙΜΝΑΙΟΝ ΚΑ	ἡμμιναῖον κα-
Ι ΔΡΑΥΜΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ	ὶ δραχμὰς πεντή-
ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΨΕ	[?] οὐτα καὶ ΕΨΕ.

Wescher (*Ann. l.c.*) may be right in his conjecture that the block was brought into its present awkward position by an earthquake; but it must remain a conjecture and nothing more that the occasion was one (and in that case necessarily the earlier) of the two earthquakes at Delphi, related to have been especially violent, viz. that which took place at the time of the Persian Wars (Hdt. viii. 37, 39) and was popularly supposed to have arrested the invasion, and that which is mentioned among the traditions of the Gallic invasion (Paus. x. 23). Comparetti, *l.c.*, thinks that the inscription has reference to a sum or sums collected on account of the temple and offered to the god by the γένος of the Ladyadae who are represented by a committee, styled 'the fifteen.' These Ladyadae have the title of σύμμαχοι of the god, and if C.'s restoration [γ]αμ[όρων] is right, it would appear that they were also tenants of temple-property. 'The fifteen announced as the sums given by the Ladyadae 14½ minae and 56 drachmae.' The form of expression seems to show that two fragments were meant; else why not 15 min. 6 dr.? The collection in question may be that alluded to by Hdt. ii. 180 as set on foot by the Delphians throughout Greece for the restoration of the temple (burnt in 548 B.C.; Paus. x. 5), and if this view is correct we have an approximate date for the inscription in the latter part of the 6th century.

Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 122) proposing *το* for *οι* (which in the later Delphian inscriptions is due to the κοινή) and contending that only one sum is mentioned reads: *το* π. τῶν Λαδυναδᾶν τῶν θ[εῶ] συμ(μ)άχων καὶ ταμ[ίαν]....

l. 6. *dekatétores*: cf. the accus. *πλεονερ*, *χάρτερ* in a late Elean inscription, Cauer, *Del.* 264, and *συμπολεμήσαντες*, *συνδιασώσαντες* in an Achæan inscr. (*B. C. H.* ii. p. 41). The *koppa* in the last line is not a certainty.

**229 bis.** On a stone found near *Elatea* and copied by J. Bilco. P. Foucart, *B. C. H.* viii. (1884) p. 215 sqq.

ΕΝΤΟΙΦΑ	Ἐν τοῖ φα-
ΝΑΚΕΙΟ Ι	νακέλοι
ΘΥΟΝΤΑ	θύοντα
ΚΑΝΕΝ	[σ]κανεῖν,
ΥΝΑΙΚΑ	[γ]υναῖκα
ΛΕΓΑΡΙΜΕ	[μ]ῇ παρίμε[ν].

'Any one sacrificing may erect a tent in the precinct of the Anakes, no woman may enter.' *σκανεῖν* is a new form of *σκηνοῦν*; for the custom of erecting tents in precincts cf. the Mystery-inscription of Andania, Cauer, *Del.* 47, l. 34 sqq.

**230. a.** On the outside of a black goblet, 0.08 m. in height, found in the ruins of *Abae*. Girard, *B. C. H.* ii. (1878) p. 588 tab. xxvi. 14; IGA 315.

ΔΙΟCΞΙΤΟΝ Διογείτων.

**b.** From the site of the ancient *Ambrysus*, found on the wall of a church. Ross, *Inscr. ined.* i. n. 80; Rang. 2222; Lb. 979 tab. vii. 19; Keil, *Jahn's Jahrb.* xl. p. 271; IGA 316.

ΤΙΜΞΑΙ [Ἐπὶ] Τιμέα [Οἱ]νεῖδ[α] or the like.  
ΜΕΙΔΔ

**c.** On a fragment of brick among the ruins of *Bulidae*. Forchhammer, *Halcyon*. p. 27; IGA 317.

ΕΡΓΙΔΙ - - εργιδι

**d.** On a fragment near the theatre of Delos. CIG 2324; IGA 318.

ΔΕΛΦΟΝ Δελφῶν, sc. donarium.

**e.** On a white stone not far from the ruins of *Stiris*: the letters are 0.2 m. in height. Rang. 339; Lb. 996; IGA 320.

ΥΑΡΙΜΕΔΕΣ [qu. Σ] Χαριμήδης.

**230 bis.** On a plinth of Parian marble (H. 0.202 m.; L. 0.66 m.; B. 0.37 m.), in the centre of which is fixed a base (L. 0.461 m.; B. 0.24 m.) for a statue. It was found at Delphi. The inscription is engraved round the upper



surface of the plinth. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* vi. (1882) p. 445; Roehl, *Imagg.* p. 72. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 144.

Λ Ι Ο ⊥  
 Α Ρ Ο Λ Ι Ν Ο Γ Α Ι  
 Δ Ε Ξ Α Ν Ε ⊗ Ε Ξ Α Ν Τ Ο Γ Α Ρ Ι Ο

Τοὶ Χαροπίνου παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Παρίου.

It was usual for dedicators, who were in this case Parians, to have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet. But the Ψ for χ and the Ο = ο, ου (instead of Ω = ο, ου as on the other archaic Parian inscriptions) are conclusive against an attribution to Paros. It seems probable therefore that we have here an alphabet in use at Delphi.

§ 91. **The Alphabet.** The surviving inscriptions do not enable us to form a complete picture of the old Phocian alphabet. There is nothing to show whether the *koppa* had gone out of use before the date of the oldest inscriptions; nor whether the Phocians had a special sign for ψ like their neighbours, the Locrians. The alphabet is distinguished from that of the Boeotians by the form of the *lambda*. If we may judge from nos. 229 *bis*, 230 *a*, the *gamma* had the forms < and C.

§ 92. **Age of the inscriptions.** We readily recognise three groups, of which the oldest, comprising only the inscription from Crissa, is marked by the closed sign for the *spiritus asper* and the *san*, and by its βουστροφηδόν arrangement. It can thus hardly be later than the sixth century. The remainder, which may belong to the beginning (or earlier, if the view suggested above, p. 231, for the date of no. 229 is tenable) and middle of the fifth, seem to represent an earlier and a later period according as they have ⊕ (no. 229) or ⊙ (no. 229 *bis*). Those collected under no. 230 lack this distinguishing mark: some may belong to the second, the others to the third group.

## OZOLIAN LOCRI.

## § 93. Inscriptions.

**231.** A bronze tablet, 0.35 m. × 0.18 m., inscribed on both sides. It contains provisions for founding a colony at *Naupactus*. Found at *Oeanthea* (Galaxidi). Formerly in the Woodhouse collection, afterwards in the possession of the late Mr Taylor, English consul at Corfu. Oeconomides, *Ἐποικία Λοκρῶν γράμματα*, Ath. 1869; Curtius, *Studien*, II. 1869, p. 441 sqq.; Allen, *ib.* 1870, p. 212 sqq.; Bursian, *Lit. Centrbl.* 1870, p. 154 sq.; Vischer, *Rh. M.* xxvi. p. 39 sq. (*Kl. Schr.* II. p. 172 sqq.); Riedenauer, *Herm.* 1872, p. 111 sq.; Bréal, *Rev. Arch.* 1876, Aug. p. 115 sq.; Hicks, 61; IGA 321; Fick, *DI.* 1478. For the commentary see the Appendix.

The facsimiles are given on pp. 236, 237; by an oversight, side B has been reduced to a slightly smaller scale than side A.

## SIDE A.

Ἐν Ναύπακτον κα(τ) τόνδε ἁ' πι Φοικία. Λογρὸν τὸν Ὑπο-  
 κναμίδιον, ἐπ- [ῶσια λαυχάν-  
 εἰ κα Ναυπάκτιος γένηται, Ναυπάκτιον ἔόντα ὅπω[κ' ἦ] ξένον  
 εἰν καὶ θύειν ἐξεῖμεν ἐπιτυχόντα, αἶ κα δέιληται· αἶ κα  
 δέιληται, θύειν καὶ λ- [Τέλος το-  
 ανχάνειν κῆ δάμω κῆ Ῥοινάνων, αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος καταίφει.  
 5 ὅς ἐπιφοίτους Λογρῶν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων μὴ φάρειν ἐν Λο-  
 ῤοῖς τοῖ- [μιδίων. Αἶ  
 ς Ὑποκναμιδίοις, φρίν κ' αὐ τις Λογρὸς γένηται τῶν Ὑποκνα-  
 δείλετ' ἀνχωρεῖν, καταλείποντα ἐν τῇ ἰστιά παῖδα ἡβατὰν  
 ἥ' δελφόν, ἐξ- [πάκτω Λογ-  
 εῖμεν ἄνευ ἐνετηρίων· αἶ κα ὑπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελάωνται ἐ Ναυ-  
 ροῖ τοῖ Ὑποκναμίδιοι, ἐξεῖμεν ἀνχωρεῖν, ὅπω Φέκαστος ἦν,  
 ἄνευ ἐ- [τῶν Φεσπαρί-  
 10 νετηρίων. Τέλος μὴ φάρειν μηδὲν ὅτι μὴ [μ]ετὰ Λογρῶν  
 ὦν.—Α.—Ἐνορῶν τοῖς ἐπιφοίτοις ἐν Ναύπακτον μὴ ὕπο-  
 στάμεν ἀ(π' Ὀ)ποντίων [αἶ κα δει-  
 τέ[χ]να καὶ μαχανᾷ μηδεμιᾷ Φεῖόντας. Τὸν ὄρῶν ἐξεῖμεν,

λωνται, ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριάγοντα Φέτεα ἀπὸ τῷ ὄρω ἑκα-  
τὸν ἄνδρας Ὁ- [Ὅσστις κα λιποτελέη-

ποντίοις Ναυπακτίων καὶ Ναυπακτίοις Ὀποντίους.—B.—

15 ι ἐγ Ναυπάκτω τῶν ἐπιΦοίγων, ἀπὸ Λογρῶν εἶμεν, ἔντε  
κ' ἀποτείσῃ τὰ νό- [ἐχέπαμον τῶν ἐπι-

μια Ναυπακτίοις.—Γ.—Αἶ κα μὴ γένος ἐν τᾷ ἰστίᾳ ἦ  
Φοίγων ἦ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Λογρῶν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων τὸν  
ἐπάνχισ- [ἦ παῖς, τριῶν μ-

τον κρατεῖν, Λογρῶν ὅπως κ' ἦ, αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἶ κ' ἀνὴρ ἦ  
ἡνῶν αἱ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς Ναυπακτίοις νομίοις χρήσται. — Δ.—

Ἐ Ναυπάκτω ἀνχωρέ- [ἐν τὰ-

20 οντα ἐν Λογροῦς τοὺς Ὑποκναμιδίου ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ καρύξαι  
γορᾷ, κῆν Λογροῖς τοῖς(ς) Ὑποκναμιδίοις ἐν τᾷ πόλιν, ὧ κ'  
ἦ, καρύξαι ἐν [πάκτι(ός τι)ς γέννητα-

τάγορᾷ.—E.—Περφοθαριᾶν καὶ Μυσαχέων, ἐπεὶ κα Ναυ-  
ι αὐτὸς, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῇν Ναυπάκτῳ τοῖς ἐν Ναυ-  
πάκτῳ χρήσται, [μιδί-

τὰ δ' ἐν Λογροῖς τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις χρήματα τοῖς Ὑποκνα-

25 οῖς

# SIDE B.

νομίοις χρήσται, ὅπως ἂ πόλιν Φεκάστων νομίζει Λογρῶν  
τῶν Ὑποκν- [χωρὲν Περφοθαριᾶ-

αμιδίων. Αἶ (κά) τις ὑπὸ τῶν νομίῶν τῶν ἐπιΦοίγων ἀν-  
ν καὶ Μυσαχέων, τοῖς αὐτῶν νομίοις χρήσται κατὰ πόλιν  
Φεκάστους [ὅπως καὶ Λογρῶ-

— F.—Αἶ κ' ἀδελφεοὶ ἔωντι τῷ ἔν Ναυπάκτον Φοικέοντος,

30 ν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων Φεκάστων νόμος ἐστί, αἶ κ' ἀποθάνη,  
τῶν χ- [— Z.

ρημάτων κρατεῖν τὸν ἐπιΦοίγον, τὸ κατιγόμενον κρατεῖν.  
—Τοὺς ἐπιΦοίγους ἐν Ναυπάκτον τὰν δίκαν πρόδιγον ἀ-  
ρέσται πὸ(τ) τοὺς δ- [αὐταμαρόν. Λογ-

ικαστήρας, ἀρέσται καὶ δόμεν ἐν Ὀπέντι κατὰ Φέ(τ)ος  
ρῶν τῶν Ὑποκναμιδίων προστάταν καταστᾶσαι, τῶν Λογρῶν  
τῶπιF- [ἐντιμοὶ ΕΣ. — H. — Ὅσσ-

35 οἶφ καὶ τῶν ἐπιΦοίγων τῷ Λογρῶν, οἵτινές κα ΠΙΑΤΕΣ  
τις κ' ἀπολίπη πατᾶρα καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν χρημάτων τῷ  
πατρί, ἐπεὶ κ'





ἀπογένηται, ἐξεῖμεν ἀπολαχεῖν τὸν ἐπίφοιρον ἐν Ναύπακτον.  
 — Θ. — Ὅσστις κα τὰ ΓεΓαδηγότα διαφθείρῃ τέχνη καὶ  
 μηχανᾷ κα- [πλήθ-  
 ἰ μιᾷ, ὅτι κα μὴ ἀνφοτάροις δοκέῃ, Ὀποντίων τε χιλίων  
 40 α καὶ ΝαΦακτίων τῶν ἐπίφοιρων πλήθῃ, ἄτιμον εἶμεν  
 καὶ χρή- [τὸν ἀρ-  
 ματα παματοφαγεῖσται. Τὼνκαλειμένῳ τὰν δίκαν δόμεν  
 χόν, ἐν τριάγοντ' ἀμάραις δόμεν, αἷ κα τριάγοντ' ἀμάραι  
 λείπωντ- [ἄτιμ-  
 αι τὰς ἀρχᾶς. Αἷ κα μὴ διδῶ τῷ ἐνκαλειμένῳ τὰν δίκαν,  
 ον εἶμεν καὶ χρήματα παματοφαγεῖσται τὸ μέρος. Μετὰ Φο-  
 45 κιατᾶν διομόσαι ὄργον τὸν νόμιον ἐν ὑδρίαν τὰν ψάφιξ-  
 ξιν εἶμεν. Καὶ τὸ θέθμιον τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίους Λογροῖς ταυ-  
 τὰ τέλεον εἶμεν Χαλειέοις τοῖς σὺν Ἀντιφάτῃ Φοικηταῖς.

**232.** A bronze tablet, inscribed on both sides, found at the same place as the last. It contains part of a treaty between *Oeanthea* and *Chaleion*. Formerly in the Woodhouse collection, afterwards in the possession of the late Mr Taylor, English consul at Corfu. *Oeconomides*, *Δοκρικῆς ἀνεκδότου ἐπιγραφῆς διαφώτισις*, ἐν Κερκύρῃ 1850; Ross, *Alte locrische Inschr. von Chaleion oder Oeanthea*, 1854; Rang. 356 b; Kirchhoff, *Philol.* xiii. p. 1 sqq.; IGA 322; Fick, *D. I.* 1479. For the commentary see the Appendix.

The inscription is written on both sides of the plate and is remarkable from the fact that the obverse down to the last line but one is written by a different hand from that of the remainder and the reverse side. The differences are these: the second writer makes the cross-bar of the α diagonally upwards, the first writer downwards; the second uses <, ^, / for the Γ, Μ, Ν which the first prefers, and gives ○ and ⊙ regularly the same height as the rest of the letters, while the first writer makes them smaller than the rest. Both use the form ⊙ for θ, but the first writer once has ⊕. Lastly, the first writer punctuates with three, the second generally only with two dots.

## A.

Τὸν ξένον μὴ ἄγειν ἐ τὰς Χαλειίδος τὸν Οἰανθέα, μ-  
 ηδὲ τὸν Χαλειέα ἐ τὰς Οἰανθίδος, μηδὲ χρήματα, αἷ τι(ς) συ-  
 λῶ· τὸν δὲ συλῶντα ἀνάτω(ς) συλῆν· τὰ ξενικὰ ἐ θαλάσ(σ)ας  
 ἄγειν

ἄσυλον, πλὰν ἐ λιμένος τῷ κατὰ πόλιν. Αἷ καδίκω(ς)  
 συλῶ, τέ-

5 τορες δραγμαί· αἷ δὲ πλέον δέκ' ἀμαρᾶν ἔχοι τὸ σύλον, ἡ-

232.

: ΤΟΝ + ΕΝΟΝ ΜΕ ΗΓΑΓΕΝ: ΕΓΑΣΤΑΝ ΑΛΕΙΔΟΣ: ΤΟΝ ΟΙΑΝ ΘΕΑΜ  
 ΕΔΕΤΟΝ ΑΛΕΙΕΣ ΕΤΑΣΟΙΑΝ ΘΙΔΟΣ: ΜΕΒΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΤΑΙΙΤΙΣ  
 ΛΟΙ: ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΜΟΝ ΤΑΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΝΕΝΤΑ + ΕΝ ΚΑΘΟΛΑΝ ΑΣΧΗΓΕΝ:  
 ΑΣΤΟΝ: ΠΛΑΝΕΝ ΜΕΝΟΣ: ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΓΟΝ: ΑΙΚΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΘΙ: ΤΕ  
 ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΔΡΑΥΜΑΙ: ΑΙΔΕΤΑΙ ΜΕΝΟΣ: ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΓΟΝ: ΑΙΚΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΘΙ: ΤΕ  
 ΜΙΟΛΙΟΝΟΦΛΕΤΟΤΙΣ ΝΑΛΣΑΙ: ΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΙΚΟΙΤΑΙ ΜΕΝΟΣ  
 ΟΝ ΑΛΕΙΕΣ ΕΝ ΟΙΑΝ ΘΕΑΙΕΘΑΙ: ΕΝ ΣΕΝ ΑΛΕΙΟΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΔΙΚΑΝ  
 ΔΕ ΣΤΟ: ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟ + ΕΝΟΝ: ΑΙ ΧΕΝ ΔΕ ΑΓΡΟ + ΕΝ ΕΟΙ: ΔΙ ΠΛ  
 ΕΙΟΙΟΙ ΕΣΤΟ

ΑΙΚΑΝ ΔΙ ΝΑΤΟΝ ΤΙΤΟ + ΕΝΟΔΙΚΑΙ: ΕΠΟΜΟΤΑΣ: ΗΕΛΕΞ  
 ΤΟ: Ο ΗΕΝΟΣ: ΟΥ ΑΚΟΝ: ΤΑΝ ΔΙΚΑΝ: ΕΝΘΟΣ ΤΡΟ + ΕΝΟ  
 ΚΑΙ ΦΙΔΙΟ + ΕΝΟ: ΑΡΙΣΤΙΝ ΔΑΝ: ΕΓΙΜΕΝΤΑΙ ΜΑΙΑ  
 ΙΑΙ: ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΟΝ: ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΝ ΔΡΑΣ: ΕΠΙΤΑΙΣ  
 ΜΕΙΟΝΟΙΣ: ΕΝ ΝΕΑΝ ΔΡΑΣ: ΑΙΚΟΦΑΣ ΤΟ ΣΠΟΙΤΟΝ  
 ΑΣΤΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΕΝ ΒΟΛΑΣ: ΔΑΜΙΟΡΣΟΣ  
 ΗΕΛΕΞΤΑΙ: ΤΟ ΧΟΡΚΟΜΟΤΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΝ ΔΑΝΤΑΝ ΠΕ  
 ΝΤΟΡΚΙΑΝ ΟΜΟΣΑΝΤΑΣ: ΤΟ ΧΟΡΚΟΜΟΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΤΟ  
 Ν ΧΟΡΚΟΝ ΟΜΝΕΝ: ΠΛΕΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΚΕΝ

μύδιον ὀφλέτω Φότι συλάσαι.— Αἱ μεταΦοικέοι πλέον  
 μηνὸς ἦ  
 ὁ Χαλεινὸς ἐν Οἶανθέα ἢ Ὡϊανθεὺς ἐν Χαλείῳ, τῷ ἐπι-  
 δαμία δίκῃ χ-  
 ρήστω.— Τὸν πρόξενον, αἱ ψευδέα προξενέοι, διπλ-  
 εῖ οἱ θωρήστω.—

## B.

- 10 Αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζωντι τοὶ ξενοδίκαί, ἐπωμότας ἐλέσ-  
 τω ὁ ξένος ὠπάγων τὰν δίκαν ἐχθὸς προξένω  
 καὶ Φιδιοξένω ἀριστίνδαν, ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μυνια-  
 ίαις καὶ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκ' ἄνδρας, ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 μειόνοις ἐννέ' ἄνδρας.— Αἱ κ' ὁ Φασσὶς πρὸς τὸν F-  
 15 αστὸν δικάζεται κατὰ τὰς συμβολὰς, δαμιοργούς  
 ἐλέσται τοὺς ὀρκωμότας ἀριστίνδαν, τὰν πε-  
 ντορκίαν ὀμόσαντας· τοὺς ὀρκωμότας τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ὄρκον ὀμνύειν, πληθὺν δὲ νικῆν.

**233.** On the handle of a bronze patera, found at *Oeanthea* (Galaxidi) and now in the Museum of the Archaeol. Soc. at Athens. Collignon, *Rev. Arch.* xxxii. p. 182; IGA 323.

ΕΝΦΑΜΟΣΞΚΑΙΤΟΙΞΝΝ	Εὐφάμος καὶ τοὶ συν-
ΔΑΜΙΟΡΧΟΙ:ΑΝΕΘΕΚΑΝ	δαμιοργοὶ ἀνέθηκαν
ΤΟΙΗΕΡΟΙ	τῷ ἥρῳ.

The name of the ἥρως is omitted as in IGA 29 (*Mycenae*): ΤοϠΕΡοοξ] ΕΛΛ. . . (where the ] is a peculiar mark of punctuation) τοῦ ἥρωος εἰμ[ι]; and Dumont, *Inscr. et mon. fig. de la Thrace* (*Arch. des miss. sc.* 1876) n. 24. 32. 33 c. 39. *Roehl*.

## LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII.

**234.** On an imperfectly polished block of tufa-stone about 0.74 in height, 0.37 m. below, 0.25 m. above in breadth, found in 1790 in the ruins of *Epizephyrian Locri*. Now in the Museum at Naples. Arditì, *Antico vaso trovato nelle ruine di Locri*, Napoli, 1791, p. 62; CIG 5769 and *add.*; IGA 537.



ΟΙΝΙΑΔΑΣ	Οἰνιάδας
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΚΕ	καὶ Εὐκέ-
ΛΑΔΟΣ	λαδος
ΚΑΙ ΨΕΙΜ	καὶ Χείμ-
5 ΑΔΟΣ	αρ(ρ)ος
ΑΝΕΘΕΚ	ἀνέθηκ-
ΑΝΤΑΙΟ	αν τᾷ θ-
ΕΟΙ	εῶ.

*Var. lect.* 1. 1 Arditi Ο. 1. 5 The second letter may be Ρ.

The goddess was probably *Περσεφόνη*; see the next inscription.

**235.** On a bronze helmet said to be from the neighbourhood of *Epizephyrian Locri*. Now in the Museum at Naples. Millin, *Description des tombeaux de Canosa*, p. 1 and 45; Rose, *Inscr.* praef. p. vi.; Gerhard and Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke*, i. p. 219; CIG 5778 b; IGA 538.

ΕΡΙΘΟΝΑΙ	[Π]ηριφόνα
ΚΕ ΜΕΤΕΝΑΙ	[ἀνέθη]κέ με Ξενά[γατος].

[More letters were visible when Millin first copied the inscription.]

With *Πηριφόνα* cf. the Laconian *Πηρεφόνεα* ap. Hesych. There is yet another variation of the second syllable in *Περόφαττα*, *Περόφατα* on Volcentine vases and ΠΕΡΣΩΦΑΤΑ on a vase-fragment at Naples (Jahn, *A. Z.* 1867, p. 68). Mention is made of the Temple of Proserpine at Locri Epizephyrii by Livy **xxix.** 18, Appian *Samn.* 12, *Hannib.* 55. With Ξενάγ. comp. Ἐπάγατος no. 1 a (*Thera*). According to Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 128), Dor. *Πηριφόνα* : *Περσεφόνη* :: *ἀκείρεκόμης* (Dor. would be *ἀκηρεκόμας*) : *ἀκερσεκόμης*. In Aeolic the name would be *Περρεφόνα*; and *Πέρρω*, Hom. *Πηρώ* (*Od.* xi. 287) is a 'Koseform' of this.

§ 94. **The Alphabet.** There is little in general to distinguish the alphabet of the **Ozolian Locrians** from the other cognate alphabets, but, it is nevertheless remarkable as being the only one hitherto brought to light of the Western group, except the Arcadian, which possesses a separate sign for the ψ. If the form of *lambda* is a criterion, the alphabet of Epizephyrian Locris should be classed with that of Ozolian.

§ 95. **Age of the inscriptions.** The larger bronze (the Treaty of Colonization, no. 231) is probably older than the other (the Treaty between Oeanthea and Chaleion, no. 232). The writing of the

larger does not agree entirely with either hand of the smaller: it prefers in general the older forms and uses the three dots for punctuation. Note further the consistent use of the older  $\oplus$  (the smaller bronze has only once  $\oplus$ , in A l. 7, elsewhere  $\odot$ ); and *koppa*, which occurs in the form  $\P$ , with equal regularity before *o* and before *p* with following *o*-sound, while at the date of the smaller bronze the *koppa* has become obsolete, as is shown by the use of  $\kappa$  in such words as  $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\delta\rho\kappa\omega\mu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\iota$ . A peculiarity again of the larger bronze is the form of *a* with not three but four strokes, the right-hand leg having a bend, as in Boeotian. Lastly, the larger bronze denotes the pseudo-diphthongs *ei* and *ou* not by  $\text{E}$  and  $\text{O}$  as in the smaller, but by  $\text{E}^{\text{I}}$  and  $\text{O}^{\text{V}}$ . Now on historical grounds we must refer the larger document to a date anterior to the occupation of Naupactus by the Athenians 455 B.C.; for the palaeographical character unconditionally forbids us to place it in the period subsequent to the Peloponnesian War, when the town had again come into the possession of the Locrians (Paus. x. 38. 5); we shall therefore not be far wrong in assigning it to the first half of the fifth century B.C. The open  $\text{H}$ , perhaps the three-stroke *sigma*, and the direction of the writing preclude an earlier date. The smaller bronze, taking into account the form of  $\odot$  and the absence of *koppa*, we cannot place much earlier than the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and it may be later. The inscription on the patera (no. 233) and the two Epizephyrian inscriptions cannot be much, if at all, younger than the others.

## OPUNTIAN LOCRIIS.

### § 96. Inscriptions.

**236.** *a.* An inscription on a black goblet, 0.60 m. in height, found among the tombs near the town of Livanatas (in *Opuntian Locris*). Girard, *B. C. H.* II. p. 588, tab. xxvi. 27; IGA 307.

ΚΑΛ. ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΟΣ ΘΔΠΟΤΕΡΙΔΚΑΛΑ

Καλ[*d*]. Παντέλεος [τὰ?] ποτήρι[*a*]· καλά. Cf. no. 131 *b*.

*b.* On a black cup, void of ornament, 0.90 m. in height, found in the same place. Girard, *l.c.* tab. xxvi. 4; IGA 308.

$\oplus \text{E}^{\text{I}} \odot \text{I}$        $\oplus \epsilon \omicron \iota$ .

c. On a block of calcareous stone with a pediment, found near the same place. IGA 309.

Α Λ Α Ι Ν Ε Τ Ο      'Αγαινέτω.

d. A square block of calcareous stone found near *Gyrrarissium* (in *Opuntian Locris*). Girard, *l.c.*; IGA 310.

Ν Α Β Σ Ι Τ Ε Λ Ε Σ      Ναυσιτέλης.

e. A block of limestone found in vineyards not far from *Atalante* (in *Opuntian Locris*). Girard, *l.c.* tab. xxvi. 26; IGA 311.

Ε Ψ Σ Α Γ Ν  
Ε  
Τ  
Ο  
Σ      'Εξα[ι]νετος.

v.l. | for Γ, Lolling, who also omits the Σ at the end.

f. A square block of limestone found near the same place. Girard, *l.c.* xxvi. 18; IGA 312.

Υ Δ Α Μ Α Ν  
Δ                      Τ  
Ο                      Ο  
Ε                      Ξ  
                         Πολυδάμαντος.

g. On a relief, 0.50 m. in height, 0.57 m. in breadth, found in the tombs of the ancient *Corsea*. The relief represents a male figure and the inscr. formerly coloured red is to the right of the head. Girard, *l.c.* tab. xxvi. 20; Koerte, *Mith.* iii. p. 313, iv. p. 270; IGA 313.

Α Λ Α Σ Ι Ν Ο      'Αγασίνο[s] or 'Αγασινώ?

§ 97. **The Alphabet.** Until the discovery of these inscriptions in 1878 there was no reason to suppose that the Opuntian Locrians did not use the same alphabet as the Ozolian; but the examples given above make it clear that the alphabet of the former differed very little if at all from the Boeotian. Note especially the form of *lambda*, which is identical with that of the Boeotian, Attic and Chalcidian, and the peculiarity in the α, which we have noticed also in Boeotian (and Ozolian Locrian). It is fair to infer that the signs for Φ, ζ, ξ, φ, which are accidentally absent, were identical with the Boeotian. If a comparison of the neighbouring Boeotian is to be relied upon the inscriptions before us (to judge from □ and ⊕) should belong to the middle of the **fifth** century.

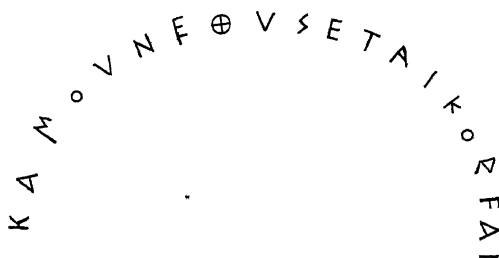
THESSALY<sup>1</sup>.

## § 98. Inscriptions.

**237.** On two contiguous sides of a square base, now at Οζόν Καλαάρ belonging to the Eparchy of Karditsa in Thessaly; it is said to have been found in another Καλαάρ. Side *a* is 0.73 m., side *b* is 0.72 m.; height of both 0.255 m.

<sup>1</sup> Two inscriptions, one (237 *a*) of uncertain provenance, the other (237 *b*) found at *Melitaea* (Avaritsa), have generally been assigned to Thessaly, as representing the long *o*-sound by ΟΥ according to a well-known characteristic of later Thessalian orthography (cf. § 99). But the occurrence of Ω for this *o*-sound in an inscription of Pharsalus (Heuzey and Daumet, *Exp. arch. en Macéd.* p. 430, no. 208) from the period of transition to the Ionic alphabet, seems to show that in Thessalian the orthography ΟΥ did not come into general use for some time after the adoption of the Ionic characters, and the gradual prevalence of the orthography ΟΥ (i.e. *ū*) may be compared with the corruption of the short *o*-sound to *ū* in Aeolic and Boeotian. Meister therefore (*Dial.* i. 297) hesitates to claim these two inscriptions for the Thessalian dialect.

**237 a.** On the rim of a bronze cymbal, now in the Mus. Archaeol. Soc. at Athens. Oeconomides, *Clio* xix. i. m. May, 1869: id. *ἐποικία Δοκρῶν γράμματα*, p. 129 sq.; Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 31, tab. 5; IGA 324.



Κάμουν ἔθυσσε τῇ Κόρφῃ. "ἔθυσσε in the sense of 'dedicavit' is strange. On the form Κόρφῃ see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* §§ 43, 75, 290.

**237 b.** Ussing, *Inscr. Gr. ined.* no. 51; Keil, *Philol.* iv. p. 737; Lb. 1180; Dittenberger, *Herm.* xiii. 396 sq.; IGA 326.

ΑΛΚΙΜΑΝΟΥ  
. ΕΚΒΟΝΑΘΕΝ

Ἀλκιμάχου  
[Σ]εκωνάθεν.

For the form Σεκόν cf. p. 126; the *α* is hard to account for.

A. Kirchhoff, *Herm.* xx. (1885) p. 157—9 (copy with comparison of impression).

ΜΝΑΜΕΜΙΠΥΡΙ  
ΣΤΑΤΟΦΕΥΓΕΝΑ  
ΤΑΣΔΕΠΟΛΟΝΑ

ΑΔΑΘΟΣΟΝΚΕΙ,  
ΛΑΝΘΕΠΕΡΓΑΣ  
ΔΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΕΘΑΝΕ

Μνᾶμ' ἐμὶ Πυρ(ρ)ί||αδα, ὅς οὐκ ἦ[πύ]-  
στ[α]το φεύγειν ἀ||λ(λ)' αὐθε περ γὰς  
τᾶσδε πολ(λ)ὸν ἀ||ριστεύων ἔθανε.

In l. 2 αὐθε appears to stand for αἰθε, but the form needs explanation. The writer evidently intended to compose an elegiac couplet, but his efforts have not been very successful. He tried to utilise current formulae: cf. e.g. no. 106 (*North Acarnania*), ὅς περὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ γὰς θάνε βαρυνόμενος; no. 99 (*Corcyra*), πολλὸν ἀριστεύοντα κατὰ στονόφρῃσαν ἀφύταν.

**237 bis.** A slab of grey stone (0.65 m. × 0.45 m. × 0.06 m.) mutilated on all sides, found in 1882 in the Magnesian peninsula, not far from the place where were discovered three large marbles containing inscriptions having reference to the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus. Lolling, *Mith.* vii. (1882) 76.

ΟΛ:ΕΘΟΔ	ἐφορ...
ΜΕΝΙΑΙΑΣ	μηνιαίας
ΘΕΟΡΘΑΙ.Κ	θεορ[θ]αι?
/:ΘΟΡΟΛ:Κ/	φόρον
ΛΥΤΟΛ:ΚΔΙ	κλυτον?
ΑΛ.ΘΕΘΛ	θεθ[μὸν]?

**238.** A fragment of sandstone (0.95 m. × 0.18 m.) found at Tyrnavo (*Metropolis* in Pelasgiotis). Lolling, *Mith.* vii. 223.

ΣΟΙΚΣΤΑΛΑΟΜΕΚΕΤΑΙΘΕΜΙΣΣΤΑ  
....ς'Ο[ρε]στά[δ]α [ὀ]ν[έθ]εικε τᾶ Θεμίσστ[αι].

According to Lolling *Θεμισστα* must be a collateral form of *Θέμις* and not the name of an obscure local nymph. For the form *ονέθεικε*, see Meister, *Dial.* i. 296.

**239.** An oblong stone found at Hadji-Amar near the ancient *Pharsalus* Heuzey and Daumet, *Miss. arch. de Mac.* n. 199; Pfordten, *de dial. Thess.* p. 5 sqq.; Meister, *Jen. Litt.-Z.* 1879, p. 454; IGA 325; a more correct copy is given by Lolling, *Mith.* vii., Beilage to p. 221 sqq., where it is pointed out that the letters are arranged *στοιχηδόν*.

ΟΔΑΜΑΤΕΡΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΙΕΣΣΤΑΣΕΥΕΝΑΙΣ  
 ΟΣΑΟΤΑΝΟΡΟΣΟΛΕΤΟΟΝΑΙΑΘΟΣ  
 ΑΛΕΑΤΕΟΣΑΔΕΛΟΕΟΣΕΣΣΤΑΙΕΛΟ  
 ΑΤΟΙΚΤΙΡΑΣΑΝΔΡΑΑΙΑΘΟΝΠΑΡΙΤΟ

[The α is rounded at the top and is merely a variant of the common Boeotian form.]

Several transcriptions have been attempted; the subjoined is Lolling's:

[Σᾶμα τ]όδ' ἃ μάτερ [μάτειρ] Διοκλέα [Διοκλείαι] ἔσστασ' Ἐχεναίς,

[γο]ῶσα ὅτ' ἄνῳρος (= ἄνῳρος) ὄλετο [ᾠλ-] ὄν [ᾠν] ἀγαθός [Σοι Διοκ]λέα [Διοκλεία], τέος ἀδελφεός ἔσσταγε λο[ιβάν?]

[πᾶς δι κα]τοικτίρας ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν παρίτο [παρίτω].

On the transcription of the words in square brackets see Meister, *Dial.* i. 295 sqq. For the form *κατοικτίρας* cf. no. 36 l. 2 (*Attic*).

Wilamowitz (*Lectt. epigr.* Gött. 1885, p. 13), relying upon the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement and the certainty of the restoration in the last line, reads in l. 1: *μῶμα* (also Boeotian: cf. no. 208 and no. 237 with the note to § 99); in l. 2: *πολλὰ γώσα*; in l. 3: *αἰαῖ, Διοκλέα... ἔσστα* [π]ήλω (Spondaic: *πηλῶ*=*Attic τηλοῦ*). *ἄνῳρος* is a *v. l.* of *ἄωρος* in Herodot. ix. 79, and occurs in the long Gortyn inscription (see no. 9 g) frequently.

**240.** Two tombstones of marble from *Larissa*, found in 1882: (a) height 1.12 m.; breadth above 0.47 m., below 0.53 m.; thickness 0.10 m.; (b) height 1.29 m.; breadth above 0.41 m., below 0.43 m.; thickness 0.11 m. Boissvain, *Mith.* vii. 76 sqq.: cf. Lolling, *ib.* 223.

a. ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΑΙΑ: ΜΜΙ Πολυξεναία [ε]μμι.

b. ΕΚΕΔΑΜΟΣ Φεκέδαμος.

a. *Πολυξεναία* according to Lolling is not for *Πολυξένη* but is an adjective (supply *στήλη* or rather *στάλλα*): when in the older tomb-inscriptions *εἰμί* is used, the subject is never the deceased but always the memorial itself. Fick however (*DI.* i. 343) says: *Vorn muss ein Name fehlen. Πολ. ist Metronym. Gewisse Frauenzimmer wurden in Larissa auch noch später nach der Mutter benannt, vgl. Ussing Inscr. Gr. ined. n. 34: Αἰθρα ἡ παῖς Σωπάτρας, ἥρως χρηστὴ χαῖρε.*

b. With *Φεκέδαμος* we may compare the Boeotian *ἐπὶ Φεκαδάμοις εἰμί*, no. 216 b. The ε for α in the second syllable may perhaps be paralleled by the ε for α in the Aeolic *θέρος* for *θάρρος* and the Lesb. and Arcad. *κρέτος* for *κράτος* (cf. Beermann, *Curt. Stud.* ix. p. 16; and on the development of the α from ε, or *vice versa*, see J. Spitzer, *Ark. Dial.* Kiel, 1883, p. 1 sqq.). An alternative is to explain *Φεκέδαμος* as *Ἐχέδημος*; cf. *Thess. ξενοδόκος* for *-δόχος*, *Ἀριστόμακος* for *-μαχος*. But a difficulty in the way of this solution is the initial digamma which etymology refuses to *√εχ* in *ἐχεῖν* (*Curtius G. E.*).

**241.** A small rectangular tablet found at *Pharsalus*. Heuzey and Daumet, *op. cit.* n. 201; IGA 327.

ΔΑΦΟΝΤΑΘΙ  
ΔΙΤΑΙΤΑΠΕΙΟΣ

ΔάΦων τὰ φ[ροδ]ίτῃ τῇ Πει[θοι].

A somewhat similar variety of φ occurs in a dedication to Aphrodite by a Teian on a vase found at Naucratis (*Inscr. of Naukratis*, no. 700) unless in both places, as in the Attic inscription no. 47, its position is accidental.

The dative of the article has lost its *iota*; and at a later period even the nouns of the 1st and 2nd declension in Thessalian failed to retain it. So in an archaic inscription of *Cebrene*, p. 324 (*Asiatic Aeolic*): Σ[τάλ]λα 'πὶ Σθερεῖα ἐμμὶ τῷ Νικιῶ τῷ Γαυκίῳ[ι].

**242.** Inscribed at the side of a relief representing a soldier armed with a large round shield; found on the supposed site of the ancient *Metropolis*. Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 484, n. 47; Fick, *Beitr.* v. p. 19; IGA 328; Lolling, *Mith.* vii. 223 sqq.

Α Α ΕΥΑΝ  
ΕΑΣΙΔΑΜΟΣ ΠΑ.ΞΠΕΘΟΛΕΟΣ ΕΠΑΙ  
ΟΙΑΓΕΟΔΝΕΑΔΙΣΤΙΝΟΝΤΟΛΛΟΣ ΕΠΑΔΟΔ  
ΕΙΔΑ

α . . . α . . εοαν

Φασίδαμος πα[τ]ρ Πειθώνειος ἐπ' Ἀζ[ώρ]-  
οι ἀπέ[θα]νε ἀριστ[εύων] χθο[ν]ὸς ἐπ' ἀρούρ[ας]

(Lolling, *l.c.*, writes *ou* for *ω*.)

"Asidamos, son of Peithon, was killed at Azoros, showing himself bravest on the plain of earth." The transcription is due to Lolling. After examination of the stone he is able to affirm that nothing is wanting at the beginning of lines 2 and 3. The word in the fourth line may be *τρᾶνες*, but the conjecture has no certainty. The letters in the first line seem to be an idle repetition of some in the second. For the initial *F* in *Φασίδαμος* cf. the Boeotian names *Φάσανδρος*, Keil, *Syll.* ii. l. 38; *Φάσας*, CIG 1575, l. 7, Keil, *Syll.* p. 48. Fick (*l.c.*) points out that the name is a common one, and in this very district. Lb. 1305 (*Thessaly*) ΔΕΙΔΗΜΟΥ, leg. ΔΣΙΔΗΜΟΥ; Wescher and Foucart, *Inscr. de Delphes*, n. 191, l. 21 Ἀσίδαμος (of Amphissa). For the patronymic adjective *Πειθώνειος* cf. the examples collected by Meister, *Dial.* i. 308, where it is shown that the ending *-eios*, originally belonging to *-es-* stems only, spread also to consonantal, *-i-*, *-u-*, and *-o-* stems. In Lb. 1269 (*Larissa*) Πουράλα Πουράλεια κόρα Τιτυπέα γυνή, we have an instance of an andronym (cf. note on no. 240 *a* above). Azoros is (1) a town of Pelagonia in Upper Macedonia, Strab. 7. 327, (2) a town in the Perrhaebic territory on the Macedonian Olympus. Ptol. iii. 13, 42; Pol. 28, 11; D. Sic. 19, 52.

§ 99. **The Alphabet.** The Thessalian alphabet may be regarded as in all essentials identical with that of the Ozolian Locrians. If we exclude from the list of Thessalian inscriptions that on the cymbal (237 *a*) and that found at Melitaea (237 *b*), we need not discuss here the significance of the  $\text{OY}$  in  $\text{Κάμουνν}$ ,  $\text{Ἀλκιμάχου}$ , an orthographical peculiarity the explanation of which falls rather under the head of dialect and pronunciation than of alphabetical forms. (See Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 78.)

The inscriptions appear to fall chronologically into three groups: the first, characterised by the closed form of *spiritus asper*<sup>1</sup> (no. 237), the old forms of  $\theta$  and  $\epsilon$  and the older  $\varsigma$  or  $\Sigma$  (cf. nos. 237, 237 *bis*, 238) may go back to the border line between the sixth and fifth centuries; inscriptions which have  $\text{O}$   $\varsigma$  will be rather later (cf. nos. 239, 227 *a*, *b*, 241 ?); and that from Metropolis (242) with its fluctuation between  $\varsigma$  and  $\xi$  and its form of *digamma*,  $\Gamma$ , later still. The only missing letter is  $\beta$ . The forms of  $\alpha$  vary strangely in the originals. A later period is represented by a fragment of a law found at Tyrnavo (*Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1884, p. 224), in which  $\delta$  and  $\upsilon$  have the forms  $\Delta$  and  $\Upsilon$ , and  $\chi$  is denoted by  $\times$  (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 148).

## LACONIA.

### § 100. Inscriptions.

**243.** A rude stone found at *Geronthrae* (Geraki). Rang. 317; more accurately Lebas, *Rev. Arch.* II. p. 71, tab. xxv. 2; *V. A.* 226, tab. II. 5; IGA 49.

	$\backslash \text{O} \text{I} \wedge$	$[\text{K}]\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega[\nu]$ ,
	$\times \wedge \wedge \wedge \text{I} \mu$	'Αφάναξ,
	$\varsigma \text{O} \text{I} \text{I} \vee \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I}$	Τεβύκιος,
	$\varsigma \text{A} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{A} <$	'Αμίτας,
5	$\varsigma \text{O} \wedge \vee \text{I} \text{I} \text{A} <$	5 'Αμυλος,
	$\times \text{A} \wedge \wedge \text{I} \wedge <$	'Αφάναξ.

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz, however (*Lect. epigr.* Gött. 1885, p. 13), remarks on the *spiritus asper* of  $\text{O}$ : "heta apud Thessalos ego certe conicere non auderem"; and from his remark on l. 1, "an  $\epsilon(\pi)$ !... more Boeotico?" he would seem inclined to claim rather a Boeotian origin for the inscription.



See Meister (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522), who compares "Ἀβολος, Ἀκαστος, Ἀλεσχος, observing (against Roehl, who reads α. Φάναξ, τ. Ἐβύκιος, &c.) that ἀναξ does not seem to have been used as a proper name. CIG 1798 has an Ἀμύτιος. Ἀμυλος may be = Ἀμυλλος = Ἀμυκλος.

**244.** On a fragment of rude calcareous stone, of yellowish colour, found at *Sparta*; L. 0.35 m.; H. 0.30 m.; T. 0.10—0.11 m. IGA 49 a, *Add.*

ΑΤ ς χ | Θ Ο | ς  
 | ς ς ⊗ ς ς Λ Ο | ς

Διοικέτα,  
 Διῶλευθερί[ω].

Apparently a boundary stone; for *Ikéras*=*Ikéaios* Roehl refers to Eustath. on Hom. *Od.* xvi. 422 p. 1807. The change of the final  $\sigma$  of  $\Delta\iota\delta\varsigma$  in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in  $\Delta\iota\omega\lambda$ . of l. 2 after disappearance of the  $h=\sigma$ . Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* viii. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive  $\Delta\iota\omega$  on the analogy of  $\sigma$ -stems, and compares Lat. *Iovos*, *Eph. ep.* i. 14 no. 21, *Iovo*, *Herm.* xix. 453. Elsewhere certainly final  $\sigma$  does not disappear in Laconian, even where the next word begins with a vowel.

**245.** A relief on bluish-black marble, found near the village of Magula, and now in the Berlin Museum. It represents a youth offering something to a serpent; the lower part of the stèle is lost; what remains measures 0.27 m. in height, 0.29 m. in breadth. The inscription runs down the back of the figure on the flat surface; the surviving letters are interrupted by the projecting staff or sword of the youth. Dressel u. Milchhofer, *Mith.* II, p. 314 sq.; IGA 51.

ΜΑΥΞΛΧΟΙΘ..ΙΟΨΟΧ  
[τοί] κόροι Θιοκλει Ναμ[ερτδα].

‘The *κόροι* (i. e. *ἱππεῖς*, see Archyt. ap. Stob. p. 269, 4, Ruhnck. Trin.) presented this to Theocles son of Namertidas.’ Meister however (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522), on the ground that in the dative the *iota* could not be omitted, reads *Θιακλή*, citing *Δαμοκλή* (*Lacon.*) *Lb. Meg. &c.* 281 b; but he does not explain the accusative.

**246.** A blue marble found near *Sparta*. Dressel u. Milchhoefer, *Mith.* II. p. 435; IGA 52.

Δεχού. ΛΕΥΟΙ

The same name occurs on a later inscr. (*Mith.* II. p. 440 ΑΓΙΗΘΙΑΔΕΧΟΙ). It may have been an epithet of Ilithyia.

**247.** A square pillar of white marble found near *Amyclae*, possibly from the neighbouring ruins of the Amyclaeon temple. It measures about 0.35 m. in thickness, 1.16 m. in height; the letters are 0.05 m. in height. CIG 35 (from Fourmont); Ross, *Inscr. ined.* i. 47. Cf. Goettling, *Neue Jen. Allg. Litt.-Ztg.*

1842, n. 66, p. 269 sq.; who thinks the whole inscription a forgery of Fourmont. IGA 53, from Ross.

Α Δ Ι √ ∫ ∇ ∫      Εὐγενίδας  
Α ∫

*Var. lect.* l. 1, Fourm. : ∫ Α Δ Ι √ ∫ ∇ ∫ ; l. 2, *id.* Α ∫, Goettl. Α ∫.

In favour of the genuineness of the inscr. it may be remarked that Fourmont does not appear actually to have engraved any inscription on a stone and that in his Mss. he never used the form Δ in his forgeries, but always ∆.

**248.** A white stone 0.19 m. in height; 0.17 m. in breadth, entire on the right and fractured on the left, found at *Sparta*; now in the Museum at Athens. The lines of writing are separated by horizontal lines: cf. the Melian inscr. under no. 8. Written βουστροφηδόν. Ross, *Intelligenzblatt d. Allg. Litt.-Z.* 1837, n. 48 (*Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 7); Rang. 316; Lb. 160; Neubauer, *Herm.* x. p. 153 sqq; IGA 54.

Τ Α ∫ √ Α ∆
√ √ √ √ √
∫ Α ∆ Α κ
∫ Ι Δ ∇ Θ ∫ /
Ι Α ∇ ( ∫ Ι

[Γ]λαυκατ[ας] ∞ - ∞ - ∞ - ∞ - ∞  
 - ∞ - - μνᾶμα, καλᾶς ∞ - ∞ - ∞  
 - ∞ - ∞ - ∞ - ∞ - ἰδα υἱός  
 Παί - - [ἐπολε].

*Var. lect.* Lb. 1, | Τ ; 3, | ∫ ; 4, ∫ wrongly for Δ ; om. ∫.

The transcription given is Roehl's. Neubauer proposed: [Γ]λαυκατ[ας μ]ε μνᾶμα | Κᾶλας [ἐθ]ε[ρ] (e. g.) 'Αν[θ]ἰδα υἱός. Παί[δ]ας | (or the like) ἐπολε]. But in that case we should have expected the epitaph to state who was Glaucatias's father and what was his relation to Kales. Roehl's reading makes the epitaph a woman's. For υἱός cf. the Arcadian (?) inscr. no. 283; CIG 8202, 8203 (*vases*, one and probably both Volcentine), CIA i. 398. The various inflexions are collected in Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 320.

**249.** A marble slab, 0.07 m. in thickness, 0.46 m. in height, 0.70 m. in length at the upper margin, mutilated on the left, complete on the right and above acc. to Roehl, not so acc. to Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mitth.* ii. 493. Found in 1855 at *Sparta*, where it served as a bench before a house. Now in the museum at *Sparta*. The surface bears traces of another inscr. which appears to have been purposely destroyed to make room for this one. Velsen, *Arch.*

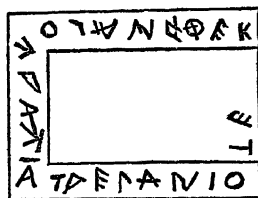
Anz. 1855, p. 73 sq.; Hirschfeld, *Bull. d. inst.* 1873, p. 190; Dressel and Milchhoefer, *l.c.*; IGA 56.

· Τ Ε Β Α Ζ Ο Υ Τ Ο Υ Μ Ε Ι Ο Μ Ο Υ Τ Ο / Β Κ \_

Ι Ο Ι Κ Β Ι Δ Ξ Ι Τ Ι Α C Μ Ο Ι Χ Υ Ψ Ι Ο Ι

The inscription is a puzzle. In the second line we may perhaps make out: *αἱ τῆς δῖς κίοι* or *δισκίοι* (from *δισκέω*). In the first line perhaps: *τ'* (?) *ἦβας οὐ τὸν νεῖον* (?) *οὐ τὸν ηκ* (?). The following are new to Laconian inscriptions: C in a retrograde line, Β with apparently a vowel value, and Χ a form found elsewhere only in Sicyonian (?) inscriptions (=ε; see pp. 126, 127) and Pamphylian (=ξ; see § 123).

**250.** An inscription round the square base of a bronze statue of a warrior 0.09 m. in height, found at *Selinus*, a town of Cynuria. The base is 0.024 m. in breadth, 0.028 m. in length. It is now in the museum of the Archaeol. Soc. at Athens. Deffner, *Παλιγγ.* 3779; Mylonas, *B. C. H.* i. p. 335; Julius, *Mith.* iii. 17 sq. tab. 1; IGA 57.



Κ[λέ]αρχο[ς]? (*αἱ. Καρίλος*) ἀνέθηκε τῷ Μαλεάτῃ (*sc. Apollinī*).

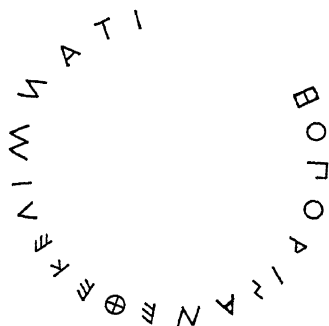
**251.** A rude bluish-black stone 0.491 m. long, 0.25—0.28 m. high, found at Chrysapha, a village three hours to the east of Sparta; it is now in the house of a peasant. Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mith.* ii. p. 434; IGA 60.

Σ Ο  
Ζ  
Β Ε Ρ Μ Α

Ἑρμᾶνος, *i.e.* Mercurii hic fundus.

The same form occurs in an Arcadian inscription, no. 276, and on the Andanian inscription (Cauer, *Del.* 47), and again on a bronze boar's head from Arcadia, now in the museum of Winterthur: ΕΡΜΑΝΟΣΦΕΝΕΟΙ (*Roehl*).

**252.** An inscription running round the outer rim of a bronze cymbal probably from *Limnae*, though Artemis Limnatis was worshipped also in other places. Now in the Berlin Museum. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 28, tab. v. 2; IGA 61.



Ὅπωρὶς ἀνέθηκε Λιμνάτι.

For another Doric instance of the *spiritus asper* in the stem Ὅπωρ- Fraenkel (*l.c.*) compares Aleman. ap. Ath. x. 416 D χῶπώραν (with *v.l.* κῶπ.).

Other examples of inscribed cymbals are IGA 50 (ἸΤΑΨΩΙΛ, *Λιμνάτις*), and IGA 73 (Π[ολυα]ριθὶς (?) ἀνέθηκε τῇ Λιμνάτι: the letters are arranged or rather scattered very irregularly round the margin; the forms appear to be ΑΑΞΘΙΚΛΜΝΠΣΤ).

**253.** A fragment of bluish marble found at Magula near *Sparta*, 0.20 m. in height, 0.24 m. in breadth; the letters, carefully engraved, are 0.015—0.020 m. in height. The stone is mutilated on all sides except perhaps the top. Roehl conjectures that the inscription was an epitaph and consisted of six hexameter lines: he attempts a restoration. Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mitth.* II. p. 433; IGA 62.

Ρ Ο Ξ Α Θ Ρ Ε Ν Δ  
Γ Α Υ Τ Ο Ξ Ν Ι Κ Α Σ  
Ψ Υ Τ Α Τ Ο Ξ Ε Δ  
Ε Ψ Α Ρ Ι Ξ Ο Μ Ε Ν  
Ε Ν Θ Α Δ Ε Γ Α Ι Ξ Γ  
Ο Ι Κ Α Ι Ε Ε Υ Θ Ρ Ο Ν  
Ο Ι Ο Ψ Λ Ι Γ Ι Ο Ψ

.....  
..... ρὸς ἀθρῆν δ..... γ' αὐτὸς  
νίκας ..... χυτάτως ἐδ.....  
..... ε χαρίζομεν.....  
ἐνθάδε παῖς Π..... φ καὶ ἐ εὐφρων  
..... Διὸς αἰγιοχ.....

**254.** Two fragments, found at *Olympia*, of the rim of a bronze vessel, the diameter of which was 1.60 m.; the thickness of the metal is 0.01 m.; the letters are deeply cut. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxviii. pp. 64 and 119; IGA 63.

a.  $\zeta$  I [  $\zeta$  ] Π Α Ρ Τ Ι Α Τ Α

b. Λ Π Ι Ο Ι Α Ι

[Τ]οὶ Σπαρτιάται[ι] . . . . . [Ὀλυ]νπίῳ ἀ[νέθεν].

The third letter in (a) is an oblique zigzag containing no fewer than seven angles.

**255.** The lower part of a tablet of white marble, 1.14 m. in height, 0.52 m. in breadth below, 0.59 m. above, 0.13 m. in thickness, with a rude base 0.25 m. in height, found at Vurlia near *Sellasia*, and now in the museum at Sparta. On the tablet are sculptured figures of the Dioscuri. IGA 62 a, *Add.*

Λ Π Ι Ο Ι Α Ι  
Τ Ι Ν Δ Α Ρ Ι Δ Α Ν Δ  
Δ Ι Ο Σ Κ Ο Ρ Ο Ι Σ Ι Ν Α  
Γ Α Ν Ζ Τ Ι Α Δ Α Ζ Μ Α

Πλειστιάδας μ' ἀ[νέθηκε] Διοσκόροισιν ἀ[γαλμα]  
Τυνδαριδᾶν διδύμων μᾶνιν ὅπιδ(δ)ό[μενος].

The ι in the form *Τυνδαριδαι* is found also on an inscription of Cythera, *B. C. H.* ii. p. 365, *Mith.* v. p. 231. (Roehl.) Cf. *αἰσμωνήν*, *J. H. S.* Vol. vii. 1886, p. 154, and *αἰσμωνῶντες* CIG 3794, on inscriptions of Chalcedon.

**255 a.** On a base of dark marble, H. 1.14 m., B. 0.25 m., T. 0.16 m., found in 1879 at *Sellasia*, not far from the monument of the Dioscuri, no. 255. IGA 34; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 34; Stolz, *Wien. St.* viii. (1836) p. 159.

Ε Ν Μ Ν ⊗ Ι  
Α Π Ο Ν Α Ε Ε

Εὐμυθι[s] ἀπόναF[ε].

Roehl explains "*Eumythis fecit*" and Loewy *l. c.*, accepting this explanation, enrols Eumythis in the list of Greek artists. Roehl derives the verb from a form *πονῶν* (see Ahrens, *Dial.* ii. p. 148) adding "*de littera* Ξ (*cave conicias* Ξ) *viderint alii*," and appeals to *ἀπόησε* in the well-known helmet-shaped bronze

lekythos<sup>1</sup>, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Stolz, *l.c.*, argues that it is not necessary to make Eumythis the artist (the formula would surely have been ἐποίησε or ἐποίησε); he may just as well be the dedicator, and ἀπό-ναφε (though the absence of the augment is certainly strange) may be referred in the sense 'dedicavit' to the Hesychian ναύειν ἱκετεύειν: cf. the Aeolic ναῦος=ναός, νεώς and the explanation of ναύειν given by the old lexicographers: παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇν ἐστίαν καταφεύγειν τοὺς ἱκέτας.

**256.** On a block of limestone, broken above and below, found at *Geronthrae*. Lebas, *Rev. arch.* II. p. 72, tab. xxv. 1; *V. A.* tab. III. 4; Foucart, *ibid.* no. 227, after a better copy. IGA 67; also *Add.* (a more accurate copy by Purgold): the stone is there said to be 0.94 m. high, 0.44 m. broad. There is still considerable uncertainty in the readings.

⊗ Α Λ Ν Ο Λ Α  
 · < Ι Μ Α Χ . Λ  
 Α Λ Ν Ι Β Ι Ο >  
 Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Μ Α Β Ι Δ Α  
 Ι Ο Ν  
 Ε Ι Δ Ι Ο >  
 Τ Ι Μ Ο Δ Α Μ Ο Σ  
 Α Ρ Χ Ι Α Σ

- 1 Θαλαμόλα[s] or Θαλυνόλα[s] or Θαλχινόλα[s]
- 2 [Τ]ιμάξ[ενος](?) cf. CIG 7881, 7882, 7883 (vases from *Nola*).
- 3 Ἀγχίβιος
- 4 Ἀριστομαχίδα[s]
- 5 [Β]ίων or [Δ]ίων or [Φ]ίων
- 6 [Μ]είδιχος or [Φ]είδιχος
- 7 Τιμόδαμος
- 8 Ἀρχίας.

<sup>1</sup> IGA 557 (*tituli incertorum locorum*) where other authorities are given. Colonel Leake (*Morea* I. 47) believed that it came from Olympia. See *J. H. S.* II. (1881) p. 69 for a description and engraving of the lekythos, with some of the letters. The inscription is written retrograde, as follows:

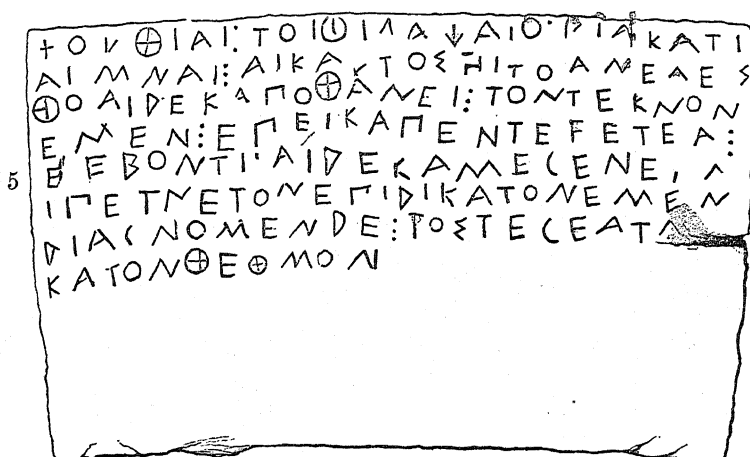
Υ Η Σ Ε Ο Ι Α Μ Σ Ο Ι Ο Φ *i.e.* Ὑῶς (or Ὑῶς) μὲ ἀπόησεν.

The last two letters on the left seem to have been corrected; the Υ appears written over a Φ, a Ο or an Ο, the Η is certainly a mistake for Ξ; or, as Hinrichs, *Gr. Ep.* § 106, suggests, the writer first began the inscription from the left, with the letters Ο Ο.

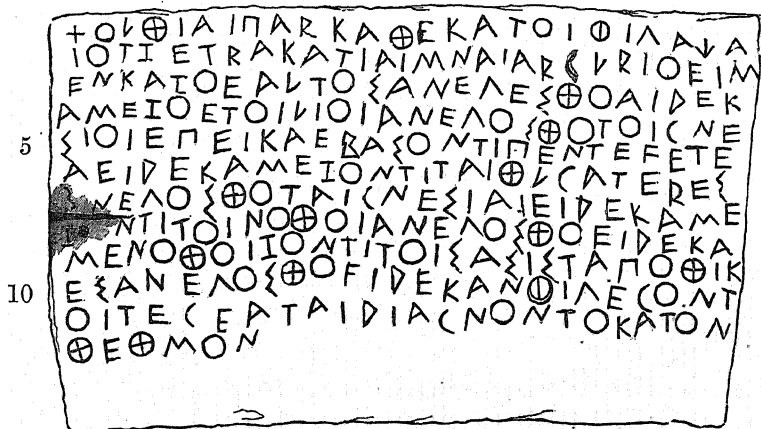
The reading may as well be μὰ πόησεν as μὲ ἀπόησεν. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 474 (cf. § 412), lays no stress on the Hesychian ἀσπραχεν ἤχησεν, ἀδειρεν ἔδειρε, ἀσβεσθε διέφθειρε. Κρήτες, as evidence for the existence of an augment α; cf. *ibid.* § 23.

**257.** A bronze plate 0.002 m. thick, covered with writing on both sides, discovered at *Tegea* and now in the *Βαρβακεῖον* at Athens. Eustratiades, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* n. s. n. 410 (1869), p. 341, tab. 5 a, b; G. Curtius, *Studien*, II. p. 450 sqq.; Kirchhoff, *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1870, p. 51 sqq. (cf. *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 150, where, while admitting the force of the objections against his attribution of the bronze to Laconia, he yet thinks that the impossibility of his position has not been demonstrated: he prefers however to take no account of the inscription in considering the Laconian alphabet); IGA 68. For the commentary see the Appendix.

A.



B.



- A. Ξουθία τῷ Φιλαχαίῳ διακατί-  
αι μυαῖ. αἴ κ' αὐτὸς [ζώῃ] ἀνελέσ-  
θω, αἴ δέ κ' ἀποθάνῃ, τῶν τέκνων  
ἦμεν, ἐπεὶ κα πέντε φέτεα  
5 ἡβῶντι. αἴ δέ κα μὴ γενή[τα-]  
ι πέ[ντ]ε [φ]ε[τ]έ[ων], ἐπιδικατὸν ἦμεν·  
διαγνώμεν δὲ τὼς Τεγεάτ[ας]  
κά(τ) τὸν θεθμόν.
- B. Ξουθία παρκα(θ)θήκα τῷ Φιλαχα-  
ίῳ τετρακαταίαι μυαῖ ἀργυρίῳ. Εἰ μ-  
έν κα ζώῃ, αὐτὸς ἀνελέσθω, αἴ δέ κ-  
α μὴ ζώῃ, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελόσθω τοὶ γνη-  
5 σίοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἡβάσωντι πέντε φέτε-  
α. αἴ δέ κα μὴ ζῶντι, ταὶ θυγατέρες  
[α]νελόσθω ταὶ γνησίοι. εἰ δέ κα μὴ  
[ζῶ]ντι, τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελόσθω. εἰ δέ κα  
μὴ νόθοι ζῶντι, τοὶ <σ> ἄ(σ)σιστα πόθικ-  
10 ες ἀνελόσθω. [εἰ] δέ κ' ἀνφιλέγωντ-  
[ι, τ]οὶ Τεγεάται διαγνόντω κά(τ) τὸν  
θεθμόν.

**258.** An inscription discovered at *Tegea* and edited from the Mss. of Fourmont by Boeckh *CIG* 1511. It was shown to be of Laconian origin by Ahrens, *Dor.* 8, 157, 160, 184, 281. Cf. Mueller, *Dorians*, I. p. 108, note 4, II. p. 529. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 149 sqq., *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1870, p. 59; IGA 69. The text is given on pp. 257, 258.

- — —  
[κα]τίω[ς] δαρι[κ]ώς. "Ε[δωκε ὁ δεῖνα το]-  
[ις] Λακεδαιμονίοις πὸ(τ) τὸν [πόλεμον ἐν]-  
[νέ]α μυᾶς καὶ δέκα στατηήρας. [Ἔδωκε τοῖς Δ]-  
5 [ακ]εδαιμονίοις Λυρείδα υἱὸς — — —  
. . [π]ὸτ τὸν πόλεμον τριήρε[ε] δύο καὶ ἀργυρ]-  
[ι]ω μυᾶς δύ[ο] καὶ τριάκοντα. [Ἔδωκε ὁ δᾶμο]-  
ς τῶν [Χ]ίων(?), τοὶ φίλοι τοὶ τῶν [Ἑλλάνων],  
στατηήρας Αἰγιναίως [— — — τοῖ]-



## SIDE A.

- / . Ι Λ Ι Ο Ι Ν . . . . . \ Ο  
 ΤΙΟΔΑΡΙΥΟΞΕΦΕΙ..ΑΛ.ΥΟΙ  
 ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΗΟΙΣΓΟΤΟΝ  
 ΞΑΜΝΑΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΣΤΑΤΕΡΑΣ  
 5 ΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣΛΥΡΕΙΔΑΒΥΙΟΣ  
 ΤΟΤΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΝΤΡΙΕΡΕΓ.ΧΜ..  
 ΟΜΝΑΣΔΥΕΚΑΙΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ  
 ΣΤΟΝ+ΙΟΝΤΟΙΦΙΛΟΙΤΟΙΤΟΝ  
 ΣΤΑΤΕΡΑΣΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΣ  
 10 ΣΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣΠΟΤΤΟΝ  
 ΗΟΤΡΑΚΙΝΤΠΛΙΟΣΚΑΙΑΛΛΟΣ  
 ΑΚΙΝΥΕΛΙΟΣΚΑΙΑΣΤΑΧΙΔΟΣ  
 ΑΝΤΑ  
 Η..ΙΟΞΞ/..ΚΕΤ  
 15 ΠΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΑΡΙΚΟΣΟΚΤΑΚΑΤΑ  
 ΝΔΙΟΤΙΤΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ  
 ΕΙ..ΝΠΟΤΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ  
 ΝΙΟΝΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΜΝΑΣ  
 ΙΣΥΕΛΙΟΣΜΕΔΙΜΝΟΣΚΑΙ  
 20 ΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΑΙΜΥΡΙ..ΦΕΧΕ  
 ΟΙΕΦΕΣΤΙΟΙΤΟΙΣΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜ  
 ΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΝΧΙΛΙΟΥΞΛΑΡ

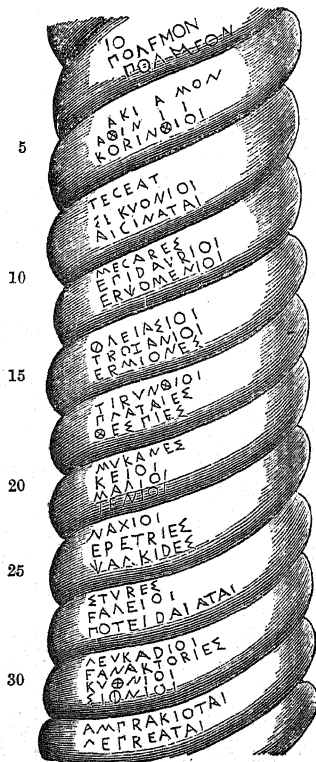
- 10 ς Λακεδαιμονίοις πὸτ τὸν [πόλεμον καὶ]  
 [τε]τρακιν[χη]λίως καὶ ἄλλως (?) — —  
 ακινχηλίως καὶ(τ) [τ]ὰς τάξι[α]ς (?) [καὶ δύο τάλ]-  
 αυτα [ἀργυρίω — — — —]  
 [— — — — — — — —]  
 15 πολλὰ καὶ [δ]αρικῶς ὀκτακατ[ίως καὶ ἀρ]-  
 [γυ]ν[ρ]ίω τ[ρί]α τάλαντα. [Ἔδωκε ὁ δᾶμος τῶν —]  
 [— ω]ν πὸτ τὸν πόλεμον [τοῖς Λακεδαιμ]-  
 [ο]νίο[ις] τριάκοντα μνᾶς [καὶ ἀλφίτων τρ]-  
 ισχηλίως μεδίμνων καὶ [δαρικῶς τριά]-  
 20 [κ]οντα καὶ ἀ[ργυ]νρί[ω] Φεξή[κοντα μνᾶς. Ἔδον τ]-  
 οὶ Ἐφέσιοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμ[ονίοις πὸτ τ]-  
 [ὀ]ν πόλεμον χ[η]λίω<υ>ς [δα]ρ[ικῶς καὶ —]

## SIDE B.

EDONTOIMA	Ἔδον τοὶ Μά-
ΛΙΟΙΤΟΙΞ	λιοι τοῖς
ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ	Λακεδαι-
ΜΟΝΙΟΙΞ	μονίοις
5 ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟ	5 ἀργυρίω
ΦΡΚΑΤΙ	Φ[ι]κατι
ΜΝΑΞ	μνάς.
ΕΔΟΚΕΜΟ	Ἔδωκε Μό-
ΛΟΚΡΟΣΤΟΙΞ	λο[β]ρος τοῖς
10 ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟ	10 Λακεδαιμο-
ΝΙΟΙΣΤΑΛΑΝ	νίοις τάλαν-
ΤΑΑΑΡΓΥΡΙΟ	τα<α> ἀργυρίω
ΕΔΟΝΤΟΙ	Ἔδον τοὶ
ΜΑΛΙΟΙ	Μάλιοι
15 ΤΟΙΞ	15 τοῖς
ΑΚΕΔΑΙ	[Δ]ακεδαι-
ΟΝΙΟ	[μ]ονίο[ις]
Δ	— —

For remarks on the date see § 101. The construction of fragm. *b* seems to show that each paragraph of the whole document began with the word *ἔδον* or *ἔδωκε*. The contributors whose names appear in the surviving portions are: the son of one Lyridas, the Chians (?), the Ephesians, the Melians (*twice*), and Molobros (a Spartan noble, father of the Epitadas, who in Ol. 88. 4=425 B.C. commanded the Spartan army, Thuc. iv. 8). 1. 8. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> l. c., will not admit that  $\vdash = \chi$  (*Χίλων*) and prefers to leave the reading doubtful. Note that here the contribution is quoted in Aeginetan staters, but below, l. 22, the Ephesians pay in Persian *darics*, a fact which militates against Boeckh's reading *ἐφέστιοι*, 'certum genus inquilinorum in Laconica.' 1. 11. [τε]τρακιν[χη]λῖος: G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 305, 307, explains τετράκιν (cf. no. 264, l. 9, and ἐπτάκιν, l. 16, ὀκτάκιν, l. 25, &c.) to be τετράκι + ν ἐφελκυστικόν; Muellensiefen, *De tit. Lacon. dial.*, p. 66, objects that there is no trace of such ν in Laconian inscriptions before the 4th century B.C. On the η in -χηλιος see Ahrens, *ll. cc.* In support of ἄλλως, which Roehl queries, Meister (*N. J.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.) quotes Βυσζάντιοι [συνεβήλ]ονθο ἄλλως πεντακατίως στατεῖρας κ.τ.λ. from the Theban inscription (*DL* i. 705, l. 20, cf. *ib.* l. 17; *Larf.* 309; *Ca.* 353) recording the contributions for the Sacred War (355—346 B.C.).

**259.** On the hollow bronze stand of three intertwined serpents which supported the gold tripod dedicated at Delphi by the Greeks after the battle of Plataeae. The gold portion was destroyed by the Phocians in the Sacred War (Paus. x. 13. 5) but the bronze serpent-pillar remained *in situ*, till it was removed by Constantine to his new capital, where it still remains in the hippodrome (*Atmeidan*). The lower part which contains the inscription was first uncovered in 1856 under the care of Mr Newton. The inser. was first copied by O. Frick. His copy was reproduced by E. Curtius, *Monatsb. Ak. Berl.* 1856, p. 162 sqq. We may note further: L. Ross, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1856, p. 256 sqq.; Pittakis, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 2759; Frick (with a copy by Dethier), *Jahrb. f. Phil. Suppl. B. II.* (1857—60), p. 487 sqq.; Dethier u. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion*, p. 3 sqq.; IGA 70. The monument has more recently been subjected to a thorough examination by Dr Fabricius, whose results are given, with a new facsimile, in the *Jahrb. des k. deutschen arch. Inst. I.* (1886) p. 176 sqq. His restorations are adopted in the transcription given on p. 260.



	[Τ]ο[ι]δε τὸν		Μυκανῆς
	πόλ[ε]μον [έ-]	20	Κεῖοι
	πολ[έ]μ[ε]ον.		Μάλιοι
	[Δ]ακ[εδ]α[ι]μόν[ιοι]		Τήνιοι
5	Ἀθ[α]ν[α]ῖοι		Νάξιοι
	Κορίνθιοι		Ἐρετριῆς
	Τεγεᾶτ[αι]	25	Χαλκιδῆς
	Σικυνώνιοι		Στυρῆς
	Αἰγινᾶται		Φαλείοι
10	Μεγαρῆς		Ποτειδαῖᾶται
	Ἐπιδαύριοι		Λευκάδιοι
	Ἐρχομένιοι	30	Φανακτοριῆς
	Φλειάσιοι		Κύθνιοι
	Τροζάνιοι		Σίφνιοι
15	Ἐρμιονῆς		Ἀμπρακιῶται
	Τιρύνθιοι		Λεπρεᾶται
	Πλαταιῆς		
	Θεσπιῆς		

The ancient and later history of this monument, which as commemorating the battle of Plataeae cannot be much later than 479 B.C., is summarised by Roehl (IGA) in a series of quotations: Hdt. ix. 81, viii. 82, Thuc. i. 132, iii. 57, [Demosth.] *in Neaer.* § 97 sq., p. 1378 R., Nepos, *Paus.* i., Diod. xi. 33, Plutarch, *περὶ τῆς Ἡροδ. κακ.* c. 39, 42, 43, Plut. *Them.* 20, Paus. x. 13. 9, v. 23. 1, iii. 8. 2, Ael. Arist. *ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων*, T. ii. p. 175 Ddf., Schol. iii. p. 569 Ddf., Ael. Arist. l. c. p. 281 Ddf., Suid. s. v. Πανσανίας, and numerous later and ecclesiastical authorities, who describe the vicissitudes of the column at Constantinople. The surviving portion contains 29 coils: the inscription begins on the 13th from the bottom. Fabricius (*l. c.*) has argued with probability that the arrogant epigram of Pausanias (Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων | Πανσανίας Φοῖβ' μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε, Thuc. i. 132) was engraved on a low base, which carried the tripod and stand, and was replaced by the epigram preserved by Diodorus, xi. 33. 2: Ἑλλάδος εὐρύχρου σωτήρης τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν | δουλοσύνης στυγεράς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας. The 31 names given include the 27 inscribed, acc. to Paus. v. 23. 1, on the monument (statue of Jove) at Olympia, commemorating the same events; and four besides, Θεσπιῆς, Ἐρετριῆς, Λευκάδιοι, Σίφνιοι. l. 7. Τεγεᾶται: cf. Hdt. ix. 70. l. 8. Σικυνώνιοι. Acc. to Apollonius *de adv.* 555. 5, Σικυνών was the native form of the word; cf. the legend of the coins, SE, no. 237 b, and pp. 126, 127. l. 12. Ἐρχομένιοι: this is the usual spelling for the Orchomenians both of Arcadia (as here) and of Boeotia, cf. no. 204; Curtius, *Pelop.* i. p. 223, quotes EP from a coin of the Arcadian town. l. 13. Φλειάσιοι: the intervocal σ had not yet given way to the *spiritus asper*, which was characteristic of a later period of Laconian: cf. nos. 264, 265 b, c, d, 266. l. 14. Τροζάνιοι. The same vocalism (ο for οι)

occurs on a much later (Attic?) inscription, CIG 106. 1. 22. Τήνιοι: cf. Hdt. viii. 82. 1. 27. The Eleans were not present at Salamis and arrived at Plataeae too late: probably they owe their commemoration on the monument to their position as guardians of Olympia. The Mantineans, who were in the same case but had no such distinction, do not appear. 1. 33. The older spelling Ἀμπρ. (found on coins and inscriptions) gave way to the later Ἀμβρ. some time before Ol. 104=363 B.C.; see Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 493. (Pape.)

**260.** An inscription, 0.37 m. in height, 0.81 m. in breadth, cut on a rock not far from the ancient *Gythium* (Palaeopolis). Behind the inscription is a chair carved in the living rock, and below is a footstool. Of this chair Pausanias iii. 22. 1 says: Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίου ἀργός λίθος. Ὁρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καμπύτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα. CIG 1469 (from Leake); Leake, *Morea*, i. p. 248, tab. n. 28; Ross, *Inscr. ined.* i. n. 52. From Trézé's copy: Lebas, *Inscr. gr. et lat. recueillies en Grèce*, &c. fasc. 2, p. 166; Blouet, *Exp. sc. de Morée*, iii. p. 55, n. 2. Lebas, *Rev. Arch.* i. 2, p. 213, tab. xxv. n. 4; id. *V. A.* tab. iv. n. 11; and (from another copy) n. 238. R. Weil, *Mith.* i. p. 154, whose copy is given below. IGA 72, where six copies are given.

ΛΕΔΕΜΑ

ΠΟΣΤΡΥΘΕΣΤΑΙΣ

ΔΕΚΑΑΠΟΣΤΡΥΟ

.ΤΑΙΑΦΑΙΑΤΑ

ΒΟΔΟΛΟΣ ...

Ρ]ΛΙΔΕΘΟΓΕ

Λ]ΥΟΜΟΣ

ΟΣΤΑΤΟ

[Μ]ηδένα ἀ-

ποστρύθεσται· [δ]ς

δέ κα ἀποστρύθ-

[η]ται, ἀφαῖ ἀτα[σα]

5 ὁ δῶλος.

[α]ῖ δὲ ὅπη

[ν]όμος [π-]

[ρ]οστάτω.

Our ignorance of the meaning of ἀποστρύθεσται and ἀποστρύθηναι (if these readings are right) makes an explanation of the fragment impossible. The termination -σται for -σθαι we have found in the Locrian inscr. no. 231 (l. 24, etc.; cf. no. 232). 1. 4 ἀφαῖ (?): Greek phonetic laws forbid us to identify the form with ἀεί (Meister, *N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.). ἀτασεῖ is perhaps i. q. ἀλγυνεῖ, cf. Hesych. ἤτας, ἤλγυνας. 1. 5. By the δῶλος Roehl thinks is meant the δουλορέστης. ll. 6, 7. It is difficult to know what to do with the Ρ and Λ. Roehl notes: "Hoc igitur sibi velle videtur titulus: Nequis nescio quid committat; si commiserit, Servus eum semper cruciabit; si vero rite fecerit, eum protegit"; and he compares Hesych. s. v. κρείττονας· τοὺς ἥρωας οὕτω λέγουσιν. δοκοῦσι δὲ κακωτικοὶ τινες εἶναι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ παρίοντες τὰ ἥρῳα σιγὴν ἔχουσι, μὴ τι βλαβῶσι.

**261.** One line, forming two hexameter verses, along the upper margin of a round marble base, 0.78 m. in height, 1.26 m. in diameter, found in 1876 at *Olympia*. The letters are 0.03—0.04 m. in height. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 49, tab. vi.; id. *Ausgr.* i. tab. 32; Schubart, *N. Jahrb.* 1876, p. 681 sqq.; Weil, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 229 and xxxv. p. 196 note; Schubart, *N. Jahrb.* 1877, p. 385 sqq.; Ahrens, *Philol.* xxxviii. 1879, p. 193 sqq.; IGA 75 and *Add.*

Hinrichs, *Dtsch. Litt.-Ztg.* 1882, p. 1643; Meister, *N. Jahrb.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.; Muellensiefen, *Tit. lacon. dial.* p. 44.

ΟΤΑΝ. ΞΚΡΟΝΙΔΑΙ ΕΥΟΛΥΝΠ  
 ΙΕΚΑΛΟΝΑΓΑΛΛΜΑΗΙΛΕΦΟ  
 ΜΟΙΤΟΙΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟ

[Δξο Φύναξ] Κρονίδα, [Ζ]εῦ Ὀλύμπιε, καλὸν ἄγαλμα  
 ἰληφῶ[ς δα]μῶ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ[ν].

The epigram occurs Paus. v. 24. 3 where the second line reads: *Ἰάδω θυμῷ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*. Former editors had restored the inscr. as follows: *Ἰλήφω θυμῷ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ*. To this there are obvious objections: (1) *Ἰληφω* as an adjective, with its Ionic *η* and Laconian *φ*, is an almost impossible form for *Ἰλᾱ-ος* (Homeric), *Ἰλη-ος* (Ionic), *Ἰλε-ως* (Attic); (2) the singular *τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ* can hardly be used collectively. Ahrens l.c. and after him Roehl think that the inscr. was mutilated in the same places as now in the time of Pausanias, and that the *θυμῷ* is the conjecture of Paus. or his copyists, who were in any case wrong in the *τοῖς* following. Ahrens and Roehl somewhat boldly adopt *Ἰληφῶς* as a perfect from a verb *ἰλέομαι*: they might have quoted Hesych. *ἰλαότι ἰλαρῷ, ἰλέφω* (Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 119). As regards *Ἰλήφω* Muellensiefen *op. cit.* p. 174 cuts the knot thus: "Forma non tam laconica est quam hyperionica vel potius hyperepica, in disticho ab auctore Lacedaemonio epicae poesis parum gnaro ficta."—The letter following *Κρονίδα* may be *Η=ζ*, as Roehl suggests; it was not needed for the *spiritus asper* which at this period was expressed by the closed form: cf. *Η* for *Ξ* in the Argive inscr. no. 77 (b). Ahrens can hardly be right in taking *Κρονίδα* as a vocative. For the dative after *δέχομαι* cf. no. 7 and Hom. *Il.* xv. 87, etc.

**262.** On a vessel found in 1850 in a tomb on the island of *Cythera*, now in the Br. Mus. IGA 76.

ΒΕΜΙΚΔΤΥΛΙΟΜ ἡμικοτύλιον.

**263.** A base consisting of a single block of white marble cut in such a way that the lower part measures L. 0.40 m., B. 0.345 m., H. 0.145 m., the upper L. 0.35 m., B. 0.325 m., H. 0.09 m. Found at *Geronthrae* (Geraki). Formerly it supported a tombstone; now it is used to support the crucifix on festivals. IGA 77 b, *Add.*

ΕΥΑΛΚΕΣ Εὐάλκης  
 ΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ἐν πολέμῳ  
 ΕΝΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΑΙ ἐν Μαντινέᾳ.

Cf. no. 266. The inscription is apparently of a date subsequent to the battle fought 418 B.C.

**264.** On a marble formerly inserted in the wall of a monastery at *Misthtra*, and brought in 1877 to the Museum at Sparta. Above the inscription are represented four-horse chariots with the charioteer: the inscr. itself is 0.75 m. long, 0.23 m. broad. It was first copied by Leake, *Morea*, ii. p. 521, tab. 71; Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mithth.* ii. p. 318 sqq.; Fick, *Bezz. Beitr.* iii. p. 121 sqq.; Meister, *ib.* p. 284 sq.; Roehl, *ib.* p. 309; IGA 79.

ΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ  
 ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ  
 ΠΟΛΙΑΥΟΙΝΙΚΑΘΑΣ  
 ΤΑΥΤΑΘΑΤΟΥΔΕΞ  
 ΠΕΡΟΚΑΤΟΝΛΥΝ  
 ΤΑΔΕΕΝΙΚΑΘΕΔΑΥ  
 ΤΟΙΑΥΤΟΤΕΘΙΠΠΟ  
 ΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΨΙΟΝ  
 ΕΝΓΑΙΑΡΟΥΟΤΕΤΡΑΚΙ  
 ΚΑΙΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΤΕΤ  
 ΚΕΛΕΥΘΥΝΙΑΤΕΤ  
 ΚΑΙΠΟΘΟΙΔΑΙΑΔΑΜΟΜΟ  
 ΕΝΙΚΕΘΕΛΕΙΚΑΙΘΟΚΕΛ  
 ΑΜΑΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΨΙΟΝ  
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 —ΝΙΚΕΘΕΥΡΙΑΙΟΚΤΑ Ι  
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 ΕΝΘΕΒΟΘΑΙΞΘΙΠΠΟΙΞ  
 ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΛ  
 ΤΑΔΕ ΕΝΙΚ \ΘΕΕΛΥΜΑ  
 ΠΡΑΤ ΑΙΚΟΛΝΔ  
 ΕΘΙΑΚΑΙΚΕΛΕΧΜΙ  
 ΑΣΘΑ ΕΝ Ν  
 ΕΒ Λ

- Δαμώνων  
 ἀνέθηκε Ἀθαναία[ι]  
 Πολιάχῳ, νικάας  
 ταυτὰ αὐτ' οὐδὴς  
 5 πῆποκα τῶν νῦν.  
 Τάδε ἐνίκαέ Δα[μώνων].  
 τῷ αὐτῷ τεθ[ρ]ίππω[ι]  
 αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων  
 ἐν Γαίαφόχῳ τετράκι[ν],  
 10 καὶ Ἀθάναια τετ[ράκιν],  
 κῆλεῦννια τετ[ράκιν].  
 καὶ Ποοῖδαια Δαμώνων[ν]  
 ἐνίκη Ἐλεῖ, καὶ ὁ κέλ[ηξ]  
 ἀμᾶ, αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων  
 15 ἐνῆβώαις ἵπποις  
 ἐπτάκιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῷ  
 ἵππων κῆκ τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ[ι]ππῳ].  
 καὶ Ποοῖδαια Δαμώνων  
 [ἐ]νίκη Θευρίᾳ ὀκτά[κ]ι[ν]  
 20 [α]ὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων ἐν-  
 ῆβώαις ἵπποις  
 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῷ ἵππων  
 κῆκ τῷ αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.  
 κῆν Ἀριοντίας ἐνίκη  
 25 Δαμώνων ὀκτάκιν  
 αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων  
 ἐνῆβώαις ἵπποις  
 ἐκ τῶν αὐτῷ ἵππων  
 κῆκ τῷ αὐτῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ  
 30 ὁ κέληξ ἐνίκη [ἀμᾶ].  
 καὶ Ἐλευννία Δαμ[ώνων]  
 ἐνίκη αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων  
 ἐνῆβώαις ἵπποις  
 τετράκιν.  
 35 τάδε ἐνίκα[α]ῖ ἐννυμα....  
 ...πρατ.... αἰκουδ....  
 .... ἡία καὶ κέληξ μι....  
 .... ας ᾶ.... ἐν... ν  
 ...εβ... ν.....

The foregoing inscription, detailing the equestrian victories of Damonon, is a striking confirmation of the much-reputed *ἵπποτροφία* of ancient Sparta: cf. Paus. vi. 2. 3. The first four lines form two hexameters.

1. Δαμώνων: acc. to Fick (*l. c.*) a 'Kosename,' perhaps from Δαμῶναξ; cf. *id.*, *Gr. Personennamen* p. xvi., Νεικομῶ = Νικομήδεια, Τυχαρῶ = Τυχάρετη.

2, 3. Πολιάχος is contracted from Πολιάδοχος a form parallel to πολιανόμος on the *Tabl. Her.* (Ca. 40, 41). 'Αθ. Πολιάχος was worshipped on the Πόλις or 'Ακρόπολις of Sparta, where acc. to Paus. iii. 17. 3 'Αθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοῦκου τῆς αὐτῆς.—For the intervocal *spiritus asper* in νικάας, Ποιδᾶια &c. see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 223-4, Muellensiefen, *De tit. Lacon. dial.* § 6, where it is noted that (1) in the oldest period intervocal σ is retained, e.g. Φλειάδιοι, no. 259, 12; γνήσιοι, no. 257 b, 4; γνήσιαι, *ib.* 7; ἡβάσωντι, *ib.* 5; (2) in the next period intervocal σ is always changed into *spiritus asper*, whether the s is original or has come from some other consonant, e.g. νικάδας (*supra*), 'Αγρηλίστρατος (from orig. τ) 265 d: after the fifth century the sign for *spiritus asper* ceased to be written in such forms: thus νικάς (316 B.C.), Ca. 26, σαάμων = σησάμων, CIG 1464; (3) in a third period intervocal σ is for the most part preserved; (4) in the 2nd century A.D. we find archaising imitations of the 2nd period, as in νεικάαρ = νικάσας, Ca. 34, νεικάαντερ = νικάσαντες, *ib.* 37.

4. ταυτᾶ ἄτε 'in such a manner as.' Probably in Theocr. xv. 18 we should read χῶμὸς ταυτᾶ (not ταυτᾶ) ἔχει; cf. Ahrens, *Dor.* 371. For οὐδῆς = οὐδεῖς cf. *Tabl. Her.* (Ca. 40, 41) i. 136. For τετράκιν, ἐπτάκιν &c. cf. note on no. 258 A l. 11.

5. πήποκα: cf. the Laconian epigram, Pollux iv. 102, χίλιὰ ποκα βίβαντι πλείστα δὴ τῶν πήποκα, i.e. 'usquam et unquam' (Ahrens, *Dor.* 363).

7. αὐτῶ: used reflexively; so throughout the inscription. By τεθρίππῳ is meant ἵπποις τελείοις.

9. ἐν Γαυφόχω: an expression like ἐν 'Αἶδαο, ἐν 'Ασκληπιοῦ, and ἐν 'Αριοντίας below l. 24. Cf. Paus. iii. 20. 2 τοῦτου (the Phoebeum at Therapne) δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Γαυόχου and Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 30. Commentators are not agreed upon the reading and etymology of the word. Fick (*l. c.*) reads Γαυαλόχω; cf. πολιάχος, i.e. from √ σεχ. Roehl reading Γαυάφοχος explains 'qui curribus gaudet,' relying upon a gloss of Hesych. γαιήοχος ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχοῦμενος. ἢ ὁ ἱππικός, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν [ἔρμασι] χαίρων. Δάκωνες. Meister (*N. J.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.) condemning this compares the word with γαίης κινήτηρ (Hom. *Hymn.* 22. 2, Pind. i. 4. 19) and with the epithets ἐνοσίγαιος, σεισίγαιος, &c., and connects it with *Feχ* 'I move' (Curtius, *G. E.*).

11, 31. κήλευνῖα, i.e. καὶ 'Ελευσῖνῖα: we may conjecture that these games were held near Taygetus, where acc. to Paus. iii. 20. 5 there was Δήμητρος ἐπὶ κλησιν 'Ελευσῖνῖας ἱερὸν, cf. *ib.* 6. 7. The υ for ι in the third syllable is unexplained; cf. however the υ in 'Αρδάμντι, CIG 1172 (*Epidaurus*), and note on 255.

12. Ποιδᾶια: the diphthong οι appears also in Arcadian inscriptions (cf. no. 276); the genuine Laconian form should be Ποιδ. or Ποιδ. Hinrichs (*Die Verwandtschaftsverh. d. Gr. Diall.* 1885, Göttingen p. 14) infers that the cult of Poseidon, who was worshipped on the promontory of Taenarum under the name Ποιδάν (cf. no. 265 a—d), was introduced from the Arcadians, or from some stem speaking an allied dialect. For the formation of the adjective, cf. Ποσειδαῖα, Ποιδᾶια.



13. "Ελει: locative of Έλος; so l. 19 Θευρία. On the history of Έλος see Paus. iii. 20. 6. κέλης, the Laconian form of κέλης (cf. Lat. *celes, celox*), is a certain restoration. Fick (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1883, p. 119) would join δέλης (*sic*) and treat it as an adjective = μονοκέλης.

15, 16. By ἐνήβωαι ἵπποι (note the feminine) are meant πῶλοι, as distinguished from the τέθριππον of ἵπποι τέλειοι. They were run in different races, at least at Olympia, Paus. vi. 2. 2. ἐνήβῳ, 'to be at the period of ἡβη'; a new meaning of the word. ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶ κ.τ.λ.: 'bred from his own mares and his own stallion'; the importance attached to this condition is attested also by Paus. vi. 1. 4: Κλεογένην δὲ Σιληνοῦ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησὶν εἶναι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης αὐτῶν οἰκείας ἵππῳ κρατῆσαι κέλητι.

19. Θευρία: cf. l. 13 "Ελει. The usual form is Θουρία; in Θευρία we may have an old local name; the bay in Messenia on which it lay was also called ὁ Θουριάτης κόλπος (Strabo viii. 360).

24. κῆν Ἀριοντίας: perhaps 'in the hippodromos of Ariontia.' The word may be a local name, for no goddess or heroine is known to have been so called. On the analogy of γερονσία=Lacon. γεροντία, the form Ἀριοντία would correspond to Ἀριουσία, the name of a district in Chios, Strabo xiv. 645, but this does not help us much here.

35 sqq. Blass (*D. L.-Z.* 1883, p. 1727) conjectures: τὰδε ἐνικάε Ἐνυμα[κρι-γτα] (? κρίτα) πρᾶτ[α γυν]αικῶν, assuming that the daughter of Damonon would have had her victories commemorated on the same monument as her father's.

## 265. Four inscriptions relating to the manumission of slaves.

a. On a stelè of white marble. Height, 1 ft. 10½ in.; breadth, 11½ in. Found in the ruins of the Temple of Poseidon on Cape Taenaros. B. M. I. cxxxxix. and Pl. i. 2.

Α Ν Ε Θ Ε Κ Ε	Ἀνέθηκε
Τ Ο Ι Ρ Ο Θ Ο Ι Δ Α	τῷ Ποοιδᾶ[νι]
Θ Ε Ἀ Ρ Ξ Σ	Θεάρης
Κ Λ Ε Ο Γ Ε Ν Ε	Κλεογένη.
5 Ε Φ Ο Ρ Ο Σ	Ἐφορος
Δ Α Ι Ο Ν Ο Σ	Δαίτοχος:
Ε Π Ἱ Κ Ο Α Ρ Ι Ο Λ Ν Ο	ἐπάκο(ος)
	Ἀριολύν.

[There is no doubt about the reading, but many of the letters have suffered from corrosion of the stone.]

b. On a tablet of stone, with a pediment, found on Cape Taenaros. Height 0.40 m.; breadth 0.22 m. Eustratiades, *Παλιγγ.* v. Sept. 1869; Kirchhoff, *Herm.* iii. p. 449; Lb. 255 a; IGA 83.

	ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ	Ἀνέθηκε
	ΕΚΕΦΥΛΟΣ	Ἐκέφυλος
	ΝΕΑΡΕΤΑΝ	Νεαρέταν
	ΤΟΙΓΟΒΟ. ΔΑΝΙ	τῷ Ποο[ι]δάνι.
5	ΕΦΟΡΟΣ	Ἐφορος
	ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣ	Ἀριστεύς
	ΕΠΑΚΟΛ	ἐπακόω
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΣ	Ἀριστοτέλης
	ΔΑΜΟΦΩΝ	Δαμοφῶν.

Note in l. 7 the encroachment of the Ionic Ω.

c. From *Taenaros*, now in the museum of the Archaeol. Soc. at Athens  
Foucart, *B. C. H.* iii. p. 96 sqq.; IGA 86.

	ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ	Ἀνέθηκε
	ΤΟΙΓΟΗΟΙΔΑΝΙ	τῷ Ποοιδάνι
	ΝΙΚΟΝ	Νίκων
	ΝΙΚΑΦΟΡΙΔΑ	Νικαφορίδα
5	ΚΑΙΛΥΗΙΠΡΟΝ	καὶ Λύιππον
	ΚΑΙΝΙΚΑΡΧΙΔΑΝ	καὶ Νικαρχίδαν
	ΚΑΙΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ	καὶ ταύτᾱς πάντα.
	ΕΦΟΡΟΣ	Ἐφορος
	ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΑΣ	Εὐδαμίδας
10	ΕΠΑΚΟΕ	ἐπάκοε
	ΜΕΝΕΧΑΡΙΔΑΣ	Μενεχαρίδας
	ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΗΣ	Ἀνδρομήδης.

Note the Ionic Χ, l. 6 and 11. In l. 12 the engraver appears to have first written Η (cf. l. 2), and then corrected it by writing over it Ε; cf. p. 254 note. The inscription in any case belongs to a transition period like the preceding and the following.

d. A stone found at *Taenaros*. Eustratiades, *Παλιγγ.* v. Sept. 1869; Kirchhoff, *Herm.* iii. p. 449; *id. Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 154; *Lb.* 255 b; Roehl, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.* 119, p. 156; IGA 88.

	Α Μ Ε Θ Η Κ Ε	Ἀνέθηκε
	ΑΙΣΧΡΙΟΝ	Αἰσχρίων
	Α Π Ε Ι Ρ Ο Τ Α Σ	Ἀπειρώτας
	Τ Ο Ι Γ Ο Η Ο Ι Δ Α	τῷ Ποοίδῃ
5	Ν Ι Η Ρ Α Κ Λ Η Ι Δ Α Ν	νι Ἡρακλῆϊδαν
	ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ	αὐτὸν καὶ
	Τ ΑΥ Τ Ο Ε Φ Ο Ρ Ο Σ	ταύτῳ. Ἐφορος
	Η Α Γ Η Η Ι Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Σ	Ἀγῆϊστρατος
	Ε Π Α Κ Ο Π Ρ Υ Α Ι Ο Σ	ἐπάκω Πρυαῖος,
10	Ξ Π Ι Κ Υ Δ Η	Ἐπικύδη[s].

Mr Newton on no. 265 a (B. M. I. l. c.) remarks that this inscription with other similar inscriptions found on the same site (*b*, *c*, *d*) record the consecration of slaves by their masters to Poseidon, by which act they became hierodules or servants of the God instead of serving a mortal. As these dedications did not involve enfranchisement by sale, as at Delphi and elsewhere (see Newton, *Essays*, p. 166), no surety, *βεβαιωτήρ*, was needed; but we find instead, in these Laconian inscriptions, an Ἐφορος named. Acc. to Foucart (Lb. Pt. II. § 14 p. 184) this officer was a functionary of the temple, not the well-known Spartan magistrate: but on the other hand two at least of the names are those of Spartan Ephors of a date to which we might ascribe the inscriptions. Aristeus (*b* 6) appears to be the Spartan noble whom in 423 B.C. the Lacedaemonians sent to Brasidas in Thrace, Thuc. iv. 132: he must have been Ephor before 431 B.C.; cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 10.

On Ἀγῆϊστρατος (*d* 8) see § 101, p. 270.

*a* 7, ἐπάκ[os] (Newton): *b* 7, ἐπάκω: *c* 10, ἐπάκοε: *d* 9, ἐπάκω. How are these forms to be explained? In *b*, *c*, *d*, as two witnesses are given, the most appropriate form would be the dual; thus ἐπάκω (*d*) will be a contraction of ἐπάκω (*b*), and ἐπάκοε (*c*) may be, as Fick suggests (*Gött. Gel. A.* 1883, p. 119), dual of a consonantal stem ἐπακοF (cf. πατέρ-ε). Can we then assume that at the end of (*a*) a name is lost and that ΕΠΑΚΟ = ἐπάκω? Blass's conjecture (*Misc. epigr.* 130) that ἐπάκοε = ἐπήκοε (ἐμαρτύρει) and that ἐπακόω should be read ἐπακόω[ν], 3rd plur. imperf., is ingenious, but not convincing.

**266.** A small stèle found at *Sparta*, now in the museum: the letters are 0.03 m. in height. Roehl, *Mitth.* I. p. 230; IGA 87.

ΑΙ Ν Η Η Ι Α Σ  
Ε Ν Π Ο Λ Ε Μ Ω Ι  
Αἰνηῆας ἐν πολέμῳ.

Cf. for similar inscriptions IGA 77, -αινετος ἐν πολέμῳ; 78, Βαστίας ἐμ πολέμῳ[ι]; 85, Αἰρή[ιππος] ἐν πολέμῳ; Ussing, *Graeske og lat. indskr.* p. 8, no. 6, -ξισ ἐν πολέμῳ; Lb. n. 203 a, Τελέστωρ ἐν πολέμῳ; n. 283, Ὀναῖτελης ἐν πολέμῳ, χαῖρε; and no. 263 above. Of these -aenetus, Bastias, Haerehippus, Aenehias

doubtless fell in foreign lands: but whether the stèle in each case marks a cenotaph or the actual tomb is uncertain.

**267.** A white marble slab, found at *Delos*. Breadth 0.33 m.; thickness 0.078 m. It is broken above and below: height of what remains 0.45 m. Homolle, *B. C. H.* iii. p. 12 sqq.; Jebb, *Journ. H. St.* i. 1880, p. 23 and p. 58; IGA 91 and *Add.*

[Lines 1—5 are in larger characters than the remainder.]

Ν Κ Α Ι Θ	.... καὶ θ[νῶ-]
Κ Α Ι Ν Α Φ Ο	[ν] καὶ ναῖω-
Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Ο Ν Ψ	ν καὶ τῶν χ-
Ρ Ε Μ Α Τ Ο Ν Τ	ρημάτων τ-
Ο Ν Τ Ο Θ Ι Ο	5 ὦν τοῦ θιοῦ.
ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝ	Ἐβασίλευον
ΑΓΙΣΓΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ	Ἄγισ, Πανσανίας
ΕΦΟΡΟΙΗΣΑΝ	Ἐφοροι ἦσαν
ΘΥΙΩΝΙΔΑΣ	Θυιωνίδας
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΔΑΣ	10 Ἀριστογενίδας
ΑΡΧΙΣΤΑΣ	Ἀρχίστας
ΣΟΛΟΓΑΣ	Σολόγας
ΦΕΔΙΛΑΣ	Φειδίλας.
ΕΝΔΗΛΩΙ	Ἐν Δῆλ[ῳ δ' ἦρχεν]?...
Ν Λ	ν λ
... ..	

Fick (*Gött. Gel. A.* 1883, p. 120) suggests at the beginning: *κυρίως τὼς Δαλίως ἦμεν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ θιῶν κ.τ.λ.*

The mention of Agis and Pausanias fixes the date to the period of their joint reign (408—398 B.C.; for 427—6 is out of the question). But further as none of the Ephors here mentioned occurs in Xenophon's list (*Hell.* iii. 3. 9) of those who held that office during the Peloponnesian war, it follows that the inser. must fall within the limits B.C. 403—398. Agis appears to have died 397 B.C. (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 3. 1). We may then conjecture that this was a decree by which the Spartans after the defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami restored to the Delians their independence and the management of the temple. Observe the older letters ΕΘΨ beside ΗΟΧ. It would seem that the Delians subjoined the names of the magistrates, in the Ionic alphabet and in smaller character.

§ 101. **The alphabet.** With the exception of one peculiarity the Laconian alphabet differs very little from that of Thessaly and Phocis. There is no trace of any sign for ψ, and the *κορρα* cannot

have been in use at least at the date to which the inscriptions nos. 245, 255, 258, 262, belong, else we should hardly have found such examples as *κόροι, Διοσκώροισιν, τριάκοντα, ἡμικοτύλιον* with  $\kappa$  instead of  $\varsigma$ . The peculiarity noticed above consists in a threefold mode of denoting the sibilant, by  $\xi$ ,  $\varsigma$  or  $\zeta$ . The question then arises, were these three in use contemporaneously, as appeared to be the case with  $\varsigma$  and  $\zeta$  in the Boeotian alphabet, or may  $\xi$  and  $\varsigma$  be regarded as older than  $\zeta$ ? A comparison of inscriptions seems to show that  $\xi$  or  $\varsigma$  and  $\varsigma$  were in use together, but gradually disappeared and made way for the later  $\zeta$ . For  $\xi$  or  $\varsigma$ , which is also found beside  $\varsigma$  on one of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions (no. 130 *h*), appears only on the two *βουστροφιδόν* inscriptions given above (248, 249) and the Left to Right inscriptions (253, 254, 255), while the  $\varsigma$  or  $\rho$  is found on a retrograde inscription (243, cf. 252 note), and perhaps also CIG 42  $\Psi\text{NOADA}\zeta$  (where however the  $\zeta$  is ambiguous, and may be corrected as well to  $\varsigma$  as to  $\xi$ ). On the remaining Left to Right inscriptions  $\zeta$  is the only form found. Now of these inscriptions there is fortunately one, the date of which can be fixed with tolerable certainty. This is the serpent-inscription at Constantinople, which can hardly be later than Ol. 76 (476 or 475 B.C.); see the notes to no. 259. As then  $\zeta$  is the only form used on this inscription, it is fair to presume that it must have been the ordinary form in use at least as early as the 75th Olympiad, and that therefore all inscriptions with  $\xi$  or  $\varsigma$  are earlier than that epoch. A few of the other inscriptions afford indications of date. (1) The inscription from Tegea<sup>1</sup> (258), enumerating the sums paid to the Lacedaemonians by their subject allies "*πὸτ τὸν πόλεμον*," makes mention of the *Μάλιοι*, by which can only be meant the inhabitants of the Cyclad island Melos. Now Melos was occupied from Ol. 91. 1 = 416 B.C. to the end of the Peloponnesian war, Ol. 93. 4, by Attic cleruchs. Since these can hardly be the contributors mentioned, and since it is unlikely that the inscription is later than the end of the Peloponnesian war (for<sup>2</sup> after that time the Ionic Alphabet would have been in use at Sparta); lastly, since the closed form of the *spiritus asper* points

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the stone was found at Tegea may be explained on the assumption that the sums mentioned were deposited there, perhaps in the Temple of Athene Alea. Cf. the notes on the Xuthias inscription, no. 257 (App.), which we have thought it safer to ignore in the present section.

<sup>2</sup> This and the next reason adduced by Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 151) lose force in connexion with his remarks (see this section) on nos. 265 sqq.

to an earlier date, it seems highly probable that the inscription is older than 416 B.C., and that the πόλεμος mentioned is the so-called 'Archidamian' war. This of course is by no means a certainty; Roehl in fact (IGA 69) is even inclined to refer the document to the period subsequent to the expulsion of the Persians from Greece. Cf. Plut. *Arist.* 24 οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐτέλουν μὲν τινα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένων ἀποφορὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. (2) The marble base from Olympia (261), containing the dedication to Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος, may be a little later than 464 B.C., in which year the Messenians a second time revolted, and may have reference to the so-called Third Messenian war<sup>1</sup>. (3) The base commemorating Eualkes (263), if the note is correct, belongs to 418 B.C. or a little later. (4) The manumission-document (265 d) from the name of the ephor Hagehistratos has been assigned to 426 B.C. But the obvious marks of a transition period in this and nos. 265 b, c, 266 (as Ω = ω, Η = η, Χ = χ), and the persistent use of the later θ as well as the form Δ, not D, for *delta*, seem to show that all these documents, like no. 267, belong to the period following the Peloponnesian war and may reach as late as the middle of the fourth century. Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 154) appeals to a tombstone commemorating a Lacedaemonian, found at Thespieae, which he has referred to a date between 378 and 372 B.C., and which still has Ε for η and uses the older form of *delta*, D (*S.-B. d. Berl. Ak.* 1885, p. 1034, n. 40). (5) The marble from Delos (267) has been with probability referred to the period between 403 and 398 B.C. (see the note *ad loc.*). On this inscription, as might be expected at a transition-period, we find a strange mixture of ancient (ΕΘΥ) and Ionic (ΟΩΗ) forms<sup>2</sup>. We may then roughly classify the inscriptions thus:

Latter part of the sixth century, nos. 243—256.

About Ol. 75 = 479 B.C. and later, nos. (257 ?), 259, 260.

464 B.C. (?) and later, nos. 258, (261 ?), 262, 264, 265 a.

About 418 B.C., no. 263.

End of the fifth or first part of the fourth century, nos. 267, 265 b, c, d, 266.

<sup>1</sup> But it seems uncertain whether Pausanias (*l.c.* no. 261) did not after all mean the Second Messenian war, *i.e.* whether δεύτερα (v. 24. 3) is to be taken with ἀποστᾶσι or with ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν. If the latter, his statement is for us valueless and must, as the characters of the inscription prove, rest upon an absurd error: cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 151 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Conversely, in some decidedly later inscriptions we find an occasional recurrence to older forms: *e.g.* IGA 91, note 1 ΗΙΑΠΕ(υς), ΕΥΒΑΛΚΗΣ; 2 .....ΗΟΙΑΑΝ [Πε]ο[δ]ῶ[ος]; 3 (= CIG 1470) ΗΑΓΗΣΙΑ Ἀγησιλ[αος]; 4 ΗΙΑΠΕΟΝ; 5 ΗΙΑΙΕΤ..... ια[ρ]εθ[ς].

## TARENTUM AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

§ 102. The alphabet of Tarentum essentially the Lacedaemonian. We might have expected *à priori* to find the Lacedaemonian alphabet prevailing in its colony Tarentum, and again in Heraclea, the colony of Tarentum. The evidence is meagre, but so far as it goes, amply supports the inference. The sources of information are (1) the older coins of both towns; (2) an alphabet found near *Vaste* on the Iapygian promontory which we may provisionally call Tarentine (see no. 268 and § 103); (3) a helmet-inscription of *Tarentum* or *Heraclea*; (4) three similar inscriptions on spear-heads recently found at *Olympia*. But besides these we learn from later sources of a date subsequent to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet that two at least of the older signs, the *digamma* (Ϝ) and the *spiritus asper* (in the peculiar form ϝ), survived for some time the introduction of the Ionic alphabet. The peculiarities of this later 'Tarentine-Ionic' alphabet are seen in (5) the famous Tables of Heraclea (Ca. 40, 41), (6) the younger coins of Tarentum and Heraclea, (7) a number of vases found in Apulia, which have inscriptions in Doric dialect, and can hardly be of other than Tarentine manufacture; (8) a fragment of one of the oracle-inscriptions found at *Dodona*. Lastly (9) Kirchhoff considers it highly probable that the alphabet of the so-called Messapian inscriptions (Mommsen, *Unterital. Dialekte*, p. 43 sq.) is none other than the Tarentine or Laconian with the omission of certain signs (Ϝ ϝ χ ψ), and is in no sense a mixed alphabet.

*Note 1.* Of the coin-legends the following may be quoted: ϜΑϞΑΤ (550—479 B.C.), ϜΑϞΑΤ (479—431 B.C.), ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΛΩΝ [Λ] (431—371 B.C.), ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ (371—335 B.C.), ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ, ΤΑΡΑΞ (335—280 B.C.). From Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*.

*Note 2.* Of the alphabet of the *Tabulae Heraclienses* it is only necessary to say that it is the fully developed Ionic with the addition of the peculiar sign ϝ for the *spiritus asper*, which is found also on the coins (cf. the inscr. from *Dodona*, no. 273), and the late form of the *digamma*, Ϝ. A facsimile table of the

varieties in the form of individual letters is given in Curtius, *Studien*, vol. iv. p. 362.

**268.** An alphabet found in 1805 by Luigi Cepolla near *Vaste* on the Calabrian peninsula. The Ms. is very faulty and can hardly be restored with sufficient exactness to be used in illustration of the Tarentine alphabet. Mommesen, *Unterit. Dial.* p. 49, note 6; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 157; IGA 546.

Ι.Β.ΙΔ.ΦΦΙ.Η.Ι.ΚΛ.Μ  
ΝΟΧ.Ϟ.ΡΗΞ.ΤΡΨΨ

Roehl restores thus: [α] β γ δ [ε] Ϝ [ζ] η [θ] ι κ λ μ ν ο [π] ϙ ρ σ τ [υ ξ φ] χ and thinks that the mutilation of ΑΕΦ, the corruption of ΓΥ, the omission of ΘΧ are probably due to Cepolla's ignorance or carelessness, but hardly the insertion of Η in line 2. The seventh letter | = ζ appears to recur on the alphabet of *Colle*, *supra* p. 18, and on an alphabet of *Amorgos*. The Η in the second line is conjectured by Th. Bergk (*Ztschr. f. Numism.* 1884, p. 333) to be for ∨ = σ (*i. e.* *san*; cf. § 6 above), which he compares with the same sign in Pamphylian inscriptions, where he assigns to it the value *sch* (sh); cf. § 123. It appears unmistakably as a sibilant in the retrograde inscription on a herald's staff found near Brundisium (*Herm.* iii. 298):

ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ  
∨Ο∨ΙΜΕΔ∨ΕΡΒ∨ΟΙΜΟΜΑΔ

*i. e.* Δαμόσιον Θουρίων | Δαμόσιον Βρενδεσίλων.

In the retrograde writing the ∨ = σ coincides in form with the ∨ = ν. "That the same character should meet us on the Calabrian and the Pamphylian coast is not so strange as it appears to be at first sight. The Pamphylian is not, as is generally assumed, a branch of the Dorian but of the Aeolic dialect. Aspendos was a foundation of the Argives, that is of the Achaeans, the ancient inhabitants of the district: Side was colonised from Kyme. But in Calabria the Achaeans had settled (Strabo vi. 280) before the Laconians had settled at Tarentum."

**269.** Inscription on a helmet found at *Anzia* (Anzi) in Lucania; now in the Br. Mus. The letters are about 0.02 m. in height. IGA 547.

ΟΡΡΥΓΖΟΜΙΞΑΔ Δάσιμος Πύρρω.

The helmet appears to have been buried with Dasimus, who may have fallen in battle. The name is the same as that of the Δάσιμος Πύρρω, doubtless a descendant of the same family, in the Tabulae Heraclienses (i. 5, 10, ii. 1, 5, 8), and justifies the attribution of the inscription to Tarentum or Heraclea.



**270.** Three similar inscriptions on spear-heads (one of which is here given) found at *Olympia*. Furtwaengler, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 149, xxxix. p. 84 sq.; IGA 548, 548 a, 548 b.

Ξ Κ Υ Λ Α Α Π Θ ⊗ Θ Ν Ρ Ι Θ Ν Τ Α Ρ Α Ν  
Τ Ι Ν Θ Ι Α Ν Ε ⊗ Ε Κ Α Ν Δ Ι Ι Θ Α Ν  
Λ Π Ι Θ Ι Δ Ε Κ Α Τ Α Ν

[The  $\theta$  is lozenge-shaped like the  $\omicron$ .]

Σκῦλα (note the  $\kappa$ , not *koppa*) ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραν-  
τῖνοι ἀνέθηκαν Διὶ Ὀλυ-  
μπίῳ δεκάταν.

The struggle between Thurii and Tarentum for the possession of the land northward as far as and inclusive of the river and town of Siris is mentioned by Strabo, vi. p. 264, φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος τοὺς Ταραντίνους Θουρίοις καὶ Κλεανδρίδῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ φυγάδι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πολεμοῦντος περὶ τῆς Σιριτίδος συμβῆναι καὶ συννοικῆσαι μὲν κοινῇ, τὴν δ' ἀποικίαν κριθῆναι Ταραντίνων. Thurii was founded in 443 B.C. (Grote, *H. G.* xlvii.; Curtius, *Gr. Hist.* Bk. iv. ch. 3) and the struggle with Tarentum went on for about ten years.

**271.** Round the neck of a vase of unpolished clay, similar to those frequently found at Pompeii, used for holding vegetables &c., is inscribed the alphabet given below. Found at Misanello, near Armento, in 1873. C. Robert, *Bull. d. Inst. Arch.* 1875, p. 56 sq.

5                      10                      15                      20                      25  
Α Θ Γ Δ Η Ε Ζ, Ξ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω  
...  
α β γ δ η ε ζ, ξ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω.

Robert (*l.c.*) doubts whether the sign for  $\sigma$  has three or four strokes. Between the seventh and eighth letters is a wedge-shaped character or mark; the distorted form of  $\beta$  is due to the thickness of the strokes with which it was painted. The alphabet is the Ionic, with the following peculiarities; (1) *digamma* in the form  $\sqcap$  is retained; (2) *spiritus asper* survives in the form  $\vdash$  which is apparently a transition form between  $\vdash$  and the Tarentine  $\vdash$ ; (3) the retention of this modified form of  $\vdash$ =*spiritus asper* in its place after  $\vdash$  seems to have caused the transposition of  $\vdash$ = $\eta$  to a place between  $\Delta$  and  $\Xi$ .

**272.** A group of Messapian inscriptions found at Ceglie (Κελλία); taken from Mommsen's *Unterit. Dial.* Tab. II. With the interpretation of them (for which the reader is referred to Deecke's articles, *Rh. Mus.* 1881, p. 576—596, 1882, p. 373—396, 1885, p. 133—144, 1885, p. 638—640) we are not now concerned: they are merely cited in illustration of the remark made above (§ 102) on the constitution of the Messapian alphabet.

1. ΕΤΤΙΣ ΑΡΝΙΣΣΕΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΡΡΕΣ

v. l. Α ξ

2. ΔΑΧΤΑΜΟΡΘΑΝΑΑΓ

v. l. ΟΛ

ΡΟΔΙΤΑΗΓΑΔΕΣ

3. ΠΛΑΤΟΡΑΣΦΑ††ΝΙΗΙ

v. l. Α

4. ΔΑΤΙΗΙΛΛΣΟΘΙΗΙ

v. l. Α

5. ΚΙΛΑΗΙΑΙΗΙΠΛΣΕΤΘΙΗ

v. l. Α Α

ΔΟΑΓΑΛΛΟΑ

v. l. Α Α Α

6. ΜΟΡΚΕΣΑΡ·ΤΕΜΕ

v. l. ΜΟΡΚΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΛΛΕ

7. ΗΟΠ.....ΝΟΑΣΜΟΚΑΤΑ

ΝΟΑΣΜΟΓΑΜΑΤΕΣ

.....ΙΑΜΙΝΚΟΣΚΡΟΣΕΤΙ

.....ΜΟΤΑΙΜΟΓΑΜΑΤΙΣ ΑΤΑΙΝΕ

.....ΤΑΝΕΠΟΚΑΝΑΝΙΣΔΕΙΝΕΝ

.....ΣΙΔΔΑΜΑ.....ΡΙ

v. l. 5. ΝΕΠΟ, 6. ΣΙΔΛΑ

8. ΔΑΤΤΕΤΟΣ

v. l. Ε Σ

9. ΦΑΛΛΑΙΔΙΗΙ

v. l. Α

10. ΜΟΛΔΑΗΙΑΣ

Β Α

11. ΔΑΙΟΜΑΣΜΗΓΟΝΙΣ

ΗΟΙΤΑΚΟΑΣΣΟΙ

12. ΛΑΙΙΜΑΣΦΕΡΤΑΗΕΤΙΣ

13. ΦΑΛΑΤΙΣ

14. ΔΑ†ΤΑΣ ΜΟΛΔΑΗ†ΑΗΙ

**273.** Two fragments, which Blass (*Rh. M.* 1879, p. 160) acutely perceived to belong to the same inscr. They form one of the numerous leaden plates found at *Dodona*, containing questions put to the oracle, in this case by the city of Tarentum. Carapanos, *Dodona*, Pl. xxxiv. 4, xxxv. 4; Blass, *l. c.*; Roberts, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* i. 232.

Θ Ε ο .		. Τ Υ Χ Α Ι Α Γ Α Θ Α Ι
† Α Π ο		Λ Ι Σ † Α Τ Ω Ν Τ Α Ρ Α Ν
Τ ο Ν Δ		Ι Α Τ ο Ν Ν Α Ι ο Ν Κ Α Ι Τ
Π Ε Ρ Ι		Π Α Ν Τ Υ Χ Ι Α Σ Κ Α Ι Π
Τ Α Χ .		. Ρ Ω Ι Κ Α Ι Π Ε Ρ Ι Τ Ω Ν

θεὸ[ς]		τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ [ἐπερωτῇ]
† α πό		λῖς [†] α τῶν Ταραν[τίνων]
τὸν Δ		ία τὸν Νάϊον καὶ τ[ὸν Διῶναν]
περὶ		παντυχίας καὶ π . . .
τάχει		δρῶ καὶ περὶ τῶν . . .

Blass conjectures in lines 4, 5 καὶ π[ὼς καὶ τι ἐν] | τάχει δρῶ... In the second *Δ* of l. 2 the † is corrupted to a rude cross; in the left-hand fragment the † Δ are quite distinct. l. 4 παντυχία is a new word; it probably means 'general prosperity'; cf. πανωλεθρία.—Διῶνα is generally associated with Ζεὺς Νάϊος in these oracle-inscriptions.

§ 103. **The alphabet.** As was stated above, the alphabet in its older phase is in all essentials the same as the Laconian. It only remains to add a few notes on individual letters. The signs for β, γ, ζ, ξ, φ, χ are accidentally absent as well as the old form of *digamma* (F) and the *koppa*, but we need have little hesitation in supplying all except the *koppa* from the Laconian or Messapian alphabet; and the alphabet found by Cepolla (no. 268), so far as it may be trusted, supplies the signs β, †, F, Q, ψ (= χ). The strong hold which the *digamma* and the *spiritus asper* retained on the dialect is shown by their persistence in the Tables of Heraclea (see p. 271, *Note 2*) belonging probably to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., on coins (p. 271, *Note 1*) and on vases (271); the former sound represented by the sign ⊔, and the latter by a new sign †, obviously a differentiation from the †, which had assumed its Ionic value η.

<sup>1</sup> It was in fact this sign which, after passing through the stage ⊔, became ⊔, the form of the rough breathing usual in minuscule MSS. "Down to the 8th century the rough and smooth breathings are generally denoted by † and ⊔; in the 9th century the three forms † ⊔ ⊔ are used for the rough breath, and ⊔ ⊔ for the smooth, after which time the square forms go out of use." Taylor, *Alph.* ii. 86.

§ 104. **Age of the inscriptions.** Of the inscriptions in the older alphabet three at least, referring to the same event, may with considerable probability be dated. These are the spear-head inscriptions from Olympia which we have seen reason to assign (270, *note*) to the decade following 443 B.C. It would appear from this that the older form of  $\theta$  was still in use, and we may fairly deem inscriptions with the form  $\odot$  to belong to the last quarter of the fifth century or later. The Helmet inscription of Dasimus (269), to judge from the direction of the writing and the older form of  $\mu$  ( $^M$ ), may belong to the opening years of the century, or even earlier, for the  $\Sigma$  we have seen to be in use in Laconian inscriptions (259) as early as 476 B.C. Whether the  $\zeta$ , which preceded it in use (as we see from the first coin cited, p. 271, *note* 1), had become obsolete by that time, we have no means of knowing, for no date can be assigned to the alphabet found by Cepolla, in which also it occurs.

## ARCADIA.

### § 105. Inscriptions.

274. An inscription written under the sitting figure of a woman in white marble, 0.97 m. in height; the base is 0.73 m. in breadth. Found in 1866 between Megalopolis and Tripolitza near the ancient *Asea*, now in the museum at Athens. C. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxi. p. 10; Cumanudes, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1874, n. 440; Foucart, *Expl.* n. 334 d; IGA 92; cf. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xl. (1882) p. 390.

Ο Μ Ε Δ Α      Ἀρημῶ or Ἀρεμῶ.

—possibly an Arcadian equivalent for ἡγεμόνη which according to Pausanias (viii. 37. 1) and Hesychius (*s. v.*) was a title of Artemis and Aphrodite; but the names of deities are very rarely (cf. Foucart, *Lb.* n. 352 d ΑΘΑ/Α|Α) found under statues in the nominative case. At the end of the word the letter  $\epsilon$  is omitted as in the Paestan inscr. no. 304 and perhaps in the Melian no. 3 d. (Roehl.) Bechtel (*DI.* i. 1185) says: “Ἀρεμῶ scheint Koseform zu ἡγεμόνη, also nicht Ἀρημῶ.”

**275.** A fragment of limestone, 0.40 m. in height, 0.84 m. in length, from the ruins of *Phigalia*: the letters are large, the inscription mutilated. Martha, *B. C. H.* iii. 1879, p. 468 sq.; IGA 93.

ΔΑΣΙΚΛΕΣ	[Ε]ρασικλης or [Φ]ρασικλης
ΦΙΛΟΔΕΜΟ.	Φιλόδ[α]μο[ς]
ΚΟΛΟΙΦΩΝ	Κολοιφών
ΑΙΘΩΝ	Αἶθων: cf. no. 89 (i) <i>m</i> ( <i>Corinth</i> )
5 ΜΑΛΕΚΟΣ	Μάληκος (cf. no. 2 b, <i>Thera</i> )
ΟΛΥΠΙΣ	Ἀλυπιδης.

*Var. lect.* 1. 1 Martha has ⊙ for Δ, 1. 2 Α for Ε, 1. 5 ⊙ for Μ, 1. 6 Α for Ο.

**276.** A white marble, about 0.6 m. in length and 0.2 m. in height, found in the wall of a church near the foot of Mount Artemisius in the district of *Tegea*. Ross who copied the inscription thought the marble to be the base of small statues or rather of a relief. Ross, *Inscr. ined.* i. 7; Rang. 2238; Foucart, *Expl.* 335 a; Ahrens, *Aeol.* p. 233: id. *Philol.* xxiii. p. 19 sq.; Roehl, *Mith.* i. p. 232 sq.; IGA 94.

ΠΟΣΟΙΔΑΝΞΒΕΞΜ...ΞΒΕΞΑΚΛΕΣ  
VADT

[Π]οσοιδάνος Ἑρμ[ᾶ]νος Ἑρακλέ(ο)ς Χαρ[ι]τ[ων].

It is difficult to say why the last letter of the first word is turned round and why the form Ξ is used. Perhaps the last letter was omitted and afterwards added by a later hand in the form Ξ instead of ζ. For the diphthong in Ποσοιδάνος see note on no. 264 l. 12, and for the form Ἑρμᾶνος cf. no. 251.

**277.** An inscription, found at *Olympia*, on two stones which with others formed a large base. See the remarks prefaced to no. 80. The letters are 0.03—0.04 m. in height. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 48 sq. tab. 6; id. *Ausgr.* i. tab. 32; Kaibel, *Ep.* 744; Dittenberger, *Herm.* xiii. p. 388 sqq.; IGA 95; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 30.

ΠΡΑΪΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣΤΟΔΑΚΑΛΜΑ  
ΚΑΙΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΣΠΡΟΣΘΑΡΕΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΑΙ  
ΚΡΙΝΙΟΣΘΥΙΟΣΕΝΑΙΕΝΕΝΑΡΚΑΔΙΑΙΠΟΛΥΜΕΛΟ  
ΒΕΞΛΟΣΕΟΝΚΑΙΦΟΙΜΝΑΜΑΤΟΔΕΣΤΑΡΕΤΑΣ

Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα  
καὶ Καμαριναῖος πρόσθ' ἄρ' ἐ Μαντινέα  
Κρίνιος υἱὸς ἔναιεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πολυμήλο[ι] (cf. note on 198)  
ἐσλὸς ἐὼν καὶ Φοῖ μνᾶμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς.

Curtius, *l.c.*, thinks that Praxiteles, who was born at Mantinea, first migrated to Syracuse and then after the expulsion of the Gelonian dynasty followed the Geloans in 461 B.C. in their restoration of Camarina (see Grote, *H. G.* XLIII.). Roehl however in consideration of the unsettled state of the Sicilian cities in the fifth century B.C. deprecates any definite speculations. Another reason was given under no. 80 for a date not later than the middle of that century. 1. 2. Dittenberger (*l.c.*) protests vigorously against the reading ἐ Μαντινέα on the ground that (1) there is no analogy for the shortening of ἐν (ἐμ); the ἐ=ἐκ of several dialects is no parallel, for κ is an uncommon, ν or μ a common, final consonant; (2) πρόσθ' ἄρα are awkwardly used as connecting particles; (3) the preposition is needlessly repeated (ἐμ Μαντινέα ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ). Quoting an Olympian epigram from Paus. v. 27. 2 Φόβμυς ἀνέθηκεν | Ἀρκὰς Μανάλιος νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος he proposes πρόσθα δὲ, which he defends at length. But Roehl is positive about the R which he is disinclined to consider as a mistake for D in an inscr. so carefully written. It is better perhaps to defend ἔ(μ) Μαντινέα by seeking analogies (which are numerous enough, *e.g.* in the companion-inscription to this, no. 80, Ἀθανοδώρου κ.τ.λ.) of disregarded natural or position length than to rely upon instances like the Boeotian ἐπαις (*DI.* I. 492), ἐ πόλι (*Ca.* 251) or Ἀ(μ)φιπρίτα, νύ(μ)φη, Ὀλύ(μ)πιος (for other examples see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 294). Meister, *N.J.* 1882, 28, p. 522 sqq.) compares the fluctuating usage of the Aeolic poets in the treatment of double consonants: *e.g.* περράτων *Alk.* 84, ποικολόδερροι *ib.*, περάτων *ib.* 33. 1, δέραισιν *ib.* 36, δέρα *Sa.* 46, &c. He also points out that there is no need to ascribe ἐν to an Epic usage (Roehl, *l.c.*); ἐν is older, ἔν later Arcadian. Cf. further, Fick, *Gött. Gel. A.* 1893, p. 120, who supports the 'Aeolism' πρόσθα by reference to the Homeric ὑπαιθα. 1. 4. For the assimilation in ἐσλός (*cf.* ἐσλῆς, no. 150, *Chios*) for ἐσθλός Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 287, compares Lesb. μᾶσλης for μᾶσθλης *Sa.* 19.

**278.** An inscription first found at Tegea by Fourmont. According to Ross it is written in a fluted column. *CIG* 1520; Leake, *Morea*, II. p. 48, tab. n. 51; Blouet, *Exp. sc.* II. p. 88; *Lb. Inscr. Gr. et Lat. fasc.* I. n. 18; *id.* *V. A.* tab. VI. 17, and no. 339; *IGA* 96.

. . . . . ΘΞΚΞ.Α  
 F A Σ Σ Τ Ν Ο Ν Ο  
 Λ Ε Υ Κ Ι Ο Σ Μ Ο Μ Μ  
 . . . . [ὁ δαῖνα ἀνέ]θηκε[ν] ἄ . . .  
 Φασστυόχῳ  
 Λεύκιος Μόμμ . . .

The first line is given by Le Bas only. The last line is evidently a later addition of the Roman period.

**279.** A white marble base found at Olympia. Height 0.47 m.; length 0.65 m.; breadth 0.565 m. Eight letters only are legible, but the remainder of the inscription may be restored partly from Pausanias (VI. 10. 9), who relates

that Tellon the Oresthasian won the prize in the youths' boxing match, partly from a repetition of the inscription in Ionic character added at the side in the second or first century B.C. to replace the original which had doubtless then become illegible. Furtwaengler, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 70 (cf. Dittenberger, *A. Z.* xxxv. p. 190); IGA 98.

....ΣΘΑΣΙΟΣΓ....

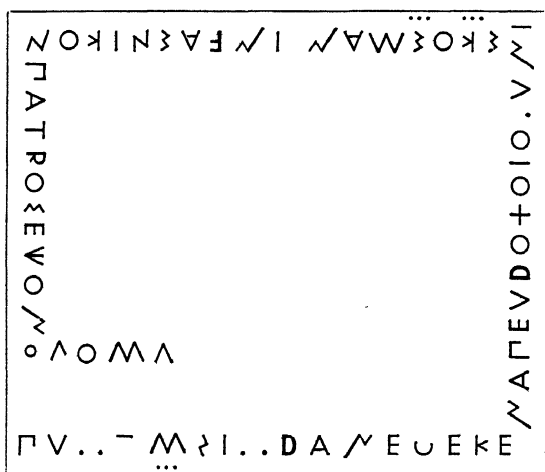
By the later hand:

ΤΕΛΛΩΝ ΤΟΝΔ' ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ ΔΑΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΑΓΛΑΟΣ ΝΙΟΣ.....  
ΑΡΚΑΣ...Ε<Ο.....Ι>Σ.....

[Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε, Δαήμονος ἀγλαὸς νίος,]

[Ἀρκὰς Ὀρε]σθάσιος, π[ρὸς ἐνὶ παισὶ κρατῶν].

**280.** A marble base found at *Olympia*: the inscription runs round the upper surface, the writing measuring in one direction 0.65 m., in the other 0.58 m. Fraenkel, *A. Z.* xxxv. p. 138; Kaibel, *Rh. M.* xxxiv. p. 205, n. 941 c; IGA 99 and *Add.*



Πύκτας τόνδ' ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο [Κ]υνίς[κ]ο[ς]  
Μαν[τ]ιν[έ]ας νικῶν, πατρός ἔχων ὄνομ[α].

Roehl compares Paus. vi. 4. 11: Κυνίσκῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτῃ παιδὶ ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος (sc. senior) τὴν εἰκόνα.

**281.** A stone base 1.28 m. long, 0.93 m. broad, 0.27 m. high, found at *Mantineia*. The opening words of the inscription have been designedly destroyed.

Conze and Michaelis, *Ann. d. inst.* 1861, p. 39; Foucart, *Lb. n.* 352 b; Dittenberger, *A. Z.* xxxiv. p. 219 note; IGA 100.

..... ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ  
ΚΑΙΣΥΝΜΑΨΟΝΔΕΚΟΤΑΝ

[Απὺ ....] Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ συνμάχων δεκόταν, *sc.* Mantinenses dedicaverunt.

The name of the defeated people was perhaps erased on grounds of subsequent friendship. Foucart would supply Ἀπὸ Τεγεατῶν referring the inscription to the battle fought 422 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 134), but the space seems hardly large enough. The name may be that of some city reduced by the Mantineans (Thuc. v. 29 τοῖς γὰρ Μαντινεῦσι μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατέστραπτο ὑπήκοον) *e.g.* ἀπ' Ἀλειῶν, and may have been erased in the time of Epaminondas (Roehl).

**282.** Found at *Tegea*. First edited by Rose, *Inscr.* praef. p. vii. 1 from the Ms. of Gell. CIG 1512; IGA 102.

ΚΛΕΟΝ	Κλέων
ΑΡΚΟΙΑΣ	Ἀρκοίας
ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΣ	Δαμοκλῆς
ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣ	Ἐπιτέλης
5 ΣΟΣΙΑΣ	Σωσίας
ΚΛΕΤΕΑΣ	Κλητέας or Κλειτέας
ΛΑΝΠΕΤΙ	Λανπετί[δας] (?).

*V. l.* Rose in every case Δ and Σ.

**283.** A bronze plate, 0.235 m. in breadth, 0.079—0.082 m. in height, 0.0003 m. thick, found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 140, tab. xvii. 3; id. xxxvii. p. 49 and 165; E. Curtius, *Ausgr.* iii. tab. 25; IGA 105.

ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΑΛΕΙΟΙΣΙ  
ΔΙΦΙΛΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΘΑΝ  
ΟΝ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΡΟΗΝΙΝ  
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΕΔΡΕ  
5 ΤΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΛΕΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΘΕ  
ΑΙΞΝΟΛΥΝ ΠΙΑΙΕΔΟΞΕΝ

Ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖσι  
Δίφιλον τὸν Ἀθαν[α]-  
[ι]ον, Μελανώπῳ υἱύν,



πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέ-  
 ταν τῶν Ἀλειῶν γράψ-  
 αι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἔδοξεν.

[The signs for  $\phi$  and  $\theta$  are rectangular, like that for  $\sigma$ .]

Ἀλειοί, i.e. Ἀλεοί, appear to be the inhabitants of Alea, a town of Arcadia, not far from Phlius. That the inscription is not Elean seems clear from the *spiritus asper*, the termination -οισι and the form *εὐεργέτας* for *εὐαργέτας* or *εὐφαργέτας*, as well as certain slight differences in the form of the letters. If Melanopos, the father of Diphilus, is the statesman who with others represented Athens at the peace congress at Sparta in 371 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 2), the inscription may be as late as that year or even later.

The  $\equiv$  is an indication of the encroachment of Ionic forms; but it is difficult to account for the form of *lambda* in l. 5. On *νιδν* see no. 248. On *ἐν* cf. note to no. 277, l. 2.

**284.** On a fragment, which appears to have been the rim of a helmet, found at *Olympia*. It measures 0.145 m. in length; height of letters 0.004 m.: the  $\vee$  and the  $\Delta$  are 0.08 m. apart. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvi. p. 140, tab. xviii. 3; IGA 106.

[ΞΟΡΑΝ ΔΑΜΟΣΤΟΙ]

Δᾶμος τοῖ . . . . . ξο(ώ)ραν.

The genitive in -αν bespeaks an Arcadian origin; see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 345. For the  $\Xi$ , cf. the last inscription.

**285.** A thin bronze plate, much mutilated, found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 156 sqq. IGA 107 and *Add.*

ΔΟΚΑΝΟ.ΤΟΧΡΥΣ.ΟΛ  
 ΑΣΑΝΤΟΗΙΕΡΟΝΤΟΔΙΟΣ  
 ΝΑΙΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΓΕΝΕΑΝ  
 ΞΕΛΟΣΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΤΕΤΑΣ  
 5 ΠΟΣΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΜΑΓΛΗΣ  
 ΕΛΘΕΡΑΙΟΣ  
 ΞΞΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ  
 ΞΕΚΥΟ ΟΞ  
 ΞΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ  
 10 <ΛΕΟΣΚΑΙΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΟ  
 .ΔΙΚΟΝΤΟΙΝ

[There are besides four small fragments containing 1—4 letters each.]

- [Ἐπεὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἐ]δωκαν, ο[ι] τὸ χρυσ[ί]ον  
 [..... κατεσκεύ]ασαν τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Διός,  
 [ἔδοξεν τοῖ δάμοι ἦ]ναι αὐτὸς καὶ γενεὰν  
 [— — — — προ]ξένος καὶ εὐεργέτας.  
 5 [summa pecuniae, — — ιπ]πος Θεοδότῳ Μάγνης  
 [ „ „ — — ]ην Θηραῖος  
 [ „ „ — — ]ς Συρακόσιος  
 [ „ „ — — ] Σεκνώ[νι]ος  
 [ „ „ — — ]ς Ἀργεῖος.  
 10 [Ἐπὶ — — τῷ — — κ]λέος καὶ Ὀλυμπιοδώ-  
 [ρω τῷ δέῳνος ἑλλανο]δικόντων (?).

The dialect shows that the inscription is not Elean, the Ionic letters (Ξ Χ) that it is not very ancient. But from the context it is clear that it was written by the priests of the temple: hence Kirchhoff conjectures that it should be referred to the period during which the Arcadians and the Pisatans jointly administered the affairs of the temple, *i. e.* Ol. 103. 4—104. 2 (B.C. 365—363).

I. 11. Roehl explains the smallness of the number of Hellanodicae by supposing that the Arcadians and Pisatans during their short period of management reverted to the number which prevailed up to Ol. 52 (572 B.C.) when the Pisatans were deprived of their privileges: see for the war Paus. vi. 22. 4. And perhaps it is owing to the short duration of this change that Pausanias (v. 9) omits to mention it. [Ἑλλανο]δικόντων ("expectaverim [ἑλλανο]δικέντων," Roehl 107) may be (as Fick suggests, *Gött. Gel. A.* 1883, p. 120) from a possible ἑλλανοδικῶ inflected in 'Aeolic' fashion (cf. Meister, *Gr. Dial.* i. 173 sqq.). Roehl (107 *Add.*) compares the form *λαραρχόντων* on two Boeotian inscriptions (*DI.* i. 497, 498), where the word is obviously a shortened form of the more frequent Boeotian *λαραρχιώντων*, and not, as Fick (*l.c.*) explains, a compound of *λαρός* and *ἄρχων*.

§ 106. The alphabet. The inscriptions given above show that the Arcadian alphabet belongs to the Western group; for χ in *Φαστυόχω* and *συνμάχων* (278, 281) is expressed by Ψ, and ξ in *Πραξιτέλης* (277) &c. by +; and that it closely resembles the alphabet of the Laconians, Thessalians and Ozolian Locrians. But further it shares with the latter, as the coins of *Psophis* prove, the peculiarity of possessing a special sign, ✱, ✱', for ψ. *Koppa* seems to have gone out of use as early as the time of the Praxiteles-base (277), for its

<sup>1</sup> Apparently also Χ: see Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 379, who gives, besides an example of the more complicated sign, also the legends Χ, ΧΟ and ΧΟΘ|.

place is taken by  $\kappa$  in  $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; similarly in no. 275  $\text{Μάληκος}$ , in no. 280  $\text{Νικῶν}$ ,  $\text{Κυνίσκος}$  (cf. no. 306), in no. 281  $\text{δεκόνταν}$ , in no. 282  $\text{Ἀρκοίλας}$ ; but that it was once in use is proved by the legends on the archaic federal coinage of Arcadia, which beside  $\text{ΥΟΚΙΔΑΧΡΑ}$ , have in some instances  $\text{ΥΟΦΙΔΑΧΡΑ}$  (circ. 550—420 B.C.: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 372).

§ 107. **Age of the inscriptions.** We have seen reason, no. 80, to assign the Praxiteles-base to the middle of the fifth century B.C. To about the same date, or slightly earlier, may be attributed the inscription found near Mount Artemisius (276), and somewhat older, as exhibiting more ancient forms of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , may be the inscription from Phigalia, no. 275. The form of sigma,  $\varsigma$ , appears to be no criterion, for it occurs beside the later  $\odot$  on the base from Olympia, no. 279, and the Proxenia-decree, no. 283. Nor again can it be safely said that all the inscriptions which exhibit the later  $\odot$  are of later date than those which have  $\oplus$ ; for the latter form occurs on an inscription which obviously belongs to the period of transition from the Arcadian to the Ionic alphabet. This is the bronze lamina from Olympia, no. 285 (with  $\oplus$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\Xi$ ,  $\times$ ). If the date suggested above for that document (365—363 B.C.) is correct, it would seem that the transition was still incomplete nearly as late as the middle of the fourth century, and that the older form of  $\theta$  remained sporadically in use to the latest period of the existence of the Arcadian alphabet. A further example of the slow development of the Arcadian alphabet is perhaps exhibited by the retrograde inscription (IGA 108) on a leaden bullet found at *Megalopolis*:  $\text{ΟϞΔΝΑΞΛ}$ , i.e.  $\text{Κλεάνδρω}$  (*genitive*), the name of the slinger. From the form and regularity of the letters it should belong to the fourth century (cf. Foucart, *Lb.* 332 a).

## HERMIONE, EPIDAUROS, METHANA.

## § 108. Inscriptions.

**286.** Inscription on a bronze spear-head found at *Olympia*. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* xxxiii. p. 181; id. *Ausgr.* i. tab. 32; IGA 46 and *Add.*

ΜΕΘΑΝΙΟΙΑΠΟΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ

Μεθάνιοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. Methana, not Methone, was the genuine Doric name. See Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* s.v. For the formula, cf. nos. 111, 270.

**287.** A stone found at *Hermione* by Fourmont, and again seen and copied by Foucart in 1868. CIG 1195; Lb. 159 a; IGA 47; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 45.

ΑΛΕΞΙΑΣΛΥΟΝΟΣΑΝΕΘΕ  
ΤΑΙΔΑΜΑΤΡΙ:ΤΑΙΧΘΟΝΙΑ  
ΗΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΥΣ  
ΚΡΕΣΙΛΑΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΚΥΔΟΝΙΑΤ

Ἀλεξίας Λύονος ἀνέθη[κε]

τῇ Δάματρι τῇ Χθονίᾳ[ι]

Ἑρμιονεύς.

Κρησίλας ἐποίησε Κυδωνιάτ[ας].

As Χ=ξ in the first word, the Χ in *Χθονία* must certainly be a mistake of the engraver for Ψ; cf. the next inscription. Cresilas was a contemporary of Phidias.

**288.** Found at *Hermione* by Fourmont. CIG 1194. IGA 48; Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 51.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΣΑΧΕΘ.ΕΑΛΕΞΙΑ  
ΤΑΙΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΤΑΙΥΘΟΝΙΑΙ  
ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΥΣ  
ΗΟΡΟΘΕΟΣΕΦΡΛΑΣΑΤΟΑΡΛΕΙΟΣ

Ἀριστομένης ἀ[ν]έθ[η]κε Ἀλεξία

τῇ Δάματρι τῇ Χθονίᾳ

Ἑρμιονεύς.

[Δ]ωρόθεος ἐφ(ε)ργάσατο Ἀργεῖος.

In a copy which rests on the authority of Fourmont alone we need have little hesitation in making the alterations indicated. Moreover we may safely assume that on the original the forms of μ, ν, σ were Μ, Ν, Σ.

**289.** Written on both sides of a small bronze ram, 0.035 m. in height, found in 1859 in the *Cynurian* territory not far from the ancient Prasiae. It is now in the *Βαρβακείον* at Athens. Mylonas, *B. C. H.* i. p. 336; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 152; IGA 89.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ΜΑΛΞΑΤΑ	ΜΑΛΞΑΙ > ( <i>sic</i> )
Μαλεάτα.	Μαλεά[τα].

*Var. lect.* Mylonas (both *a* and *b*): ΜΑΛΞΑΤΑΙ.

The figure was probably dedicated to Apollo Maleatas, whose temple stood in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus on the Kynortion (Paus. ii. 27. 7); cf. no. 250.

**289 a.** A bronze tablet found in the Asklepieion at *Epidaurus*. Έφην. ἀρχ. 1885, p. 198, n. 101; cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 161 sq.

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑ	Καλλίστρα-
ΤΟΣΑΝΕΘΕΚ	τος ἀνέθηκ-
ΕΤΟΙΔΣΚΑΠΙ	ε τῷ Ἀσκ(λ)απί-
ΙΘΟΜΑΓΙΡΟΣ	[ω]ι ὁ μάγυρος.

Note the very unusual combination of the younger form of the  $\theta$  with the closed form of *spiritus asper*; cf. the remarks on p. 64 and no. 179.

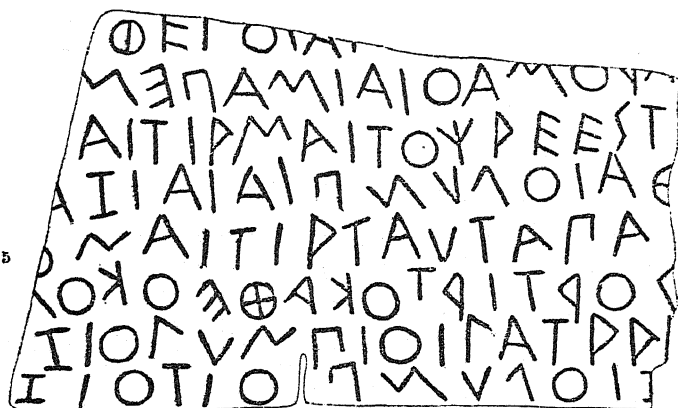
§ 109. **The alphabet.** From the four inscriptions given above it is clear (1) that the alphabet belongs to the Western group; cf.  $X = \xi$  and  $Y = \chi$ ; (2) that it is not Argive, for it represents  $\lambda$  by  $\Lambda$ , not by  $\vdash$ ; and it is probable that the *koppa* had gone out of use, at least at the time when *Κυδωνιάτας* was written. The alphabet indeed is closely identical with the Laconian, and this separation as regards alphabets between Argos and the coast towns of Argolis is quite in accordance with what we know of the independent position of the latter, at any rate of Hermione, in historic times.

§ 110. **Age of the inscriptions.** One of the inscriptions (287), that in which Alexias is the dedicator, may be approximately dated. The artist Cresilas of Cydonia, mentioned in the last line, is known from Attic inscriptions (CIA i. 402, 403) and other sources to have been a contemporary of Phidias. As Phidias died in 438 B.C. we may assign this inscription to about the middle of the fifth century, and in fact the forms of  $\mathsf{H}$  and  $\bigcirc$  do not justify the assumption of a much earlier date. The other inscription of Fourmont (288), in which Alexias appears as the father of the dedicator, cannot, if the same person is meant in both cases, be much later in date. On the other hand, the spear-head inscription of Methana with its  $\oplus$  and  $\xi$ , and no. 289 *a* with its closed form of *spiritus asper*, bear a decidedly older stamp.

## ELIS.

§ 111. **Inscriptions.** The recent excavations at Olympia have brought to light so large a number of archaic Elean inscriptions that it is only necessary here to give an illustrative selection. Previously our only source of information for the Elean alphabet was the well-known Bronze from Olympia (CIG 11; see no. 291 below), discovered in 1813 by Sir William Gell, and now in the British Museum. For the commentaries on the following Elean inscriptions, see the Appendix.

**290.** A bronze plate, 0.003 m. in thickness, broken on the right, and cut away on the left, but apparently entire below. Found at *Olympia*. It is the only βουστροφῆδόν Elean inscription which has hitherto been discovered. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 160; IGA 109 and *Add.*



- 1 ... φ[ειοα] . . . .
- 2 [ιαρο]μάοι αἰ μά πε[ν] . . .
- 3 αἶ τιρ μαῖτο χρήσετ[αι]
- 4 ... θαι Ὀλυνπῖαι, αἰ ζα . . .
- 5 .. ον αἶ τιρ ταῦτα πα[ρβαῖνοι]
- 6 ... [ὁ θεοκόδορ], ὄρτιρ τόκα θεοκο[λέοι, ἀποτῖνοι κα] . . . .
- 7 ... τοῖ Ζῖ Ὀλυνπῖοι λατρα[ῖώμεν . . .]
- 8 ... τοῖ Ζ]ῖ Ὀλυνπ[ί]οι τοῖ ζ[. . .].

For the peculiarities of the Elean see the commentaries on the inscriptions following. 1. 2. Cf. Hesych. *ιερόμας*· τῶν *ιερῶν ἐπιμελούμενος*. 1. 3. *μαῖτο* = *ζητοίη*? Blass (*DI.* 1147) compares *μαίωμα*, Dor. *μῶσθαι*, *ιερόμαος*. On the possible

Elean contraction of *αοι* to *αι* see the notes to no. 294, l. 6, *συλαίη*. If *χρήσετ[αι]* = *χρήσθαι*, we may compare the Delphian *συλήντες* (Cauer, *Del.* 218) and the Lesbian *ἀδικήει* (*Sappho*).

**291.** An oblong bronze plate found at *Olympia*, whence it was brought by Sir William Gell in 1813. Length 7½ in.; width, 4 in. It was bequeathed to the Br. Mus. by Mr R. P. Knight. CIG 11; Rose, *Inscr.* p. 29 and p. 354; Franz, *El.* p. 63, no. 24 and p. 378; Ahrens, *Aeol.* p. 225 sq.; IGA 110 (where other authorities are quoted); B. M. I. cLvii. (with Mr Newton's commentary). The facsimile is given on p. 288.

Ἄ Φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἡρ-  
 Φαίοις· συνμαχία κ' ἕα ἑκατὸν Φέτεα·  
 ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῦ· αἱ δέ τι δέοι, αἵτε Φέπος αἵτε Φ-  
 ἄργον, συνέαν κ' ἀλ(λ)άλοις τά τ' ἄλ(λ)[α] καὶ πα-  
 5 ρ πολέμω· αἱ δὲ μὰ συνέαν, τάλαντόν κ'  
 ἀργύρῳ ἀποτίνοιαν τῷ Δι' Ὀλυμπίῳ τοῖ κα-  
 δαλήμενοι λατρεῖόμενον· αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γ-  
 ράφεα ταῖ καδαλέοιτο, αἵτε Φέτας αἵτε τ-  
 ελεστὰ[s] αἵτε δᾶμος, ἐν τ' ἐπιάροι κ' ἐνέχ-  
 10 οῖτο τοῖ<ν> ταύτη [γ]γραμ(μ)ένοι.

**292.** A bronze plate, 0.44 m. long, 0.09 m. in height, about 0.001 m. in thickness; along the top a raised margin, 0.007 m. in breadth. Found at *Olympia*. Three small fragments have been added below and not many letters have been lost. There is a hole on the right for the purpose of attachment and there was a similar one on the left where is now a fracture. The letters are deeply cut and all clear; the *Ο* appears to have been stamped with a punch. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 66 sqq.; G. Curtius, *ib.* p. 69 sq.; Ahrens, *Rh. M.* xxxv. p. 578 sqq.; Buecheler, *ib.* p. 632; IGA 112 and *Add.* See p. 289 for the facsimile and transcription.

**293.** An inscription on a piece of limestone full of petrified shells, 0.34 m. in breadth, 0.37—0.42 m. in height, 0.17—0.20 m. in thickness. Found in the valley of the Cladeus not far from *Olympia*. The inscription seems to be entire above and at the sides. Purgold, *A. Z.* xxxix. p. 179; IGA 112 a, *Add.*

ΔΙΠΙΔ

Ε C O

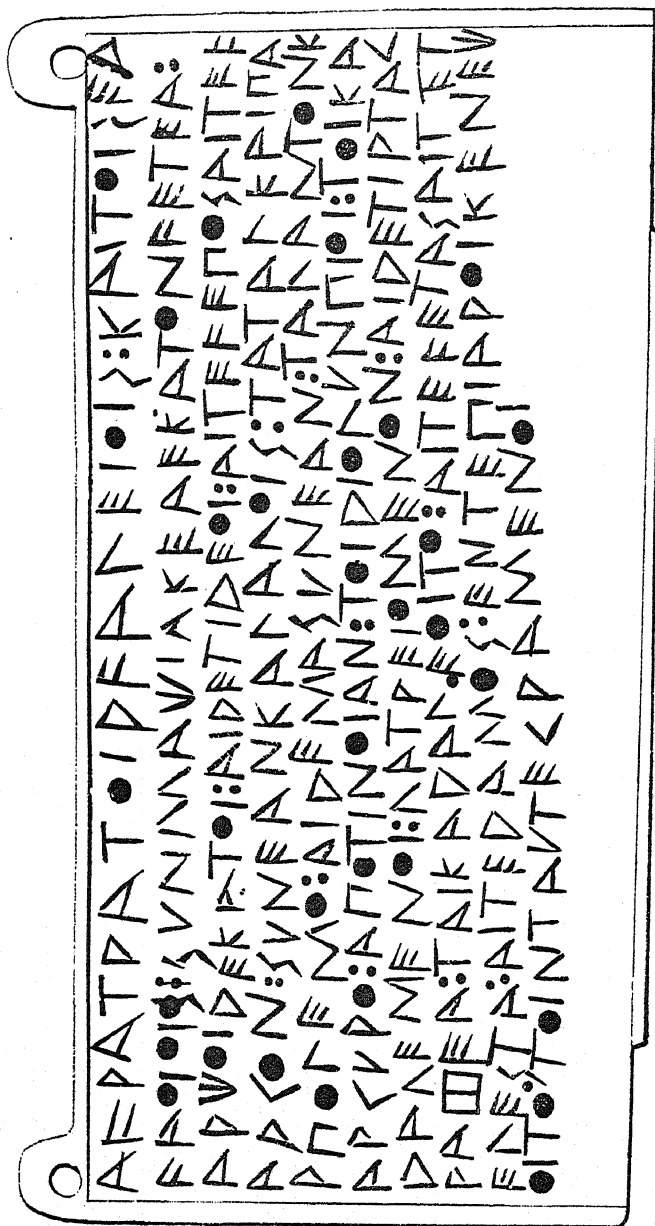
+ F M

F A D F

Ῥιπίρ | ἐγὼ | Ξεν Φάρε[ορ].

The meaning of *ριπίς* is uncertain. Hesych. says *ριπίρ· ριπίς, τὸ πλέγμα, ἥ ἐκ σχοίνων πέτασος*. Ἀττικοὶ δὲ *ριπίδα*, ᾧ τὸ πῦρ καλοῦσι· καὶ τραπέζας οὕτω λέγουσι. Again: *ριπίς· τοῦ σκέλους τὸ ἀκροκώλιον*. Roehl thinks the word here may mean a smith's bellows.

291.







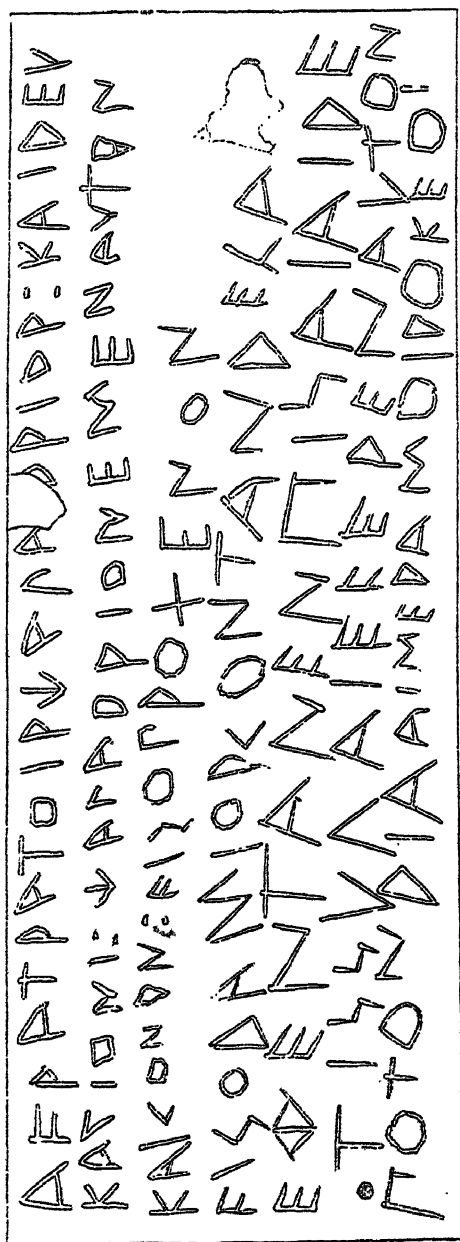
**294.** A bronze plate very rudely inscribed with straggling letters. The last four lines appear to have been engraved with a sharper tool than the first three. Width 0.262 m.; height 0.104 m.; thickness 0.001 m. The original margin is entire. Two holes have been pierced for attachment. Found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxv. p. 196 sqq. tab. 16; E. Curtius, *Ausgr.* III. tab. 25; Ahrens, *Philol.* xxxviii. p. 385 sqq.; IGA 113; W. Ridgeway, *Journ. Phil.* xiii. (1883) p. 32 sqq. For the facsimile and transcription see next page.

**295.** A solid bronze plate, 0.298 m. in length, 0.082—0.08 m. in height. It is pierced by two holes for attachment, and in one of them the nail-head still remains. The holes appear to be older than the inscription itself, for the letter  $\alpha$  seems actually to have been inscribed on the nail-head, and two letters,  $\kappa$  and  $\alpha$ , seem to be missing from the space occupied by the other nail-hole. The inscription is apparently complete below and at the sides, but wants the beginning. Found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxix. p. 78 sqq.; Purgold, *ib.* p. 91 sqq.; Buecheler, *Rh. M.* xxxvi. p. 620 sq.; Comparetti, *J. H. S.* II. 1881, p. 365 sqq.; IGA 113 b, *Add.* For the facsimile and transcription see p. 292.

**296.** A bronze plate (L. 0.518 m.; H. 0.075—0.08 m.; T. about 0.002 m.), found at *Olympia*. It is complete on all sides, but the first part of the inscription must have been written on another plate. The engraver has begun with the letters  $\kappa\alpha$  on a space probably intended to be overlapped by an upper plate. The letters are deeply incised and well preserved. It is pierced near the upper margin with four, near the lower with eight holes. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxix. p. 81 sqq.; Buecheler, *Rh. M.* xxxvi. p. 621 sq. Comparetti, *J. H. S.* II. 1881, p. 373 sqq.; IGA 113 c, *Add.* For the facsimile and transcription see p. 293.

**297.** A bronze plate, 0.19 m. long, 0.065 m. in height, pierced with four holes, and broken into several pieces. Found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 117 sqq.; IGA 118. For the facsimile and transcription see p. 294.

294.



Ἄ Γράτρα τοῦρ Χαλαδρίο(ι)ρ καὶ Δευ-  
καλίανι· Χαλάδριον ἦμεν αὐτὸν  
καὶ γόνον Φισοπρόξενον  
Φισοδαμωγόν. τὰν δὲ γὰ[ν]

ἔχην τὰν ἐν Πίσαι. αἱ δὲ  
τις συλαίη, Φέρ(ρ)ην αὐτὸν  
πὸ(τ) τὸν Δία, αἱ μὴ δάμοι δοκέει.

295.

ΟΙΣ ΕΚ ΘΕΟΚΟΝΙΩ  
 ΟΥΑ ΕΙΕ ΓΟΤΑΡΘΕΙ ΑΙ  
 ΑΤΙΑ ΚΑΔΑΥ ΜΚ ΣΑΡΟΤ  
 ΟΤΙΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΟΙΚΑΓΟΡ  
 ΑΔΟΜΑ ΟΤΟ ΔΕ ΔΙΑΔΙ  
 ΛΟΓΕ ΓΟΙ ΑΡΟΙΔΑ Μ  
 ΕΙΕΤΟΙΣ ΕΥΡΕΛΛΑΤΟΙΣ  
 ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ ΕΥΡΑΔΙΟΙΣ  
 ΣΕΑΥΤΟΙΚΑΝ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΙΣΟΤΙ  
 ΑΙΔΑΙΝΟΤ ΔΙΑΓΟΙΟΙΤΟ  
 ΝΟΙΚΑΤΑ ΦΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ  
 ΟΙΤΟΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΝΟΜΑ  
 ΝΙΑΤΟΔΙΚΑΙΟΝΤΟ ΔΕ  
 ΟΥΝΙΑΤΟΝ ΔΑΓΟΝ  
 ΝΤΕΙΑΣΤΟΙΔΕ ΝΙΕΤΟ  
 ΟΙΚΕΝΤΑΙΟΙΚΙΓΙΡΑΙΣ  
 ΕΜΕΤΟΙΣ

Τοῖς κα θεοκόλοι θ... σε αὐτοῖ καὶ χρημ[ίτ]οις, ὅτι [ἀ-  
 τ]ῶ γα εἴη ποτ' ἀλάθεια[ν]. αἱ δ' ἀ[λ]λότηρια ποιῶτο, [πε]ν[τ]α[κ-]  
 ατίας κα δαρχμ[ά]ς ἀποτίνου κατὰ Φέκαστον θέθ<τ>μ[ι]ον,  
 ὅτι ἀδίκως ἔχοι καὶ ποιῶτο ἀδίκως γα. γνώμα δέ κ' εἴη τ' ἰ-  
 5 αρομῶ. τὰ δὲ δί[κ]αια δίκαια. τὸ δίκαιον τότε κα θεοκό-  
 λος ΕΠΟΠΙΛΟΙ δαμωργία τὸν ΔΑΛΟΙ  
 ἀποφηλέοι κ' ἀπὸ μαντείας. τοῖς δὲ ΝΙΕΛΙΟ<ΟΙ> θ[ά]ρ[ο]ς κ'  
 εἴη τοῖς χρημάτων [τ]οῖς ἐν τ[α]ῖς [κ]α[κ]ε[ί]ν[ε]ς [μέ]ν[ο]ις  
 καὶ τοῖς ὑπαδούτοις τοῖς αὐτῶ.

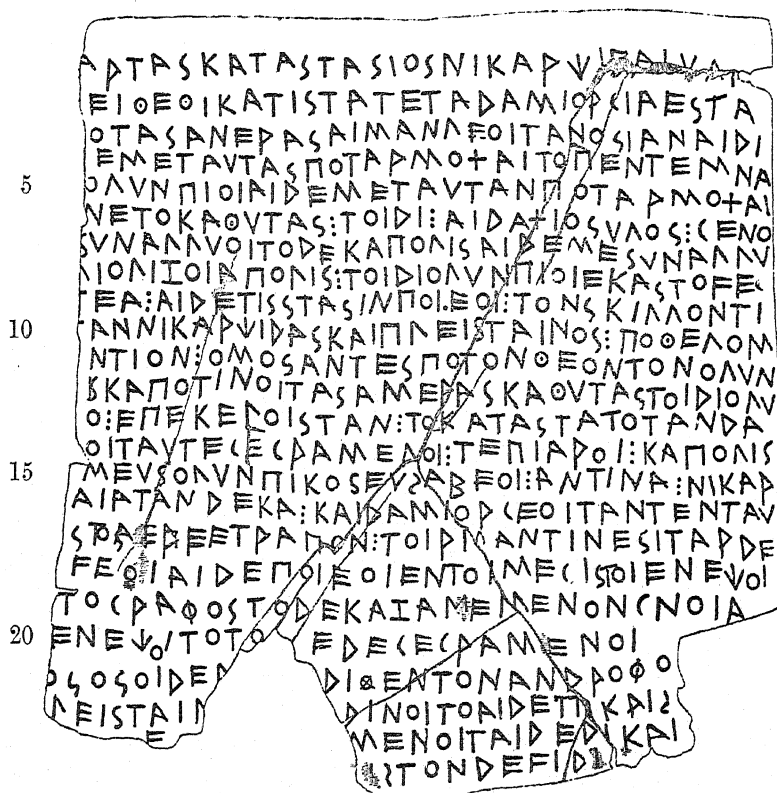
296.

ΚΑ  
 ΚΑΘΕΛΟΣΘΕΙΔΕΒΕΝΕΟΙΕΝΤΙΝΟΙΒΟΙΚΑΘΟΑΔΟΙΚΑΙΚΟΘΑΡΣΙΤΕΝΕΙΚΑΙΤΟΝΘΕΡΩΝΕΝΤ  
 ΑΥΤΑΙΔΕΤΙΣΓΑΡΤΟΡΑΦΟΣΔΙΚΑΔΟΙΟΙΤΕΣΕΙΕΑΔΙΚΑΔΕΚΑΦΑΤΔΡΑΔΑΜΟΣΙΤΕΝΕΙ  
 ΕΔΙΚΑΔΟΣΑΤΟΝΔΕΚΑΣΤΑΦΕΟΝΟΤΙΔΟΚΕΟΙΚΑΙΤΕΡΟΣΕΥΕΝΤΟΤΟΝΘΓΟΝΕΧΑΥΡΟΝΚΑΤΕ  
 ΝΤΟΙΟΝΣΥΝΒΟΛΕΝΤΑΚΑΤΙΟΝΕΝΑΝΕΟΣΗΙΔΑΝΟΙΤΕΦΟΡΟΝΤΙΔΙΝΑΚΟΙΚΟΙΔΕΚΑΓΥΤΡ  
 ΟΝΑΙΤΙΕΝΓΟΙΟΙΤΕΧΑΚΡΕΟΙ

κα θεαρός εἴη. αἱ δ' ἐ[ν]η[β]έοι ἐν τ' ἱεροῖ, βοῦ κα θοά(δ)δοι καὶ κοθάρσι τελείαι, καὶ τὸν θεαρὸν  
 ἐν τ-  
 α[ῦ]ταῖ. αἱ δέ τις παρ τὸ γράφος δικά(δ)δοι, ἀτελής κ' εἴη ἡ δέκα, ἡ δέ κα φράτρα ἡ δαμοσία  
 τελεία εἴ-  
 η δικά(δ)δωσα. τῶν δέ κα γραφέων ὅτι δοκέοι κα(λ)λιτέρως ἔχην πο(τ)τὸν θ[ε]ρὸν, ἐξαγρέων  
 καὶ ἐ-  
 νποιῶν σὺν βωλαῖ [π]εντακατῶν ἀφ' ἑλάνεως καὶ δάμοι πληθύνοντι ΔΙΝΑΚΟΙΚΟΙΔΕΚΑΓΥΤΡΙΤ-  
 5 ὅ ON, αἷ τι ἐνποιοῦ αἷτ' ἐξαγρέου.



**298.** A bronze plate, 0.19 m. in height, in several fragments which when united represent only the right-hand portion of the original. Found at Olympia. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. p. 48 sq.; IGA 119 and *Add.*



[Α Φράτρα --- π] ἄρ τὰς καταστάσιος Νικαρχίδαί καὶ

[Πλεισταίνου. αἱ τις - - ἀπ]ειθέοι, κατιστα[λ]η [κ'] ἁ δα-  
μωργία· ἔστα

[δὲ μὴ κατισταλῇ -, μὴν ἀποινένε]ω τὰς ἁ[μ]έρας, αἱ μὲν  
λεοίταν, ὅσιαν, αἱ δ' ἰ-

[αράν -, κα(τ)θυτὸν τοῖ Δι' Ὀλυμπίοι. αἱ δ]ὲ μὴ ταύτας πο-  
ταρμόξαιτο, πέντε μῶν-

5 [ς ἀποινένε]ω τὰς ἡμέρας κα(τ)θυτὸν τοῖ Δι' Ὀλυμπίοι. αἱ δὲ  
μὴ ταυτῶν ποταρμόξαι-

- [το, - - μνάς τᾶς ἀμέρας ἀποτι]νέτω κα(τ)θυτὰς τοῖ Δί. αἱ δ' ἀξιόσυλος γένο-
- [ιτο, ἀλλύοιτό κα - -,] συναλλύοιτο δέ κ' ἅ πόλεις. αἱ δὲ μὴ συναλλύ-
- [οιτο - -, τὸ χρέος κ' ἡ]μιολίζοι ἅ πόλεις τοῖ Δί Ὀλυμπίοι ἐκάστω Φέ-
- [τεος - - - Φέ]τεα. Αἱ δέ τις στάσις ποιεοί τῶν Σκιλλωντί-
- 10 [ων, - - κα κρινοί]ταν Νικαρχίδας καὶ Πλείσταινος ποθε-  
λομ[έν]-
- [ω - - ἄνδρες τῶν Σκιλλω]ντίων, ὁμόσαντες πο(τ)τὸν θεὸν τὸν Ὀλύμ-
- [πιον. ἃ δὲ δαμιωργία - - μνά]ς κ' ἀποτίνοι τᾶς ἀμέρας κα(τ)-  
θυτὰς τοῖ Δί Ὀλυ-
- [νπίοι, αἱ μὴ - - - ιτ]ο, ἐπε κελοίσταν τὴ καταστάτῳ τὰν  
δα-
- [μιωργίαν - - - τ]οῖ ταύτη γεγρα(μ)μένοι τ' ἐπιάροι κ' ἅ  
πόλεις
- 15 [ἐνέχοιτο. θυσαῖαι δέ κα τὸν θεόν, ἐπεῖ εἴη] μευς (?) Ὀλυμπικός,  
εὐσαβέοι, ἄντινα Νικαρ-  
[χίδας καὶ Πλείσταινος κελοίσταν. κατιστ]αιάταν δέ κα ῃ καὶ  
δαμιωργοῖταν τὴν ταύ-
- [ται ταῖ Φράτραι γεγραμμένα] . . . . . [ι]στος, ἐπε (ἐπ)έτρα-  
πον ῃ τοῖρ Μαντινῆσι. τᾶρ δὲ
- [Φράτρας ἐναντία μηδέτερος - κα ποι]φέοι· αἱ δὲ ποιεοί, ἐν τοῖ  
μεγίστοι ἐνέχοι-
- [τό κα ἐπιάροι]. - - τὸ γράφος τόδε καζαλήμενον γνοία
- 20 - - [ἐν τ' ἐπιάροι κ'] ἐνέχοιτο το[ι τ]ῆδε γεγρα(μ)μένοι  
- - - ος ὅσ(σ)οι δερ . . . [κ]ριθέντων ἀνδροφό[νοι . .  
- - Νικαρχίδα(ν?) καὶ Π]λείσταιν[ον? . . . κ]ρίνοιτο. αἱ δὲ  
τι[ς] καὶ σ . . . .
- - - - [τοῖ τ]ῆδε γεγραμ[μένοι . ταῖ δὲ δίκαι . . . .
- - - - ις, τῶν δὲ Φιδί[ων] . . . . .



**299.** A fragment from the rim of a bronze vessel, 0.20 m. in length, 0.02 m. in breadth, 0.003 m. in thickness. Found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 65 sq.; IGA 120.

ΑΓΑΣΥΞΞΚΑΙΛΚΡΘΡΞΙΩΙΑΛΥΕΘΞΚΑΝ

᾿Α[λ]ασυῆς καὶ ᾿Α[κρ]᾿[ώ]ρειοι ἀνέθηκαν.

Neither name is new; for the first Roehl refers to Strabo viii. 341: Τὸ δ' ᾿Αλεισίον (Hom.) ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν ᾿Αλαισινάων (sic lib. A), χώρα περὶ τὴν ᾿Αμφιδολίδα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ κατὰ μῆνα ἀγορὰν συνάγουσιν οἱ περλοικοὶ κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁρεωῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐξ ᾿Ηλιδος εἰς ᾿Ολυμπίαν; Steph. Byz. ᾿Αλῆσιον, ᾿Αλησιεύς. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 2. 30, iv. 2. 16, mentions ᾿Ακρώρειοι as a town on the Alpheus. IGA 120 a . . . ἡ τὰν φιδολοὶ is a very similar fragment.—Note the form of the ρ and the simplified θ.

**300.** A bronze plate, almost entire, 0.001 m. in thickness, with three nail-holes; found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 158 sq.; Dittenberger, *A. Z.* xxxviii. p. 69; IGA 121 and *Add.*; cf. Comparetti, *J. H. S.* ii. (1881), p. 375 note.

Σ Ν Θ Ε Ν Α Ι Θ Ε Ρ Ο Λ  
Α Ι Ψ Μ Α Ν Ο Ρ Ι Γ Α Ρ Τ Α Ρ  
Γ Α Ρ Τ Α Ρ Ε Λ Ξ Α Λ Α Μ Ο  
Ν Α Ι Γ Λ Ε Θ Ρ Ο Ν Ο Π Τ Ο Κ Α Ι  
5 Δ Ε Κ Α Φ Α Ρ Ε Λ Κ Ρ Ι Θ Α Ν Μ Α  
Ν Α Ξ Ι Ο Ξ Δ Ν Ο Κ Α Ι Φ Ι Κ Ἀ Τ Ι Α Λ  
Φ Ι Ο Ι Ο Μ Ε Ν Ο Ρ Α Ι Δ Ε Λ Ι Γ Ρ Ο Ι Λ Ν  
Σ Α Ξ Τ Ο Τ Ο Δ Ι Φ Ν Ι Ο Π Ε Γ Α Σ Τ Ο  
Τ Ο Ν Γ Α Ν Τ Α Ψ Ρ Ο Ν Ο Ν

Συνθῆ[κ]α[ι?] Θήρων[ι κ']

Αἰχμάνορι πὰρ τᾶρ

γὰρ τᾶρ ἐν Σαλαμώ-

ναι, πλέθρων ὀπτῶ καὶ

5 δέκα. φάρην κριθᾶν μα-

νασίως δύο καὶ Εἰκατι, ᾿Αλ-

φισίω μνηόρ' αἰ δὲ λίπρι, λυ-

σάστω τῷ διφυίω. πεπάστω

τὸν πάντα χρόνον.

§ 112. **The alphabet.** The alphabet, as gathered from these inscriptions, corresponds with the Laconian and cognate alphabets in all essentials. There is no instance of *korra*, which had evidently gone out of use, and the total absence of any sign for the *spiritus asper* forms one of the grounds for inferring the absence of the sound itself in the Elean dialect. Singularly enough, in spite of

the number and extent of the inscriptions, there is no instance which would settle the question whether the Elean, like the neighbouring Arcadian, had a special sign for  $\psi^1$ . That the *digamma* was retained in the dialect even after the reception of the Ionic alphabet is proved by the legend of later coins,  $\Phi\Lambda\epsilon\iota\Omega\Nu$ . Later still, its place was taken by  $\beta$ ; cf. Cauer, *Del.* 264. In the older inscriptions  $\gamma$  is  $\langle$  or  $\mathcal{C}$ ,  $\delta$  is  $\triangleright$  or  $\mathcal{D}$  (in IGA 117, regularly  $\mathcal{Q}$ ).

§ 113. *Age of the inscriptions.* The documents seem to fall into three chronological groups, comprising respectively (1) the *Βουστροφηδόν* inscription no. 290; (2) those which have the older  $\theta$  or  $\zeta$ ,  $\mathcal{S}$  (291—7); (3) those which have the later  $\theta$  or  $\xi$ , one or both (298—300; in the last note the forms  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$  for  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ). The indications of positive date, which are scanty, are as follows: (i) In the rhetra, no. 292, the Hellanodica is mentioned in such a way as to lead us to understand that at the time of the inscription there was only one such officer; if so, the document must be older than Ol. 50 or 580 B.C. (cf. Paus. v. 9; but see the remarks in the Appendix, p. 365). (ii) The Chaladrians in no. 294 make over to Deucalion certain lands at *Pisa*; now, if these were the lands which had fallen to the lot of the Chaladrians after the destruction of Pisa in Ol. 52 (572 B.C.), the inscription is probably not much later than that date. In any case the inscriptions we have placed in the second group have the appearance of belonging all to about the same period. If the indications of date just given are regarded as untrustworthy, we must fall back upon Kirchhoff's conclusion, who doubtfully assigns no. 291 to about the 70th Olympiad (500 B.C.) on the following grounds: that the style of art is ruder than that of the Locrian plates found at Galaxidi (nos. 231, 232, about 400 B.C. or earlier), and the  $\zeta$  instead of  $\xi$  points to a somewhat earlier time than the latter; that however the persistent L. to R. direction of the writing precludes so early a date as Ol. 50 = 580 B.C.; that they are obviously older than the documents which certainly belong to the 76th Olympiad (476 B.C.), the Serpent-inscription, no. 259, and the Helmet of Hiero, no. 98, and that therefore they belong at latest to the period immediately preceding the Persian wars (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> 152 sq.)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Unless indeed the symbol somewhat resembling the figure 8 in IGA 113 a, l. 4, is a  $\psi$ . In that case the word containing it might be read *ἀποσκέψαι*.

<sup>2</sup> In ed.<sup>4</sup> Kirchhoff's words are merely: "Was ihr Alter belangt, so reicht sicher ein Theil von ihnen, wenn nicht die Mehrzahl, in das 6. Jahrhundert herauf."

# ACHAIA AND THE ACHAEAN COLONIES.

§ 114. **Inscriptions.** Though we have only one or at most two archaic inscriptions (301, 301 *a*) from the coast-land of Achaia, the alphabet is fully illustrated from the inscriptions of the Achaean colonies in Lower Italy, to say nothing of the legends on the numerous and very ancient coins of Aegae (?), Metapontum, Croton and Pandosia, Sybaris, Caulonia, Terina, Laos, Siris and Pyxus, Posidonia<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Among the coins useful for our purpose may be cited the following. *Aegae*—1.  $\zeta\lambda$  (*Alγ*). 2.  $\lambda$ : Rev.  $\omicron\lambda$  (*Alγalων*). 3.  $\lambda$ : Rev.  $\lambda\zeta\lambda$ .

V

These were formerly ascribed to Aegae in Aeolis, but the mistake has been set right by J. Friedlaender (*Ztschr. f. Numism.* v. p. 5, Tab. i. 6—8; cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 164). Note in these coins the transition from  $\zeta$  to  $\lambda$  on the later and the form of the *gamma*, C, even on the earliest, beside  $\zeta$ ; *Metapontum*—Obv.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$  (*Mera*...): the Rev. of one coin (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 63) has  $\alpha\psi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\omicron$   $\alpha\epsilon\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  (*Ἀχελῷω ἀέθλων*); *Croton*—1. Obv.  $\phi\rho\omicron$ . 2. Obv.  $\omicron\phi\phi$  (*ῥο*...); *Pandosia*—Obv.  $\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ : Rev.  $\kappa\rho\alpha\omicron\varsigma$  [M] (*Πανδοσία*, *Κράθις*); *Sybaris*—1. Obv.  $\upsilon\mu$ : 2. Rev.  $\varsigma\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\iota$  ( $\Sigma\upsilon$ ,  $\Sigma\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\iota$ ...); *Caulonia*—1. Obv.  $\lambda\nu\alpha\lambda$ . 2. Obv.  $\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha\tau\alpha\mu$ : Rev.

⊙

$\kappa\alpha\nu\lambda$  and  $\lambda\nu\alpha\lambda$  (*Καυλωνιάτας*); *Terina*—1. Obv.  $\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma\mu\alpha$ : Rev.  $\alpha\lambda\lambda$  (*Τέρινα*, *Νίκαια*). 2.  $\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon$  (*Τερριναίων*); *Laos*—Obv.  $\lambda\alpha\lambda$ : Rev.  $\lambda\alpha\lambda$  (*Λαι*...); *Siris*— $\lambda\epsilon\mu$  (*Σιρι*...); *Pyxus*—Rev.  $\pi\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$  (*Πύχου εἰμι*); *Posidonia*—1. Obv.  $\mu\omicron\pi$ : Rev.  $\mu\omicron\pi$  (*Ποσειδ*...). 2. Obv.  $\mu\omicron\epsilon\varsigma\delta\alpha\upsilon$ : Rev.  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\pi$  (*Ποσειδανιάτας*, *Ποσειδ*...). 3. Obv.  $\lambda\upsilon\lambda\upsilon$  (*Ποσει*...).

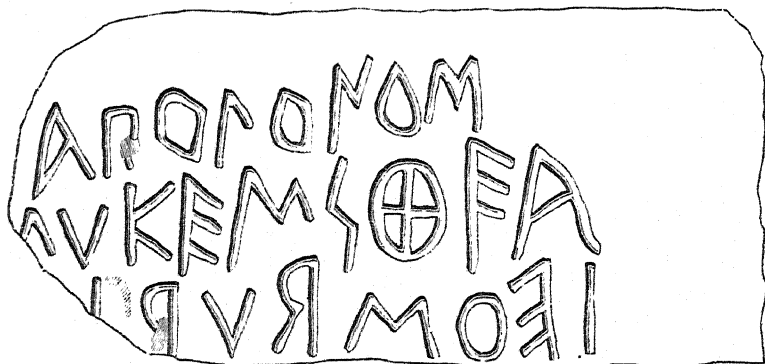
**301**<sup>1</sup>. On the rim of a round iron kettle, originally about 0.34 m. in diameter. The beginning of the inscription is lost. Purgold, *A. Z.* XL. (1883) 394.

Ε Ρ Α Τ Σ Α Ρ Τ Α Μ Τ Σ

.....ερατι 'Αρταμτι.

'Αρταμτι is probably a mere mistake of the engraver for 'Αρτάμτι; the ...ερατι preceding may be the remains of some epithet of the goddess. The kettle is said to have been found near Kalavryta, and as there is no reason to doubt the statement, we have here for the first time an archaic inscription, the provenance of which is certainly Achaean. In agreement with this conclusion the *iota* has the form ζ, characteristic of the Achaean colonies in Italy. There is further an appropriateness in the dedication to Artemis, for not only Patrae but also Aigeira, Pellene and several other places are known as the seats of her worship in Achaia (Paus. VII. 19; 20. 7; 26. 3; 27. 3, &c.).

**302**. A piece of sandstone; 0.51 m. in length, 0.18 m. in breadth, 0.07 m. in thickness, found in 1880 at *Metapontum*. Fiorelli, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1880, p. 190, tab. VI. 4; IGA 540.



'Απόλ(λ)ωνος Λυκ(είου) εἰμί, Θεάγεος 'Ρυπθ (?).

<sup>1</sup> *Note*. The following may find a place here, but must not without more evidence be utilised for constructing the Achaean alphabet.

**301 a**. On the right side of a helmet found in the *Alpheus*. Rose, *Inscr.* tab. VI. 2, p. 58; CIG 30; IGA 123. Cf. Purgold, *A. Z.* XL. (1883), p. 394, *note*; Greenwell, *J. H. S.* II. Tab. XI. p. 68; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 164, *note*.

Ι Ε Μ Ο Μ Ο Ι Ν Υ Ρ Ζ Ο Ζηνός 'Ολυνπίου (or -ω?).

Roehl remarks that the alphabet of this short inscription agrees with none so well as the Achaean as known from the inscriptions of the colonies. But the Achaean origin of the inscription—whether assigned to the mother-country or the colonies—cannot by any means be regarded as certain.

These compendia of the title of Apollo and of the gentile or demotic name of Theages are certainly strange in an inscription of so high an antiquity.

**303.** A silver plate found in a tomb at *Posidonia*, and afterwards placed in the collection of the Count del Balzo; the letters are engraved with a chisel. Avellini and Welcker, *Rh. M.* 1835, III. p. 581 sqq.; Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* III. p. 237 sqq.; CIG 5778; IGA 541. (In CIG the figure is by error reversed.)



Τᾶς θεοῦ τσ παιδός εἰμι.

The compendia have puzzled interpreters; cf. the last inscription. Franz and others have proposed τ(ρ)ις(έμνου) and by παιδός they understand *Proserpina*. Comparetti, *Riv. d. Fil.* XI. (1883) p. 1, note, reads: τᾶς θεῶ τ(ᾶ)ς παιδός εἰμι.

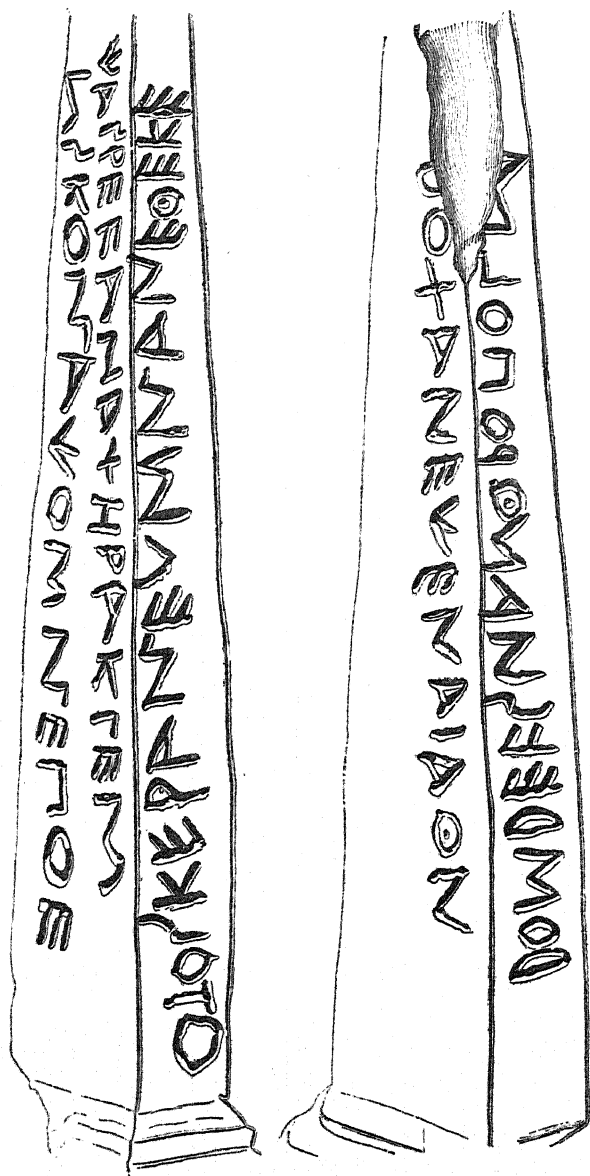
**304.** A bronze statue, 0.11 m. in height, found at *Posidonia*, now in the museum at Berlin. It is of a woman, doubtless a *canephoros*, though the basket which with raised arm she carried on her head has now disappeared; the statue is placed upon the capital of an Ionic column. The inscription runs round the four sides of the abacus, the last three letters for want of space being written in the volute. E. Curtius, *A. Z.* XXXVIII. p. 27 sqq.; IGA 542.

ΑΧΕΙΔΑ ΔΙΝ ΜΙΡΑ ΔΙΟΠΡΟΖ ΑΥΑΘΑΤ  
ΤΕ

Τὰ θάνα Φιλλῶ Χαρμυλίδα δεκάτα[ν].

Apparently a pentameter verse. The name *Phillo* occurs in other inscriptions; from *Tanagra* (*Ἀθην.* vol. IV. p. 299), from *Lebadea* (*ib.* vol. IX. p. 362), from *Peloponnesus* (*B. C. H.* III. 1879, p. 194). (Roehl.)

**304 a.** Inscribed on the four sides, two larger, two less broad, of a small terra-cotta stelè found in 1880 at *Metapontium*. Height of stelè without its base 0.34 m. Comparetti, *Riv. d. Fil.* XI. (1883) 1 sqq.; Roehl, *Imagg.* xv. 5; Hiller, *N. J.* 1883, 29, p. 144.



Χαῖρε, Γάναξ Ἑ[ρ]άκλεις.

Νικόμαχος μ' ἐποίη, | ὅ τοι κεραμεύς μ' ἀνέθηκε.

δὸς δέ F' ἐν ἀνθρώποις | δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθ[ά]ν.

The engraver appears to have worked in a position sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left of the stelè. In Ἡράκλεις the E after H (*spiritus asper*) is (accidentally?) missing, as in the Naxian inscription, no. 25 (ἐκηβόλω). By Nicomachus and the κεραμεύς are probably meant different persons. Comparetti (*l.c.*) takes τοι to be the pronoun, not the adverb, and translates "thy potter," *i.e.* the potter specially assigned to the temple or shrine of Heracles (cf. Eur. Or. 355 ὁ παντῶν μοῖρας): this designation may perhaps explain the otherwise strange omission of the dedicator's name. In l. 4 the choice lies between F' *iv*, *i.e.* Fè (Lesbian, acc. to Apollonius; see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 414) + *iv* (ἐν) otherwise known only in Arcadian and Cyprian (Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 58); and the very problematic form Fiv (Comparetti, *l.c.*; cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 413, 414, and the note to no. 9 g, x. 38, *Appendix*). After the invocation to Heracles the rest appears to consist of a rude elegiac couplet, the metre of which Hiller (*l.c.*) attempts to mend by the bold insertion of δὲ between ὁ and τοι.

**305.** On the bottom of a bronze vase, 0.17 m. in height, which as it is said to have been found near Salernum, may be assigned to *Posidonia*. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. 1856, rv. p. 164 sq. tab. x. 1; IGA 545.

ΔΥΜΑΣΑΔΑ Δυμείδα.

Compare the Achaean names Δύμη, Δυμαῖος.

**306.** Inscription on the head of a bronze axe found about 1850 in *Calabria citerior* among some ruins near S. Agata. Now in a private collection at Rome. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. 1853, i. p. 137 sqq. tab. v. 2; Dittenberger, *Herm.* xiii. p. 391 sqq.; IGA 543.

ΤΑΜΗΡΑΜΗΣΑΡΟΜ  
ΕΜΣΤΑΜΕΜΠΕΔΣ  
ΟΣΦΥΜΣΜΦΟ  
ΜΜΕΑΜΕΘΕ  
5 ΚΕΟΡΤΑΜΟ  
ΜΦΕΡΙΟΜ  
ΔΕΚΑΤΑΛ

Τὰς Ἡρας ἱαρός  
εἰμι τὰς ἐν πεδί-  
ῳ· Φυνίσφο-  
ς με ἀνέθη-  
5 κε ὄρταμο-  
ς Φέργων  
δεκάταν.

An axe would be an appropriate offering for a butcher or a cook (*ἀρταμος*) to make. The expression *ἐργων δεκάτην* ('a tithe of his profits?') occurs also in an inscription in Ross, *Inscr. ined.* iii. n. 298; and *ἐργων ἀπαρχήν* in no. 62 (*Attica*).

307. A bronze tessera found in 1782 near *Petelia* to the west of *Croton*; it is now in the museum at Naples. *Siebenkees, Expositio tabulae hospitalis ex aere antiquissimae, Romae, 1789*; CIG 4 (where previous editors are enumerated) and *Add.*; IGA 544.

ΘΕΟΜ·ΤΥ	ΥΑ·ΜΑ	ΟΤΣΜ·	ΔΣΔ
ΟΤΣ·Μ	ΣΚΑΣ	ΥΣΑΣ·	ΤΑ / ΦΟΣ
ΚΣΑ	Υ·ΚΑ	ΣΤΑΛΛΑ·	ΠΑΥΤ
Α·ΔΑ	ΥΣΟΡΙΟΜ·	ΠΑΡΑΙΟΡ	
5 ΑΜ·	ΠΡΟΤΕ	ΥΟΣ·	ΥΣΥΚΟΥ·
ΑΡ	ΥΟΤΣΔΑ	ΥΟΜ·	ΑΙΑΘΑΡ
ΥΟΜ·	ΟΥΑΤΑΜ·	ΕΠΣΚΟΡ	
ΟΜ·			

Θεὸς . τύχα . Σάωτις διδ-  
 ωτι Σικαινία τὰν Φοι-  
 κίαν καὶ τὰλλα πάντ-  
 α . δαμιουργὸς Παραγόρ-  
 5 ας . πρόξενοι Μίνκων,  
 Ἀρμοξίδαμος, Ἀγάθα-  
 ρχος, Ὀνάτας, Ἐπίκουρ-  
 ος (or -ωπος?).

The punctuation is by single dots according to Roman and Etruscan usage and not by the three dots more common to Greek States at this period. The document, as Mr Newton remarks (*Essays, &c.* p. 105), conveys land by a form of deed of admirable simplicity. After the invocation of God and Fortune the inscription continues: "Saotis gives to Sikainia the house and all the other things." Then follow the names of the chief magistrates of the city and of five *proxeni* whose signatures of course legalised the deed. This primitive specimen of conveyancing is thought by Franz and Boeckh to be not later than 540 B.C. Below we have assigned it, judging by the form of *θ*, to the latest group of our inscriptions, but at any rate to a date earlier than 511 B.C. I. 1. Σάωτις for Σάωτις is the feminine of a masculine Σάωτας or Σάωτης, which occurs on Attic inscriptions and in CIG 224 (*Καρχίδαμος Σάωτις ἐδίδασκεν*): we also



find *Σωρίς*, but whether as a masculine or a feminine name is not clear. l. 4. *Δαμοργός*. Ahrens, *Dial.* i. 234, maintained that the *o* before the *p* was properly short in Achæan. Besides the examples adduced by Ahrens CIG 1542, 1543, 1547 (Locrian), Cauer, *Del.* 274, adds *B. C. H.* ii. p. 9 sq., v. 16 and inscriptions dating from the time when the Achæan league was in power: *Megara*, Ca. 104; *Orchomenus* (Arc.), *Mith.* vi. p. 304 sq., v. 3. 9: perhaps *Tegea*, Lb. 340 a. Examples may be found in other dialects: *Messenia*, Ca. 47; *Cnidus*, *ib.* 166, 167; *Telos*, *ib.* 169 (and perhaps *Camirus*, *ib.* 187); *Pamphylia*, Curtius, *Studien*, ix. 91. 1. 5. These *πρόξενοι* appear to have been not the *πρόξενοι* as ordinarily understood, but actual magistrates, as at Sparta we learn that there were certain magistrates bearing this name and nominated by the kings. (Hdt. vi. 37: CIG Introd. to the Boeotian Section, Chap. ii.) 1. 5. *Μίκων*. Acc. to Boeckh, *i. q.* *Μίκων*, a name not uncommon and known as that of the father of Onatas, the Aeginetan statuery and painter; but though the name 'Ονάτας also follows, there is no need to assume any connexion here between our *Μίκων* and 'Ονάτας and the historical personages.

307 a. We may note here the inscription on a vase from *Magna Graecia*, formerly in the Hamilton collection, but now lost. CIG 5; IGA 550.

ΔΣΜΠΕΡΝΙΣΔΟΜΤΟΣΟΜΜΥΕΠΑΜΑΤΟΧΕΣΝ

The latest attempt at explanation is by Comparetti, *Riv. d. Fil.* xi. (1883) 7 sqq. who reads: *Δις πέπ[υ]ρ' ιδώς* (*eidōs*), *τῷ δυνε* (imperative) *πάμαρ' ὀχῆ[σ]εν*, "Zeus is wise and knowing: to him swear that thou wilt carry (our) property (baggage)"; an interpretation which he says accords with the description of the scene depicted on the vase. *Δις*=*Zeús* is said to have been used by the Tarentine Rhinthon (Ahrens, *Dor.* 241). The expression *πέπ[υ]ρ' ιδώς* may be defended by Hom. *Il.* vii. 278, *Od.* viii. 586, xiv. 442; but the assumption of two omissions (*ρ*, *σ*) in so short an inscription, the forms *ιδώς*, *δυνε* (for *δυνε*), and the general sense assigned, form grave objections to Comparetti's interpretation. It is at any rate unsafe, without more precise knowledge of its provenance, to assign the vase-inscription to the alphabet of an Achæan colony.

§ 115. The alphabet. The ancient Achæan alphabet draws attention to itself at once by the archaic crooked *iota* and the representation of *gamma* by a straight line. Naturally, when in a younger stratum of inscriptions, which at present is represented only by coins, the crooked *iota* gave way to the straight form, the *gamma* must have assumed some other shape, possibly C or Γ, which appears on an old coin of Aegae beside the *ς* (see the note on p. 299). Observe further the presence of the *koppa* (which however had disappeared at the date of nos. 304 a, *Νικόμαχος*, 307, *Μίκων*, *Ἐπίκουρος*) and the *sanz* M; in fact, neither *ς* nor *ξ* is found on any Achæan inscription prior to the introduction of the Ionic alphabet.

It is remarkable that in an alphabet of so high an antiquity only the open form of the *spiritus asper* is found, and that the later form of *theta*,  $\Theta$ , occurs on an inscription of such undoubted antiquity as that of the axe-head of S. Agata (306), and, to judge from the direction of the writing, the still more ancient inscriptions on the bronze statue, no. 304, and on the terra-cotta stelè, no. 304 *a*. The extant inscriptions exhibit no trace of a sign for  $\psi$ . That no such existed is rendered probable, as Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 166) points out, by the composition of an alphabet on a terra-cotta vessel found in a tomb of the cemetery at Metapontum (*Notizie degli scavi*, 1885, p. 433):

ABIDEF̄IHOΣK̄N | M̄ΛOΠQPM TVΘVX+

The repetition of the symbol for  $\xi$  at the end appears to have been designed merely to fill up vacant space. We learn further two interesting facts from this memorial; (1) that the Achæan alphabet ejected from their places the *samekh* and *tsade* of the Phœnician mother-alphabet, and assigned to the latter the place of *sigma*, as we saw in the case of the Corinthian alphabet (p. 19), and that (2) consequently with the Achæans the arrangement of the non-Phœnician signs after the  $\Upsilon$  was not, as in Ionic,  $\Theta X \Psi$ , or, as in Chalcidian,  $X \Theta \Psi$ , but  $\Theta \Psi X$ .

§ 116. **Age of the inscriptions.** Coins of *Sybaris*, with the legend  $MVB \cdot \Pi$ , as in fact all coins of *Sybaris* which exhibit this alphabet, belong undoubtedly to the period preceding the destruction of the town by the Crotoniates Ol. 67. 3 (510 B.C.), and lead to the conclusion that all documents, which have the crooked *iota*, are considerably older than this epoch; the coins of *Siris*, which was destroyed before Ol. 50 (580 B.C.), have only the ancient form. We shall then be able to distinguish three chronological groups, all of them older than about 510 B.C.; the **first** comprising the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  inscriptions with the older  $\oplus$  (302, 303); the inscription on the iron kettle (301) and that on the helmet (301 *a*), if Achæan, may perhaps be placed in this group; the **second** containing those inscriptions which have the later  $\ominus$  (304—307); the **third** those coins, for there are no inscriptions, which have the straight *iota*. Whether there were intermediate stages between the last period and the time of the reception of the Ionic alphabet must, in the dearth of documents, remain an open question.

CEPHALLENIA AND ITHACA.

§ 117. Inscriptions.

**308.** On a piece of limestone, now at Athens, but certainly not of Attic origin. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 167; IGA 334.

ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟ     Δαμαινέτου (or -ω) τοῦ (or -ῶ) Παλέος.  
ΤΟΓΑΛΕΟΜ

Kirchhoff conjectures that this was the tombstone of some citizen of Pales in Cephallenia who died at Athens. If the last letter is a σ it would seem that the vertical strokes should be equal and the right-hand stroke of the μ in the first line shortened.

**309.** An oblong tufa-stone found at *Pala* (Lixuri). CIG 1928; 'Ιόνιος 'Ανθολογία, v. 1835, p. 84sq. and p. 122sq.; Leake, *Tr. R. Soc. n. s. i. p.* 273 and p. 305; IGA 335.

W W V Σ ↓ V Σ Σ  
K V E V B | O Σ  
Σ Δ O Σ T E A I .

M[ν]ασ[ί]ας (? - ασ) Κλεάριος σαοστρεῖ.

'Mnasias, son of Clearis, makes a health-offering (?).'

In the τ (written over an erased ξ on the stone) of σαοστρεῖ (from *σάοστρον*, i. e. *σώστρον*? cf. *σαφοί*, no. 180, *Rhegium*) the engraver has corrected his own error.

**310.** A *βουστροφηδόν* inscription on a fractured stone, corroded by rain. Part was found by Schliemann in 1868 (*Ithaque, le Pélopie, Troie*, p. 48 sq.): the whole by Stillmann twelve years later. Edited, with a photograph by Stillmann, by Comparetti, *Accad. dei Lincei*, ccxxviii. (1880—81). Roehl thinks that the two portions should be more closely approximated than they are in the photo-

graph, and the left-hand portion slightly raised. The larger fragment measures 0.7 m. × 0.5 m. IGA 336.



[Tās] (?) Ἀθάνας, | τᾱς Ῥ[έας] | κα[ὶ] τᾱς Ῥ[ο]ας τὰ [ἐ]τεία |  
τοὶ [ἰ]εροπο[οί] | με ἐ[πο]ήσ[αν]....

l. 4. Cf. Hesych. ἔτεία ἐπέτεια. l. 6. με sc. pomarium or agrum.

If Roehl is right in his reading (it is hard to see how he gets the last word), the alphabet may well be the Achaean.

**311.** On a fragment of a stone flute, bought by Schliemann at *Ithaca*, found according to a peasant in a sarcophagus. Schliemann, *op. cit.* p. 49; more accurately, *id. Mycenae*, p. 88; IGA 337.

ΗΣΑΡΟΜ —ἱαρός.

The occurrence of the open form of Η together with the Σ=ι and Μ=σ is a peculiarity which has been noticed in the inscriptions of the Achaean colonies (§ 115).

§ 118. **The alphabet.** *Cephalenia*. All we learn of the Cephallenian alphabet from the two inscriptions given above (nos. 308, 309) is that at the date at which they were engraved the Σ and Μ for ι and μ had already given way to λ and ξ. Kirchhoff however (see

ed. 167) had the opportunity of examining, though hastily, an unpublished inscription from Cephallenia, from which he has been able to supply nearly all the signs of the Cephallenian alphabet. The signs for  $\beta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$  are absent, but the last two may be supplied from no. 308. The alphabet then, with the exception of the signs for  $\beta$  and  $\zeta$ , is the following :

A C D E F (F) H (h) I K L M N O P Q (q) R M T V D Y (x),

which by the presence of *san* represents an older stage than that of no. 309.

*Ithaca.* The *san* and the *crooked iota* of the two inscriptions found in Ithaca (nos. 310, 311) make it highly probable that the alphabet is that of Achaia; and, if so, the stone discovered by Schliemann (310), with its  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$  arrangement, its rude style, its *sigma*, its *iota*, and especially its closed form of the spiritus asper, bears the stamp of a higher antiquity than any of the Achæan inscriptions which have as yet come to light.

## THE HELLENISING ALPHABETS OF PHRYGIA, LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, CAPPADOCIA, CARIA, HISPANIA.

§ 119. **Recapitulation.** We have now described in detail what may be called the archaic stage of the alphabet in the several regions of the Hellenic world. We have seen the local varieties everywhere yielding place to the fully developed Ionic alphabet. We have seen that in Attica the year 403 B.C., in which Euclides was archon, may serve as an approximate date for the general adoption of this alphabet. And though some districts anticipated and others lagged behind Attica in abandoning the use of their epichoric alphabets, yet these exceptions are not numerous enough or important enough to diminish the convenience of regarding the archonship of Euclides as furnishing a boundary line between the old and the new, between the manifold diversity of individual and more or less independent local alphabets and the general diffusion, over the whole of Greece and the Grecian colonies, of the alphabet which had already been in use for sixty or seventy years in the Ionic districts of Eastern Hellas. The subsequent history of the Ionic alphabet—of the changes of form in individual letters, which may be classed in well-marked though to some extent overlapping periods, thus affording valuable criteria for the chronology of inscriptions—will find a more fitting place in an introduction to the Second Part of this work, which will treat, with few exceptions, of the inscriptions bearing a date later than 403 B.C.

§ 120. **Hellenising Alphabets.** It may not be inopportune however to notice here certain alphabets which were not indeed Greek nor (unless we except the Pamphylian) used as the expression of Greek dialects, but on the other hand exhibit in their composition decisive evidence of having been derived from, or at least powerfully influenced by, a Greek original. These are the alphabets of Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and Caria in the East<sup>1</sup>, and the

<sup>1</sup> The Cypriote syllabary, as being in no sense a Hellenic alphabet, though, unlike those mentioned in the text, serving as the medium of expression for a

Iberian and Gaulish<sup>1</sup> alphabets in the West. The Italic group of alphabets—Etruscan<sup>2</sup>, Umbrian, Oscan, Latin, Faliscan—though similarly branching off from a Greek prototype, we designedly pass

Hellenic dialect, does not properly fall within the scope of this discussion. Whether the Cypriote characters were derived from the Assyrian Cuneiform, as Deecke thought, or whether their affinities rather lay with the characters discovered by Schliemann on the Trojan whorls found in the lower stratum at Hissarlik; whether “the non-Hellenic characters in the Lycian, Carian, Cappadocian and the Cypriote syllabics were derived from a common source, a syllabic writing evidently of immense antiquity, which prevailed throughout the whole of Asia Minor and which has been designated by Professor Sayce as the *Asiatic Syllabary*”; what inference of affinity is justified by certain resemblances between Cypriote and non-Hellenic Lycian characters; whether any of the so-called non-Phoenician characters of the Greek alphabet were directly derived from the Cypriote; whether, lastly, the actual parentage of the Cypriote signs is to be found in the ‘Hittite’ hieroglyphics—all these are questions which have hardly yet advanced beyond the region of speculation. A résumé of the subject will be found in Taylor’s *Alphabet*, Vol. II. pp. 108–123, ‘The Asiatic Scripts.’

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for the existence of a distinct Hellenising Gaulish alphabet is however so scanty as hardly to claim for itself a separate paragraph. What there is to be said about it may be seen in the following works: Saussaye, *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, Paris, 1862; Duchalais, *Description des médailles Gauloises*, Paris, 1846; Akerman, *Ancient Coins*, London, 1846; Hucher, *L’Art Gaulois*, Paris, 1868; Robert, *Monnaies Gauloises*, Paris, 1880. According to B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 7, the coins of ancient Gaul consist of three principal classes: (i) Greek, of the town of Massilia; (ii) native Gaulish, imitated originally from Greek coins; and (iii) Roman colonial of Lugdunum, Nemausus, Vienna and Cabello in the valley of the Rhone. It is on those of the second class that we find legends in mixed characters, some of which are identical with those of the Greek alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> An Etruscan origin is claimed (by S. Bugge and C. Pauli) for two remarkable inscriptions in an alphabet, the forms of which are all of an archaic Greek type, recently discovered at the village of Kaminia in Lemnos by MM. Cousin and Durrbach of the French school at Athens. The inscriptions are on a rectangular stone, one surrounding the head of a warrior, the other consisting of three lines engraved on a different face of the monument—merely a second edition, with variations, of the first. Pauli refers the alphabet to the 7th century B.C. Prof. Sayce (*Academy*, July 24, 1886), while allowing that the language of the Lemnian texts may be closely related to Etruscan, asks why we should bring the Etruscans from Lemnos (as Bugge and Pauli do) rather than to Lemnos. “We know that Etruscan ships navigated the Mediterranean at an early period; and there is no greater difficulty in supposing that an Etruscan colony settled in Lemnos than in holding that the Phokaeans settled in Corsica. If the Lemnian language is Etruscan, it must be Etruscan of an older age than that of the inscriptions hitherto found in Italy.” (C. Pauli, *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos*, Leipzig, 1886; S. Bugge, *Der Ursprung der Etrusker durch zwei lemnische Inschriften erläutert*, Christiania.) But see below, p. 313.

over, as being more properly the subject-matter of treatises on the epigraphy of the Italic dialects. Under each of the other heads indicated above we subjoin a few remarks.

§ 121. **The Phrygian Alphabet.** In the year 1820 Col. Leake discovered at Doghanlu in the valley of the Sangarius, not far from the ancient Prynnessus, a rock-tomb inscribed in a Hellenic alphabet, but a non-Hellenic, presumably Phrygian, language, with two lines which have been transliterated as follows:

*ates arkhiaefais akenanolaFos midai laFaltaei Fanaktei edaes*  
and

*baba memefais proitaFos ksizanaFexos sikeneman egaes.*

The tomb, from the occurrence in the inscription of the words *midai* . . . *Fanaktei*, has come to be known as the tomb of King Midas, whose name is naturally referred to the tradition noticed by Herodotus (i. 14), according to which in the eighth century B.C. a king Midas sent to Delphi as a dedicatory offering his royal throne. Besides the inscriptions on this tomb, 13 others from the rock-tombs in the immediate neighbourhood have been since discovered and are given in facsimile, with a commentary, by W. M. Ramsay in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, xv. 1883, p. 120 sqq.<sup>1</sup>

The list of signs composing the Phrygian alphabet, so far as it can be made up from these inscriptions, is as follows:

1	△△	α	9	..	θ	16	ρ	π
2	Ββ	β	10		ι	17	ρ ϑ	ρ
3	Γ	γ	11	κ K κ	κ	18	Ξ ξ ζ ζ	σ
4	Δ	δ	12	τ τ τ (?)	λ	19	Τ	τ
5	Ε ε Ε ε	ε	13	Μ μ	μ	20	Ρ ϑ	υ
6	Φ φ	φ	14	Ν ν	ν	21	..	φ
7	Ζ ζ	ζ	15	ο	ο	22	Ψ	?
8	..	·						

<sup>1</sup> See also Leake, *Asia Minor*, pp. 21—36, 1824; Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Min.* i. 56, 1839; Stewart, *Anc. Mon. of Lydia and Phrygia*, 1842; Mordtmann, *Sitz.-B. d. Münch. Ak.* 1862, p. 35; Lassen, *ZDMG.* x. 372; M. Schmidt, *Neue lyk. Studien* 136; Fick, *Spracheinheit der Indog.* 1873; Perrot, *Exploration*, i. 112, 105 sq., 143; Duncker i. 387, 1; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* i. 486; Ramsay, *J. H. S.* Vol. iii. 1 sqq.



and in addition to these are two forms  $\Phi$  ( $\Upsilon$ ),  $\lambda$ , which appear to be variants of the same symbol, for they are used in the same word in two inscriptions. This varying symbol cannot be *koppa*, because it occurs in the first syllable of a word between *kappa* and *iota*: it may be some symbol unknown in the later Greek alphabet, such as occur in the alphabets of Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia. The missing signs, those for the *spiritus asper* and  $\theta$ , are supplied by the alphabet of the inscriptions on the Lemnian stone described in the note to p. 311, the comparison of which with the alphabet of these Phrygian inscriptions shows conclusively (see Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> pp. 54 sqq.) that the alphabets are identical. On the Lemnian stone the sign for the *spiritus asper* is  $\boxplus$  with the cross-bar slightly oblique;  $\theta$  is  $\oplus$  or  $\boxplus$ ; further the 7th sign occurs in two or three varieties, which Kirchhoff (*l.c.*) attributes to possible faults in the stone. On the Lemnian stone occurs in one of the inscriptions the sign  $\Phi$ , its place in the second being taken by  $\boxplus$  or  $\boxminus$ . And whatever may be said of the doubtful signs  $\Phi$  ( $\Upsilon$ ),  $\lambda$  noticed above in the Phrygian inscriptions, we may with confidence supply the  $\phi$  for the Phrygian alphabet from the Lemnian. If any other proof were needed of the identity of the two alphabets, it would suffice to point to the remarkably frequent use in both of the 7th sign, which all who have examined the inscriptions agree in considering to be the equivalent of  $\zeta$ .

The alphabet then of these inscriptions is evidently formed on the model of a Greek alphabet, and it must have been taken from a Greek alphabet which had already the non-Phoenician signs  $\nu$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\Psi$ , but had not yet differentiated the signs for the *e*- and *o*-sounds. Whether the alphabet had a sign for  $\xi$  cannot be determined; on one of the Phrygian inscriptions (no. 7, Ramsay, *l.c.*) the  $\xi$  is represented by  $\kappa\zeta$ .

The question remains whether it was an alphabet of the Eastern or of the Western type, which furnished the pattern. The answer turns upon the value which must be assigned to the 22nd character,  $\Psi$ , which occurs in the Phrygian inscription, no. 7, in the word  $\Lambda\text{A}\Psi\text{I}\text{T}$ , and on both of the Lemnian inscriptions in the word  $\Sigma\text{I}\text{A}\Psi\text{F}(\text{F})\text{I}\Gamma^1$ . If the sign is a  $\psi$ , the mother alphabet must have been one of the Abou-Symbol or incomplete Ionic type; if

<sup>1</sup> The Lemnian word has been transliterated *sialpswiz*; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 57, prefers *sialchwis*.

the sign is a  $\chi$ , we must regard the Aeolic settlers in Lesbos, Tenedos and the opposite coast of the Asiatic mainland as the Greeks from whom the non-Hellenic population borrowed its alphabet at a very early period.

§ 122. **The Lycian Alphabet**<sup>1</sup>. We owe our knowledge of Lycian inscriptions and antiquities in the first instance to the researches of British explorers in the years 1838—1842. The inscriptions are very numerous and written in an alphabet which is clearly in the main Greek, with the addition of a few strange symbols, invented apparently to express vowel sounds which were not distinguished in Greek. A few of the inscriptions are bilingual, in Greek and Lycian, and this circumstance has led to a partial interpretation, thanks to the efforts of Daniel Sharpe, followed by the more matured essays of M. Schmidt and Savelsberg. The researches of these scholars have established the fact that the Lycian language was Aryan, and had close affinities with Zend. None of the inscriptions appears to be of very great antiquity. That on the four faces of the obelisk found at Xanthus, now in the British Museum, is assigned by Savelsberg to 359 B.C. or a few years later. The characters of a Greek epigram on its northern face are not inconsistent with this date. The alphabet as given by Savelsberg (*Beitr.* Part I., p. 22) is as follows :

1 P A	a	14 N <sup>N</sup> / ʏ ʏ	n
2 B b	b	15 O	u
3 <	g	16 Π Ϟ Γ Ϟ Π	p
4 Δ <sup>Δ</sup>	d	17 P P	r
5 E E	i	18 } ε ɔ	s
6 F	v	19 T	t
7 I	z	20 Y Y V	v
8 ↑ A	ä	21 V V Y Y Y	k*
9 +	h	22 X X Y V Y Y Y Y Y Y Y	o
10	j	23 ] [ *	w
11 K k F F	k	24 ∞	t*
12 ^ Δ	l	25 X a. }	now explained by Deecke and J. P. Six ( <i>Bzz. Beitr.</i> xiii. 132 sqq.) to be so- nant nasals = η, η.
13 M M	m	26 Ξ i. }	

<sup>1</sup> See Sir C. Fellows, *A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, London, 1839; id. *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, London, 1841; Lieut

In this list are 21 Hellenic signs, nos. 1—7, 10—21, 25, 26: five of the vowel-signs, nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, 20, have changed their Greek value to *i*, *ä*, *y*, *u*, *v* respectively; two nos., 25 and 26, which in Greek are consonants, in Lycian have arbitrarily (unless indeed they are of non-Hellenic origin and the coincidence with the Greek is accidental) come to denote the nasalised vowels or sonant nasals. The remaining letters, except perhaps no. 9, appear to be of non-Hellenic origin. We miss the Greek symbols  $\Xi$ ,  $\Theta$ ,  $\Omega$ ,  $\Phi$ . The last two were not needed in Lycian, but the  $\Phi$  was certainly and the  $\Omega$  probably present and in use in the mother-alphabet from which the Hellenic portion of the Lycian was derived. The same holds good of the signs for the *spiritus asper* and the *theta*, though for these the Lycian uses signs (nos. 9 and 24) which hardly exhibit any relationship with the corresponding Greek signs (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 59). Lastly, the symbol  $\Psi$ , in the combination  $\Psi\Sigma$  ( $=\xi$ ), stands for  $\chi$  and not for  $\psi$ , which therefore was probably expressed by  $\Phi\xi$ .

We are now in a position to ask what was the immediate source of the Greek characters in the Lycian alphabet. The value of the  $\Psi$  shows that it could not have been the Ionic, as might have been expected on grounds of geographical proximity. We must therefore look to the alphabet of the Peloponnese and central Greece for the original of the Lycian Hellenic characters. And the appearance in so remote a region as Lycia of the peculiarities of the Western alphabetic group can be explained only on the hypothesis of their having been localised in the south-west coast of Asia Minor by the Doric colonist population, whence they readily spread to the neighbouring region of Lycia. Similarly (as we have seen, § 121), it is possible that the Phrygian alphabet was derived not immediately from the alphabet of the mother country, but rather by way of the north-west Aeolic coast of Asia Minor.

§ 123. **The Pamphylian Alphabet**<sup>1</sup>. The sources of our information are a few short inscriptions of Aspendos, with coins of

Spratt and Prof. E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis*, London, 1847; Schoenborn and Schmidt, *The Lycian Inscriptions*, Jena, 1868; M. Schmidt, *Neue lykische Studien*, Jena, 1869; Savelsberg, *Beitr. z. Entziff. d. lyk. Sprachdenkm.*, Bonn, 1874; Hinrichs, *Gr. Epigr.* § 54; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 54 sqq. For examples of Lycian coin-legends see Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 571 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> IGA 505; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 50 sqq.; Friedlaender, *Ztschr. f. Numism.* iv. 1877, p. 297 sq.; T. Bergk, *ibid.* xi. 1884, p. 381 sqq.; Bezzenberger, *Beitr.* v. 1880, p. 325 sqq.; Ramsay and Sayce, *J. H. S.* i. 1880, p. 242 sqq.; Ramsay, *ibid.* 1881, p. 222 sqq.; Cellitz, *DI.* 1259—1266; Hinrichs, *Gr. Epigr.* § 55.

Aspendos and Perga, and notably a long inscription from Sillyon. With the later inscriptions (CIG 4339 sqq.), which use the complete Ionic alphabet and later forms of letters, we are not now concerned. The Pamphylian alphabet then as collected from the older sources is as follows :

1	A	$\alpha$	13	Ϻ	$\nu$
2	B b	$\beta$	14	Ϸ	$\xi$
3	Γ	$\gamma$	15	Ο ο	$o, \omega$
4	Δ	$\delta$	16	Π	$\pi$
5	Ξ E	$\epsilon, \epsilon\iota, \eta$	17	Ϻ	a sibilant (?)
6	F	F	18	P	$\rho$
7	H	$h$	19	Ϻ	$\sigma$
8	Θ Θ	$\theta$	20	Τ	$\tau$
9	I	$\iota$	21	Υ	$u$
10	K	$\kappa$	22	Φ	$\phi$
11	Λ	$\lambda$	23	+	$\chi$
12	M	$\mu$	24	Ψ Ψ	$\psi$ (?)

The tout-ensemble of the signs bears an unmistakable resemblance to that of the Abou-Symbol alphabet. Though the forms of some of the letters are comparatively late, as those of H and Θ (Θ), yet in usage the alphabet is almost exactly at the standpoint of the Abou-Symbol alphabet, unless indeed it represents an even earlier stage of development; for the E and the O stand for both the long and the short *e*- and *o*-sounds, while the H seems to be used throughout only for the *spiritus asper*: but at Abou-Symbol it had already begun to denote the *η* also. The 14th sign of the table undoubtedly represents  $\xi$ . Hinrichs (*Gr. Epigr.* p. 385) explains the symbol as a horizontal expansion of + or X; Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 52), with whom we agree, holds that it can only have arisen from Ξ. The *digamma* is present; at Abou-Symbol we saw (§ 62) that the criteria which would determine its presence or absence were wanting. The  $\phi$  and + are present, with the values  $\phi$  and  $\chi$ ; we may therefore assume the presence of  $\psi$ , probably in the form Ψ or Υ, if we may accept the interpretation offered by T. Bergk (*Ztschr. f. Numism.* 1884, p. 333) of inscriptions on the older coins of Perga. The words are

∨ΑΝΑΨΑΣ ΠΡΕΙΑΣ, *i.e.*, according to Bergk, Σανάπας Πρείας. He compares the name of the Amazon, Σανάπη, after whom the town of Σινώπη is supposed to have been named. Σανάπη is said to be a word of Thracian or Scythian origin, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 946 οἱ μέθυσοι σανάπαι λέγονται παρὰ Θρᾷξίν. When we recall the organic character of the Asiatic Artemis-cult, we may perhaps bring the name of the goddess of Perga into connexion with it, and the inscription in question may correspond to the legend on the late coins of Perga, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ. It has been suggested in a preceding section (§ 102, no. 268) that the hitherto unexplained sign ∨ is a sibilant<sup>1</sup> and none other than the *san* (*tsade*), the history of which in Greek was given in the introductory chapter (§ 6).

The chronology of the earlier Pamphylian inscriptions is not easy to determine. Even the oldest inscriptional remains cannot boast a high antiquity; Ramsay (*J. H. S.* I. 250) places the date of the Sillyon inscription as late as the period between 300 and 150 B.C. What then is the parentage of an alphabet differing in so many particulars from the common Greek alphabet of the period? Whatever the origin of the Pamphylian alphabet, it appears to have retained ancient forms long after these had been modified or become obsolete in the rest of the Grecian world (*e.g.* Α, F, Ξ, ∨). If we trace the origin of the Pamphylian alphabet to Ionian influence, it is plain that such influence must have exerted itself in times even earlier than those of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions or not at all, for, as we have shown, the Pamphylian does not represent the Ionic in its complete development. Another hypothesis is possible. Tradition makes Aspendos an Argive colony, like the towns of Rhodes; a glance at the Tables of Alphabets (*infra*) will show that the Argive has just as much right to be considered the mother-alphabet of the Pamphylian as the Abou-Symbel alphabet of the 7th or the opening years of the 6th century. It is not improbable that a combined Argive, Corinth and Megarian alphabet may have contributed to the total of the Pamphylian characters: witness the form of *gamma*, ∟, which is merely a variant of the < in use at Corcyra and the rounded C of Corinth and Megara, and the presence, if the interpretation suggested above of ∨ is correct, of *san* (*tsade*) in Pamphylian and

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay (*J. H. S.* I. 242 sqq., II. 22 sqq.) attempted to explain the symbol as representing, in some words at least, a *w*-sound and supported his view by an appeal to the F on the Naxian inscription, no. 27. He also maintains (*l.c.*) that the Ψ is a palatal sibilant.

Old Argive and Corinthian. Lastly, in this connexion additional weight attaches to the comparison made by T. Bergk (*Ztschr. f. Numism.* xi. 1884, p. 335) between the  $\mu$  of the ἄλιος γέρων, assigned to Argos (no. 72 a), and the frequent occurrence of the double *iota* (= *iy*) in Pamphylian words (διδά = διὰ, ἱαπύ = ἱερὸν &c.)<sup>1</sup>.

§ 124. **The Cappadocian Alphabet.** It is doubtful whether the alphabet of Cappadocia deserves a separate notice, whether in fact it really differs from the Phrygian. Our only source of information consists in two short inscriptions discovered at Euyuk on the Halys (Hamilton, *Asia Minor* i. 383; Ramsay, *Journ. As. Soc.* xv. 1883, p. 100 sqq., Plate 3, no. 13). The letters are Greek of the Phrygian type with the admixture of some apparently non-Hellenic characters<sup>2</sup>.

§ 125. **The Carian Alphabet.** It has already been stated (no. 130) that on the legs of the colossal figures at Abou-Symbel there are besides the Greek inscriptions certain others in Phoenician and four in an alphabet supposed by Lepsius to be Carian. Four similar inscriptions have been found at Abydos, one at Memphis, and one at Zagâzig (*Bubastis*). They are all short; none of them exceeding two lines. The opinion that they were Carian was confirmed by the discovery in Caria itself of an inscription in a similar alphabet and language. It was found by Messrs Forbes and Hoskyns in 1842, on a rock-tomb among some ruins, perhaps those of the ancient *Crya* or *Cryassus*, in the Gulf of Scopea. It differs from those found in Egypt in two particulars; a new character ( $\Omega$ ) is introduced, unless this is but another form of  $\Phi$ , and the words are not divided. This important assistance is afforded us in all the Egyptian legends, partly by means of lines, as on the Moabite stone, partly of two dots, as in Ethiopic (Sayce, *Tr. R. Soc. Lit.* vol. x. 1874, p. 546 sqq.). Among the alphabetic characters collected from the inscriptions are the following:  $\Lambda$ ;  $\Gamma\Gamma = \iota$ ;  $\bigcirc$ ;  $\vee\Upsilon$ ;  $\daleth = F$ ;  $\mathfrak{A}$ ;  $\bigcirc = \kappa$  ( $\varphi$ );  $\Phi = \phi$ ;  $\otimes = \theta$ ;  $\angle = \gamma$ ;  $\Delta$ ;  $M = \sigma$ ;  $\backslash \wedge M = \nu$ ;  $\text{P} \text{P} \text{P} = \rho$ ;

<sup>1</sup> The form Τηῖος however occurs on an inscription from Naucratis; cf. also the Cyprian *ἱατῆραν, πτόλιγι*, &c., *D. I.* 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay (*l.c.*) was of opinion that the Cappadocians had learnt the Greek alphabet from merchants of the 8th century coming from the Milesian colony of Sinope and had passed it on to the Phrygians. This view he has since abandoned (*Ath.* 1884, p. 864) in the case of the Phrygian alphabet and expressed himself in favour of a derivation through Cyme and Phocaea (cf. Hinrichs, *Gr. Epigr.* p. 385).

$MM = \sigma$ ;  $\Psi\psi = \psi$ . These suffice to show that the Carian alphabet, like the Lycian and the Phrygian, was based upon some Greek original, which it has modified and enlarged. As there appear to be in all between thirty and forty characters, some of them probably represent double letters. Sayce (*l.c.*) is of opinion that the Carian is based upon the Corcyrean (Corinthian) and so far attaches itself rather to the Dorian than to the Ionian colonists. He points to the distinctive  $\vartheta$  or  $\vartheta$  which finds its analogue in the Corintho-Corcyrean  $\beta = \epsilon$ . In favour of this conclusion, if his transliteration is right, may be quoted the  $M = \sigma$  and the  $\Psi = \psi$ . As regards ethnographical and linguistic affinity, Georg Meyer (*Bezz. Beitr.* x. 1885, p. 147 sqq. "Die Karier") maintains that the Carians spoke an Indo-European dialect.

§ 126. **The Iberian or Celtiberian Alphabet.** In spite of the efforts of various scholars, the composition of the ancient Iberian alphabet and the value of the individual signs are still obscure. The sources of information are a variety of coins and a few inscriptions. An additional difficulty consists in the large number of variants of individual letters; thus in the table given by Faulmann (*Buch der Schrift*, p. 164) there are no fewer than 20 and 31 variants of the symbols supposed to stand for *a* and *o* respectively. And there is no decisive criterion by which we can, as in the case of the Phrygian and Lycian alphabets, with probability refer the Iberian alphabet to a Greek original of known locality or period. All that we can affirm is that many of the characters, whatever be their precise phonetic value, do decisively bespeak a derivation from the Greek (*e.g.*  $\Lambda$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\nabla$ ,  $\Gamma$ ,  $\text{E}$ ,  $\text{H}$ ,  $\text{I}$ ,  $\text{M}$ ,  $\text{N}$ ,  $\text{P}$ ,  $\text{Q}$ ,  $\text{R}$ ,  $\text{S}$ ,  $\text{T}$ ,  $\text{V}$ ,  $\text{Y}$ ,  $\text{Z}$ ,  $\text{X}$ ). Sayce (*Tr. R. Soc. Lit.* x. 1874, p. 558) in maintaining, from certain marks of similarity, that the Carian and Spanish alphabets were introduced to their respective countries by the same people, suggests the Samians as the medium of communication. He points out that Samos had intimate relations with Miletus, which the *Iliad* (ii. 868) still calls Carian. The Samians were the first Greeks who discovered Spain, one of their ships having been carried to Tartessus by stress of weather, and thus procuring for some time a monopoly of mercantile intercourse. Possibly, therefore, the alphabet elaborated in Caria was carried by Ionian merchants to the inhabitants of Spain. According to Heiss, the Celtiberian coins are found most frequently in the north-east and

east of Spain, in smaller numbers in the centre, rarely in the south, and more rarely still in Portugal and Asturias. The legends, he maintains, belong to peoples who inhabited the country at a time when the Greeks were still coining pieces with the type of Apollo and the wheel,—that is before the completion of the Roman conquest (*Encycl. Br.*, Iberians).

[P. A. Boudard, *Études sur l'Alphabet ibérien*, Paris, 1852, and *Numismatique ibérienne*, Beziers, 1859; Alois Heiss, *Notes sur les monnaies celtibériennes*, Paris, 1865, and *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1870.]



## APPENDIX.

### I. ADDENDA.

#### § 11.

#### *The 'complementary' signs.*

MENTION ought to have been made in the text of an article by V. Gardthausen (*Rh. Mus.* 1885, 599—610), in which he criticises severely the theories of Clermont-Ganneau, Taylor and v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (who in his *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 7, 1884, p. 289 and *Nachtr.* p. ix. derives  $\Phi$  and  $\Psi$  from  $\Theta$ , and  $\Upsilon$  from  $\Upsilon$ ). But Prof. Gardthausen's own proposals seem to me equally unsatisfactory. The 'unsolved problem' (§ 10) still awaits its sphinx.

#### § 18.

#### *Cyrene.*

Our only sources of information for the alphabet of the Theraean colony, Cyrene, are (1) the inscription  $\Phi\Upsilon\Delta$  (IGA 506 a), *i.e.*  $\Upsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ -[ $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ], from the treasury of the Cyrenaeans at Olympia (cf. Paus. vi. 19. 10:  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\hat{\eta}\ \Sigma\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\iota\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \Delta\iota\beta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{Κυρήνῃ}\ \theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}s$ ); and (2) the inscriptions on the famous Arkesilas-vase (CIG 7757), if Puchstein, with whom Kirchhoff agrees, is right in maintaining that this and the other vases of similar style are of Cyrenaean origin (*A. Z.* 1880, p. 185, 186; 1881, p. 215 sqq.). Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 65 sq.) unhesitatingly accepts these inscriptions as evidence of Cyrenaean writing in the sixth century. The most legible of these inscriptions are the following:

(a)	(b)	(c)
ΑΡΚΕΞΙΛΑΣ	ΙΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ	ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ
(d)	(e)	(f)
ΟΧΥΔΟ	ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ	ΞΛΙΦΟΜΑΨΟΣ
(a) Ἀρκεσίλας.	(b) Ἰοφόρ<τ>ος (?).	(c) Φύλακος.
(d) . . . ορυξω.	(e) [Ε]ῖρμοφόρος (?).	(f) . . . ὄμαχος.

Though the reading of some of these words is uncertain, there can be no doubt that in (d)  $\chi$  has the value of  $\xi$ , and in (f)  $\psi$  has the value of  $\chi$ . The alphabet must therefore belong to the Western group. But, as Kirchhoff (*l.c.*) remarks, it would be premature to infer that this alphabet ever obtained in the mother-country, Thera. For, according to the state-

ment of Herodotus (iv. 159; cf. 161), under Battus II. at the beginning of the sixth century so strong a tide of immigration, especially from Peloponnesus, set towards Cyrene, that, as Puchstein (*l.c.*) remarks, the use of the Peloponnesian alphabet in Cyrene may well be attributed to the influence of the immigrants.

## § 65.

*The alphabet of Rhodes previous to the reception of the Ionic alphabet.*

Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 49 sq.), while maintaining that the Abou-Symbel alphabet probably represents the Rhodian of the period, and that the alphabet in use in the preceding period was probably the Argive variety, finds a difficulty in the fact that coin-legends of a later time (not before 550 B.C.) belonging to the Rhodian colony Gela, and the Geloan colony Acragas, as well as certain inscriptions from Gela and Acragas (see p. 158 *supra*) and certain vase-inscriptions from Cameiros (nos. 131 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*), exhibit peculiarities foreign to the Argive alphabet, as, *e.g.*, the C = γ, ∨ = χ, † = ξ. He would seek an explanation of these deviations in the intimate social relations which existed between the population of Rhodes and that of the other members of the Doric Hexapolis. The latter, he thinks, in fact, used the alphabet in which the inscriptions noticed above are written, and this inference would be proved to demonstration if we might accept the conjecture of Roehl that no. 5 which was found in Thera had come thither from Cos. In that inscription, though the signs for ξ and χ are absent, the form of the *gamma* and especially the use of the Η as a vowel sign agree with nos. 131 *a*—*d* too closely to be the result of accident. It is further worth while to observe that though the founding of Gela took place from Rhodes, and especially from Lindus, yet other elements of the Dorian stem in the East had a share in the colonisation: Thucydides (vi. 4) mentions Cretans, and the family of Gelo and Hiero came from the island Telos, near the Triopion (Hdt. vii. 153).—The present seems to be the most convenient place to mention the following :

131 *e*. An inscription on a bronze plate found at *Olympia*. Kirchhoff, *A. Z.* xxxvii. (1879) p. 161; IGA 512 *a*.

⊗ ↓ // ∇ ∇ ∇ ζ [ξ] ρ ∇ ⊥ ∇ ∇ ⊥  
 π π ο ι α ο λ ξ ι ο  
 μ ξ ν [ξ] κ ρ α τ ι ο ρ ρ ι ο

Παντάρης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε] Μενεκράτιος, Διὸ[s ἀθλον]  
 [ἄρματι (?) νικάσας, πέδου ἐκ κλειτ]οῦ Γελοαίου.

[The forms of E given in brackets have in the one case four and in the other five oblique strokes; cf. p. 227 *note*.]

Without insisting on the correctness of the restored portions, we may safely affirm that this Pantares is the father of Cleander and Hippocrates, the tyrants of Gela mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 154. In that case the inscription can hardly be later than the end of the sixth century. The form of *gamma* and the three-stroke  $\sigma$  seem to show that the alphabet of Gela at that period had not yet become affected by the influences noticeable in nos. 131 *a—d*.

## § 67.

*On the age of the earliest inscriptions from Naucratis.*

As has been noted on p. 165, Prof. Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 44 sqq.) and Dr Hirschfeld (*Rh. Mus.* XLII. 1887, 200 sqq.) are by no means disposed to allow that the earliest inscriptions from Naucratis can be as old as the Abou-Symbel inscriptions. The former urges (1) that though the vases may be old, the inscriptions (scratched, not painted) on them are not necessarily contemporary with the vases; (2) that the abnormality in individual forms is entirely due to the ignorance and unskilfulness of the writers; (3) that the use of  $\Sigma$  and  $\Omega$  is decisive in favour of a later date than that of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions; (4) that, according to Herodot. II. 178, the temenos of the Milesian Apollo was not founded till the reign of Amasis, and that therefore dedications to that deity found in the temenos cannot possibly be earlier than 564 B.C. Dr Hirschfeld goes farther and disputes even the presence of Greeks at Naucratis before the reign of Amasis, though the Milesians and others may have held fortified posts elsewhere in Egypt. With the reign of Amasis the supply of 'scarabs' (*Discoveries at Naukratis*, pp. 6, 37) ceases, and the Greek inscriptions begin, *i. e.*, according to Dr Hirschfeld, not before about 560 B.C.

Mr E. A. Gardner (*Academy*, May 14, 1887, p. 347), in endeavouring to meet these undoubtedly grave objections, replies as follows. The scarabs in question are not Egyptian scarabs, but imitations by foreigners; they must have been buried before the accession of Amasis, for his name does not occur on them, though the names of his predecessors are found. Moreover, together with the scarabs were found buried numerous fragments of Greek pottery of various early styles (*Naukratis* I. p. 22): hence it is clear that the foreigners who made the scarabs were Greeks, or at least that there were Greeks at Naucratis before the accession of Amasis. *On the other hand, not the slightest trace has been discovered at Naucratis of any non-Hellenic settlement in early times.* Mr Gardner proposes to reconcile the statement of Herodotus with the tradition given by Strabo (p. 801) and others, that the Milesians founded Naucratis in the reign of Psammetichus I., by supposing that the Greeks introduced by Amasis were a new set of colonists, from whom the former Milesian colonists stood aloof, retaining their old sanctuary. To Kirchhoff's explanation of the abnormality in the forms he rejoins (1) by an appeal to analogy—in an

extensive series of dedications found in the temenos of Aphrodite no such extraordinary forms occur; (2) it is all but incredible that the only abnormal forms that occur should be just those that are transitional between the derived Greek alphabet and its earlier originals. The problem in fact to be solved is this: Is an inscription of the Abou-Symbel type, *i. e.* in an alphabet which is Ionic in all essentials but the presence of  $\omega$ , necessarily older, and older by a generation at least, than any inscription whatever which contains an  $\omega$ ? If we answer this question in the affirmative, then of course the Naucratis inscriptions must be later than those of Abou-Symbel and all evidence of expert excavators must be set aside. To me however it seems that Kirchhoff involves himself in a serious difficulty, when, in maintaining the earlier date (the last years of Psammetichus I.) for the Abou-Symbel inscriptions, he argues that the score of years intervening between that date and the time of the earliest Milesian inscriptions (end of the 7th century?) is enough to account for the 'development' from the incomplete to the complete Ionic alphabet<sup>1</sup>. The researches of the last few years have led us to date the first appearance of  $\omega$  at least half a century earlier than was possible before. On the theory therefore that inscriptions of the Abou-Symbel type are in every case older than those which have  $\omega$ , the reign of Psammetichus II. (594—589 B.C.) is an impossible date for the former; but it may well be that the necessities entailed by the assumed priority of the Abou-Symbel inscriptions have caused too little weight to be assigned to the arguments adduced for the later date.

## § 77.

*Aeolic Asia and Lesbos.*

**166 a.** In the flutings of a sepulchral stelè found at *Assos*. *Papers of the Am. Sch. at Athens*, i. p. 3, no. 1; Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 57.

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΜΔΡΕΙΚ

'Αριστάνδρῃ κ . . . .

ΣΟΙΧ

. . . κίος.

**166 b.** A stone 2.06 m. in length, 0.73 m. in height, 0.11 m. in thickness, found on the supposed site of the ancient *Cebrene*. The inscription extends over a metre in length. *Lb. n.* 1743 m; Kirchhoff, *Abh. Ak. Berl.* 1879, p. 493 sqq., after Hirschfeld; Lolling, *Mitth.* vi. 1881, p. 118 sqq.; IGA 508 (Hirschfeld's and Calvert's copies); Hinrichs (*D. Litt.-Ztg.* 1882, p. 1643).

*After Hirschfeld.*

Σ . . . Α . ΠΙΣΘΕΝΕΙΑΙΞΜΑ\ΙΤΟΝΙΚΙΑΙΟΙΤΟΓΑΥΚΙC

Σ[τάλλα] 'πὶ Σθενείῃ ἐμὲ τῷ Νικιαίῳ τῷ Γαυκί[φ].

<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld indeed boldly pushes back the Abou-Symbel inscriptions to the earlier part of the reign of Psammetichus I. (*Rh. Mus.* XLII. 222).

For the name *Σθεvelas* cf. *Ἀνθελias*, *Θαρσέας*, &c. Note the patronymics: he was son of *Νικίας* and grandson of *Γαῦκος*; comp. the notes on 200 (*Boeotia*) and 240 *a*, 242 (*Thessaly*), and for the omission of *iota* in the dative (*τῷ*) see no. 241 (*Thessaly*).

166 *c*. A marble slab of no great thickness found at *Thymbra*. Newton, *Levant* i. p. 135 and 355; Lib. 1743 *b*; IGA 504.

ΠΝΘΑ:ΑΠΕ  
ΨΕΔΙΟ:ΓΝ

Πύθα Ἀπε[λλ... θυγάτηρ], Φειδίω γύ[να].

166 *d*. On a bowl of black ware found by Mr E. A. Gardner in 1886 in the temenos of *Aphrodite* at *Naucratis*, among articles certainly dating from the sixth century.

ΘΞΞΤΑΙΑΦΘΟΔΙΤΑΙΟΜΥΤΙΤΞΛΑΙΟϚ  
[ὁ δαίνα ἀνέθ]ηκε τὰφροδίτῃ ὁ Μυτιληναῖος[s].

As regards the alphabet and date of these inscriptions, we note (1) that they were not written in the Ionic alphabet; (2) that if we may accept Mr Gardner's inference of the date for no. 166 *d*, the preceding two, nos. 166 *b*, *c*, are probably, to judge from the forms, relatively later, as they have Θ compared with the ⊗ of no. 166 *d*, though on the other hand the last appears to have a four-stroke sigma as against the three-stroke sigma of 166 *a*, *b*. Perhaps no. 166 *a* with its *βουστροφηδόν* arrangement may lay claim to be the oldest of all.

Note 1. It is quite possible that instead of ἀνέθηκε in the above we should read καθέθηκε. This form occurs twice or oftener in dedications by Mitylenians on vessels of a peculiar black ware discovered by Mr E. A. Gardner (for access to whose unpublished memoir I have to thank the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund) in the temenos of *Aphrodite* at *Naucratis*.

Note 2. Coins of *Methymna* belonging to the period *circ.* 500 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 486) have the legend

ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ.

## II. SUPPLEMENTARY COMMENTARIES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS.

### Nos. 9 *a—g* (*Creta*).

IN pursuance of the plan sketched in the Preface we proceed to give a kind of completeness to our account by adding explanatory commentaries on the subject-matter of those inscriptions the commentary to which has been deferred in order to avoid overloading the body of the work. In the case however of the Gortyn inscription, of which a few specimen lines have been given under no. 9 *g*, its extraordinary length precludes the notion of a full commentary in this place. We have adopted the expedient of giving the whole chapter or section of which our fragment forms part. The chapter in question deals with the subject of Adoption. In the translation given in a column parallel with the text that which relates to our fragment is enclosed between asterisks. The question of the date of these and the other archaic Cretan inscriptions is discussed in the *Note* &c., pp. 52—55.—Other authorities for the explanation of no. 9 *g*, in addition to those given on p. 42, are : J. and Th. Baunack, *Die Inschr. v. Gortyn*, Leipzig, 1885 ; F. Bernhöft, *Die Inschr. v. Gortyn*, Stuttgart, 1886 ; F. Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* xli. 310 sq. ; J. Simon, *Z. Inschr. v. Gortyn*, Wien, 1885 ; id. *Wien. Stud.* ix. 1 ; Merriam, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* i. 4, ii. 1 ; Roby, *Law Rev.* Apr. 1886 ; H. Lewy, *Stadtrecht v. Gortyn*, Berlin, 1885.

### No. 9 *c* (*Creta: Gortyn*).

ἦμ[ε]ν]. In the fragment noticed under no. 9 *g*, p. 41, we find the infinitive forms ἦμην, δόμην, which recall the well-known Rhodian forms in -μεν. That however we should not necessarily write -μην in no. 9 *g*, where there is no sign for η, is clear from [δια]πορηθῆμεν (= -φορ-) no. 9 *e*, where the sign for η is in use.

### No. 9 *d* (*Creta: Gortyn*).

Φοιζαζε. ζ seems in this older group of inscriptions to have represented a variety of sounds. In the long Gortyn inscription, no. 9 *g*, as we have seen (§ 25, p. 49), its place was taken by δ or δδ. In this fragment it appears to stand for a κ before η (ει), if, as Comparetti suggests, Φοιζαζε[ν] = οἰκεύζειν (cf. οἰκίζω, οἰκειώω, οἰκηόω). So in the fragment, *Mus. Ital.* ii. p. 194, nos. 35—36, Φοιζήα = Φοικῆα = οἰκεία, *serva*. No. 9 *g* has frequently ΦΟΙΚΕΑ in the same sense. A fragment from Eleutherna (*Mus. Ital.* ii. p. 161, 2, no. 1 *a*, *b*) has ηλιζαι, which may be rightly interpreted ἦ λίζαι

=ῥ ἀλικία. Possibly the ζ indicates that the κ had the sound of palatal c before the e- and i- sounds in these dialects. Sometimes ζ=σσ, as in *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 202, no. 52, ἀνδαζάθαι = ἀναδάσασθαι. Cf. no. 9 e, note on ὄζοοπερ. So *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 226, no. 82: δ[να]πκάζαι = ἀναγκάσσαι; and in no. 62 ἐδίκασε may be for ἐδίκασσε. Similarly in Aeolic, according to the grammarians, σσ is said to be represented by ζ in some words (e.g. ἐπταζον = ἐπιτησσον, Alc. 27, ἐπιπλάζοντες = ἐπιπλήσσοντες, Sa. 17; see Meister, *Gr. Dial.* I. p. 132); but no inscriptional examples have as yet come to light.

## No. 9 e (Creta: Gortyn).

This fragment appears to contain a primitive example of a sale by means of exchange (ἀμεύσασθαι). The animals mentioned in l. 2 may have reference to a definite exchange value, but they more probably describe the amount of a fine, such as we find in the laws of Draco (Poll. IX. 61) and of the ancient Romans (Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* Engl. Ed. I. 159).

1. ἀμεύσασθαι. Cf. [ἀ]φυσάν, *Mus. Ital.* III. p. 221, no. 80, and δφυστοῦ, no. 25 (*Νακος*); in no. 10 a (*Lyttos*) we have ἀμευσόνται.—ὄζοοπερ = ὄσωπερ; cf. nos. 9 d, 10 a. In later inscriptions, for σσ we have the more usual ττ. The double O may be an error; if not, it might be quoted in support of the assumption of a genitive in -oo for Homer (Ahrens, *Rh. Mus.* II. 161; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 342).

2. φρήν. This is the first occurrence of a nominative form for the cases hitherto known (ἀνρός, &c.). On the *digamma*, the previous assumption of which is notably confirmed by this inscription, see Hoffmann, *Quaest. Hom.* II. 39 e, Curtius, *G. E.* no. 310.—τυνυῖ. Comparetti explains the word as identical with τυνθός and equivalent to it in sense. For the case-form he compares πλινι, ἀμφαντυῖ, no. 9 g, XI. 5, 21, ὀπυστυῖ (ὀπυστίς, ὀπύω) *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 222, no. 81.—ῥοῖρος. Note the ῥ before o, like κ, standing for χ. To be consistent we should transcribe χοῖρος.

3. ὁμωμόται. Comparetti on no. 9 g, II. 36 sqq., thinks that we have in this word an example of the *conjuratores* frequently mentioned in the laws of non-Hellenic nations (Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 859 sqq.). The injured person produces a number of persons who, without being witnesses of the fact, nevertheless on their honour swear to the fact together with him, he swearing after them, πέμπτον αὐτόν, after four others, τρίτον αὐτόν, after two others. In Attic law also a person swearing might associate others with himself in taking the oath: cf. Meier u. Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 687 sqq.

4. ἀνδρηγίω. Ἀνδρηγίον as the name of the public hall in Cretan towns, in which the ἀνδρεία were held, occurs Ca. 119. 38.

## No. 9 f (Gortyn).

[μ]ωλῆ. μῶλος in the sense of 'law-suit,' and its derivatives, μωλῆν, ἀμφιμωλῆν, ἀντίμωλος (ἀντιμωλία, *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 209, no. 61), are of frequent occurrence in no. 9 g.

In l. 2, *τιτύφο(s)* (*tās titýfo(s)*?) appears to refer to a fine, and this may be the meaning of *τιτωνφέσθω*, no. 11 b (*Axos*). In *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 214, no. 71, we have *τιτοῖτος*.

No. 9 g (*Creta: Gortyn*).

Col. x. l. 33.

Ἀνφανσιν ἦμεν ὁπόκα τιλ λ-  
 ἦ. ἀμφαινέθαι δὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν  
 35 καταφελμένων τῶμ πολιατᾶ-  
 ν ἀπὸ τῶ λάω ὃ ἀπαγορεύοντι.  
 ὁ δ' ἀμφανάμενος δότω τᾶ-  
 ι ἐταιρεία τᾶ. Ἐὰ αὐτῷ ἱαρε-  
 ῖον καὶ πρόχοον φοίνω.

καὶ

40 μέν κ' ἀνέλγεται πάντα τὰ χρή-  
 ματα καὶ μὴ συννῇ γνήσια τ-  
 ἐκνα τέλλεμ μὲν τὰ θίνα καὶ  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὰ τῷ ἀνφαναμέ-  
 νω κἀναιλῆθαι ἅπερ τοῖς γ-  
 45 νησίοις ἐγ[ρ]άτται· αἱ [δ]έ κ[α μ]ῇ  
 λῇ τέλλεν ᾧ ἐγράφται, τὰ χ[ρ]ή-  
 ματα τὸνς ἐπιβαλλόντας ἔχε-  
 ν.

αἱ δὲ κ' ἦ γνήσ[ι]α τέκνα τῷ ἀν-  
 φαναμένῳ, πεδὰ μὲν τῶν ἐρσ-  
 50 ἔνων τὸν ἀνφαντὸν, ἅπερ αἱ θ-  
 ῆ[λε]ϊαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν λαγχά-  
 νονται. αἱ δὲ κ' ἔρσενες μὴ ἔων-  
 τι, θῆλειαί δὲ, [F]ισόμοιρον ἔ-  
 XI. [χεν τ]ὸν ἀνφαντὸν καὶ μὴ ἐ-  
 πάναγκον ἦμεν τέλλεν τ[ὰ τ-  
 ῶ ἀν]φαναμένῳ καὶ τὰ χρήμα-  
 τα ἀναιλ[ῆ]θαι, ἅτι κα κατα[λίπ]-  
 5 ῃ ὁ ἀν]φανάμενος. πλίγι δὲ τὸν

Adoption shall take place whensoever one wills. The adopter must declare the adoption in the market-place, when the citizens have been assembled, from the stone whence public announcements are made. The adopter must present to his own guild a victim and a cruse of wine. And if the adopted person shall assume possession of the whole property and there shall not at the same time be legitimate children, he must perform the duties, religious and secular, attaching to the adoptive father, and must take over the property in the same manner as has been prescribed for legitimate children. And if he should be unwilling to perform the duties in the manner prescribed, then the next of kin shall have the property. But if the adoptive father have legitimate children, then the adopted person shall receive the property along with the male children in the same manner as the female children receive it from their brothers. If however there be no males, but only females, the adopted person shall share equally with them \*and it shall not be obligatory upon him to perform the duties attaching to the adoptive father and to take possession of the property, which the adoptive father may have left behind. And the adopted



ἀνφαντὸν μὴ ἐπιχωρῆν.

[αἱ δ'

ἀπο]θάνοι ὁ ἀνφαντὸς γνήσια  
τέκνα μὴ καταλιπὼν, παρ τὸ[νς τ-  
ὦ ἀν]φαναμένον ἐπιβαλλόνταν-  
10 ς ἀνχωρῆν τὰ χρήματα.

αἱ δ[έ κα

λῆ?] ὁ ἀνφανόμενος ἀποφειπ-  
άθθω κατ' ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ τῷ λά[ω, ὦ  
ἀπα]γορεύοντι, καταφελμέν-  
ων τῶν πολιτῶν. ἀνθέμε[ν δὲ

15 . . . . σ]τατήραυς ἐδ' δικαστ-  
ήριον, ὁ δὲ μνάμων π[ρ]ὸ ξεν-  
ίῳ ἀποδότω τῷ ἀπορρηθέντι.  
γυνὰ δὲ μὴ ἀμφαινέθθω μηδ'  
ἄνηβος. χρῆθαι δὲ τοῖςδε ἀ-

20 ι τάδε τὰ γράμματα' ἔγραψε,  
τῶν δὲ πρόβθθα, ὅπα τις ἔχη, ἢ ἀ-  
μφαντυῖ ἢ παρ ἀμφαντῷ μὴ ἐτ' ἔ-  
νδικον ἦμεν.

person shall not lay claim to more than this. If the adopted person should die, without having left behind legitimate children, then the property shall revert to the next of kin to the adoptive father. If he wishes, the adoptive father may announce his repudiation of the adopted person in the marketplace from the stone whence public proclamations are made, when the citizens have been assembled. He must deposit in court . . . staters\*, and the recorder must hand over the sum to the person so repudiated as a present. A woman may not adopt, nor may a minor. These provisions are to be followed, according as these laws have prescribed, but as to former laws, the manner of anyone's possession must not further be made matter of judicial claim either on behalf of the adopted person or from the adoptive father.

X. 33. *Fabr.* ὅπω κα : *Baun.*, *Buech.* (*Ribb.*) ὁπὼ κα : 'from whatsoever family he will.' 36. *Comp.* ἀπὸ τῷ λαῷ ὁ ἀπαγ. (= ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ κ.τ.λ.!) : "quando i cittadini (πολιῆται) pronunziano il divieto sugli atti del popolo (privato) che intendon proibire." 38. *Comp.* ἱερῶν καὶ προχῶν (= προ-  
χέων) φοίνω 'performing sacrifice and making a preliminary libation of wine.' 50. *Fabr.* αἵτερ.

XI. 4. ἀναλ[ῆ]θαι : so Comparetti, instead of ἀναλῖθαι; cf. x. 44 *supra*.

X. 33 &c. \**Ἀνφανσις*, *ἀμφανόμενος*, *ἀμφαντός*, *ἀμφαινέθαι* (*ἀναφαίνεσθαι*). All these terms—adoption, adopter, adopted, to adopt; in Attic respectively, *εἰσποίησις*, *εἰσποιούμενος*, *εἰσποίητος*, *εἰσποιεῖσθαι*—depend evidently upon the fact that the act of adoption implied a public declaration on the part of the adopter. In Attica and elsewhere we also find *νόθεα* (*Att. νόθ.*) used.

τὰ λῆ = τὸ λῆ. Most extraordinary instances of assimilation are found in this inscription: thus ρ is assimilated to ν in ἀννίοντο = ἀρνέοντο I. 11, to δ in πατῆδ δώῃ or, with one δ dropped, in πατῆδῶν IX. 41; cf. ὑπέδδ = ὑπέρ δὲ XI. 44: σ becomes θ in τὰθ θυγατέρας = τὰς θ. IV. 47, and δ in νίεδδ δὲ = νίεες

δε VII. 22, [πα]τρὸς δῶντος=πατὴρ δῶντος (ζῶντος) v. 2, ἐδ δικάστηριον=ἐς δικ. XI. 15, ὀρκιωτέρωδ δ' = ὀρκιωτέρεως δ' (acc. plur.) III. 50; τοῖδδε=τοῖσδε XI. 19: π becomes τ in ἐγράφται=γέγραπται x. 45. The ordinary Greek σθ in verbal formation becomes θθ or θ in ἀποφειπάθθω=-άσθω XI. 11, ἀμφαινέθαι=-εσθαι x. 34. On the question of the pronunciation of δδ, θθ in these cases see Baunack *op. cit.* pp. 29, 33 sqq.—For λῆ, λῆωντι, λῆτοι, &c., Baunack (*op. cit.* p. 51 sq.) claims an original Greek root-form λη-, and rejects, except for forms with short α (λάω, λιλαίομαι), the derivation from a root *las* (Skt. *lāshāmi*, Curtius, *G. E.*, no. 361). Cf. λῆ-μα, λῆ-σις, Lacon. λῆ-ῖς (Hesych. [κτῆσις ἡ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καὶ] βούλῃσις).

35. καταφελμένω: cf. XI. 13. Baunack (*op. cit.* p. 38), rejecting Roehl's derivation from a form κατ-ἀφέλλω (ἀολλής, ἀλής, ἀλίζω, ἡλιαία), analyses into κατα+φ, and reads κατα-φελμένω, i.e. κατα-φε-φελμένω, from the same root as ἐγ-φληθίωντι, *Tabl. Her.* (=Ca. 47, 48) I. 152 (Curtius; *G. E.*, no. 660), and ἀπο-φηλένι, *DI.* 1154 (*Elis*). The word here will mean 'forced together, assembled,' as the Heracleian and Elean compounds denote 'to force out, to exclude.'

πολιατᾶν. Cf. πολιανόμος, *Tabl. Her.* I. 95, Πολιάχφ (=Πολιαόχφ) Ca. 17. 3 (*Laconia*).

38. ἑταιρεία. At Athens the offering was made to Ζεὺς Ἐταίριος. It is possible that at Gortyn the deity was Ζεὺς Ἐταιρείος, for Ἐταιρείος is cited by Hesychius, s. v., as a Cretan epithet of Ζεὺς.—Fᾶ. The digammated stem though often inferred for other dialects has hitherto been found only in the Cretan of Gortyn (cf. however note on no. 304 a, *Metapontum*, 231. 33, *Locris*); in this inscription it is always joined with αὐτός.

40. ἀνέλθαι: 44 (cf. XI. 4) ἀναλῆθαι (i.e. ἀναρεῖσθαι). Both verbal stems αἰλε- and εἰλ- occur frequently in the inscription. ἀφαιλῆθαι, ἀφαιλ- [ήσεσθαι] are known from another Cretan inscription, Ca. 42, I. 82, 83: ἀ[φαι]λῆσθαι (Köhler) is also Attic, *CIA* II. 547. 6. On the Locrian ἀρέσται see below, no. 231, 31 sqq.

41. συννῆ. The double ν appears to be without etymological justification.

42. τὰ θίνα (=θίνα, i.e. θέινα, cf. Boeotian, Cretan, Cyprian, Laconian θίός) καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Compare the similar expressions in the Cretan inscription Ca. 132. 33 πεδέχειν θίνων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων; *ib.* 119. 13 μετοχὰν καὶ θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, and in Ca. 116. 11, 117. 7, 8 ἐνορκον τε ἔστω καὶ ἐνθινον probably means 'let it be confirmed by oath and attested before God.'

45. ἐγράφται. For ττ cf. note on x. 33; the incomplete reduplication (ἐγρ. for γεγρ.) might have been quoted in support of the reading ἐγραμ-(μ)ένοι in no. 291, I. 10 (*Elis*); but see the note *ad loc.* Cf. ἡγρα(μ)μέναν Ca. 117 (*Hierapytna*), and below 11 b, I. 3.

47. τὸνς ἐπιβαλλόντανς (cf. XI. 8). On the well-known Cretan (and Argive: cf. no. 79) termination of the accus. plur. see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 359, who regards the Cretan forms in -ανς from consonantal stems as neither old nor original, but new formations beside the normal -ας

on the analogy of the juxtaposition of *-as* and *-avs* in the *a*-stems; in the inscription too we have *θυγατέρας* beside *θυγατέρας*: cf. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 87. The verb *ἐπιβάλλειν* appears to bear the following distinct meanings: (1) 'to belong to,' with the thing possessed as subject; so in v. 22 οἷς κ' ἐπιβάλλη τὰ χρήματα, τούτως 'those, to whom the property belongs'; (2) in the participial expression ὁ ἐπιβάλλων 'the person, to whom a thing belongs,' οὗτος δ' ἐπιβάλλει τι. Thus ὁ ἐπιβάλλων comes to mean 'the person entitled,' and on this inscription it is always οὗτος δ' ἐπιβάλλει τὰ χρήματα, whether as blood-relation or as by right of marriage with the heiress: in the latter case the fuller expressions are ὁ ἐπιβάλλων ὀπύειν, VII. 30, 34, 36; ὁ ἐπιβάλλων τὰν πατρῶχον ὀπύειν VIII. 36. Cf. note on no. 231. 31.

49. πεδά. Also Lesbian, Boeotian, Cretan and Argive; for the vocalism see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 10. 3, who considers it to be an instrumental from the stem πεδ- (πωδ-).—ἐρσένων; 52 ἔρσενες. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 27, classes this form among examples of irregular substitution for sonant *r*. It occurs in Lesbian (*DI.* 293. 3) and in the Ionic of Herodotus, but ἔρσεν appears in the Ionic inscription of Thasos, no. 22, as in Homer and Attic.

51. ἀδελφίων. ἀδελφίος acc. to Baunack (*op. cit.* p. 59) = ἀ-δελφεῖο-ς.

52. ἴωντι = ὤσι; cf. Boeot. ἴωνθι.

53. [F]ιστόμοιρον. The restoration of the digamma is rendered certain by its appearance in the same word as it occurs in the fragment noticed under no. 9 g. Cf. *Mus. Ital.* II. p. 227, no. 82; ἐπὶ τῇ Ϝιστῶ κ[αὶ τ]ῇ ὁμοίῳ. The form offers a remarkable confirmation of the original assumed by Curtius, *G. E.* no. 569.

XI. 5. πλίυι. Perhaps to be considered a dative like ἀμφανυῖ (below, XI. 21). πλί-, properly the product of πλε + ι[σ], as in πλε-ῖε-ς (= πλε-ιο-ες) πλίες, came perhaps to be treated as a stem; hence such case-forms as πλί-ασι, Ca. 121. 31, and here πλί-υι. See Baunack, *op. cit.*, p. 59 sq. On -υι = οἰ, cf. the note to no. 130 a, l. 3 (*Abou-Symbel*).

6 sqq. αἱ δ' ἀποθάνου κ.τ.λ. Compare the contention in the speech Demosth. *adv. Leoch.* (§§ 60—68) that as Leocrates (ii), grandson of Leocrates (i), and brother of Leochares, the person originally adopted, had died without children, Leochares cannot claim to be next heir; for Leocrates became a member of his adoptive house and the estate must pass to the nearest relatives of that house, who are of course the speaker's family.

11. ἀποτέπράθω. The word is used in the same sense by Herodotus I. 59. The Attic term is ἀποκρήρυττειν, which however seems only to have applied to the severance between father and actual (not adoptive) son. According to Dioclet. and Maxim. (a. 288) in c. 6 c. de p. p. 8, 46 (47), such repudiation was not allowed in Roman law: "abdicatio, quae Graeco more ad alienandos liberos usurpabatur et ἀποκρήρυξις dicebatur, Romanis legibus non comprobatur."

15. The missing number may be 2 or 10. Büscheler thinks that the gift was symbolic, intended merely to indicate that the repudiation

was not accompanied by dishonour. It is too trifling to have served as any kind of compensation for loss of property or expectations.

16. *μνάμων* (cf. ix. 32, 53). An official found in various states and often in connexion with judicial functions. Cf. *Ar. Pol.* vii. 8, 1321 b 34 sqq., and the names *προμνάμων*, *συμπρομνάμονες* (*Acarnania*), CIG 1793, Ditt. *Syll.* 321 and note, *συμμνάμονες* (*Tauric Chersonese*), Ditt. *Syll.* 252, 47.

18. *ἀμφαιέθθω*. It is possible to take this word in a passive sense. In that case we may compare the practice which obtained in the older Roman law, Gell. v. 19 § 10 "quoniam et cum feminis nulla comitiorum communio": Gaius i. 101, 102. Attic law permitted the adoption of a woman, *θυγατροποιία* (Isaeus, *De Hagn. her.* 8, 41), but the action lost its political character and had reference only to dispositions of property.

19. *τοιῖδε* may be masculine: the aforesaid persons are to be dealt with according to the provisions of this law, but it is not to be retrospective.

20. *ἐγραψε*. R. Meister (*Bezz. Beitr.* 1885, p. 145), maintaining that *τὰ γράμματα γράφει* is not Greek, boldly makes *ἐγράφη* a passive aorist = *ἐγράφθη*. (So also Comparetti, *Mus. Ital.* i. 294, referring to Helbig, *De dial. Cret.* p. 12, for other instances.) He regards it as certain that at the date of the inscription Cretan *θ* had the sound of the affricate *tth*, or perhaps already of the interdental spirant *th* (cf., for Boeotia, Meister, *Dial.* i. 260 sq.). But *φ* and *χ* seem to have remained explosive and so near in sound to *π* and *κ* respectively, that the same symbols sufficed for *φ* and *π*, and for *χ* and *κ*. Hence we can understand how *ἐγραψ-θη* could become *ἐγράφη*. Examples of the change of *φth* to *ψ* are given by G. Meyer, *Gr.* § 209.

#### No. 10 a (*Creta: Lyttos*).

*ῥῥοι = ῥῥοι?* See note on no. 9 e; and cf. *Mus. Ital.* Vol. II. p. 212, no. 67: *ῥ' ῥῥοι* (*ῥῥῥοι?*) in an inscription from Gortyn.

*ἀμυσόνται*. Cf. no. 9 e, l. 1.

#### No. 10 b (*Creta: Lyttos*).

The inscription forms a fragment of some private law dealing with matters analogous to those of the long Gortyn inscription.

The peculiar symbol in l. 7 occurs also in no. 9 g, ix. 43, where it separates two clauses of the law. l. 8. *τρίψ*. Perhaps *τρίψ*, which occurs in no. 9 g, v. 54.

#### No. 11 a (*Creta: Axos*).

The fragment is too mutilated to supply any connected sense. The subject appears to concern artists who give their services to the state at public festivals. Probably the artists were musicians. There is nothing in the inscription to show that they were organised in societies, like the *οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται* of later inscriptions. Certain privileges are accorded to them, as *ἀτέλεια* and *τροφὴ ἐν ἀνδρείῳ*, but the mention of *μισθός* seems to show that these privileges were rather of the nature of an

equivalent for services rendered than an honour like the ἀτέλεια given to the τεχνῖται περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον in an Amphictyonic decree at a later time (Lueders, *Dion. Künstl.* no. 74\*). Nor can the τροφή ἐν ἀνδρείῳ be compared with the distinction of the σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ at Athens. A different phrase is used in Cretan inscriptions of the hospitality to be accorded to magistrates or ambassadors of allied states (cf. CIG 2554. 30 sqq., 2556. 33 sqq.).

1. ...*φος*. Comparetti (*Mus. Ital.* II. p. 134) suggests [ἐ]λε[*φος*], i.e. ἔλεγχος, citing other instances in these inscriptions where a *f* appears to take the place of *v* before certain consonants. Cf. λό*f*κ[αν] = λόγγαν, ἀ*f*τή-μ[ατα] = ἀνθήματα (*Mus. Ital.* II. p. 145, no. 6).—*ἴναντι* = ἐναντίον, as we have *iv* and *is* or *iss* below for the normal Cretan *iv* and *is* (εις).—After τῶν the word may be [*f*]ιδότων.

2. τ[ροπᾶς] (i.e. τροφᾶς). If the restoration is right, probably we should supply *iv* ἀντηρῖφ, as in l. 15 below.

4. The infinitive ζαμιῶμεν implies a conditional protasis preceding. Comparetti suggests as a possible restoration of lines 1—4 the following : [γενέσθω ἐ]λε[*φος* ἴναντι τῶν [*f*]ιδότων? καὶ κα πωνίαντι (φωνίαντι) μὴ σπ[iv] (σφiv) δοκὲν ἄκσια ἦμεν τᾶς τ[ροπᾶς] (τροφᾶς) καὶ τᾶς ἀτελείας ἃ τεκνῶτο (ἐτεχνῶτο) iv ἴμε[iv]αιφ], . . . κατ' ἀμέραν ζαμιῶμεν.

On the reading *iv ἴμε[iv]αιφ* Comparetti remarks that the hymeneal song may have been used in Crete at public festivals such as that of the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera, celebrated near Cnossos (Diod. v. 41), or that of the nuptials of Dionysos and Ariadne, common to several Cretan towns (cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I. 532 sq.).

5. λέοι. Or perhaps λέοιεν. But the reading cannot be regarded as certain: for in every other case in these inscriptions where it is possible to determine the quantity, the *e*-sound is long. Hesychius however has λεῳμί· θέλωμι ἄν. See the note on no. 9 g, x. 33.

8. διάλσιος. Perhaps a kind of dance is meant combined with leaping like the Spartan βίβασις described by Pollux, IV. 102 (cf. Krause, *Gymn.* II. Ag. 398 sqq.).—ἀντηρῖφ. This is the only example of the substitution of *τ* for *δ* in these Cretan inscriptions. The κατῖνρυσιν of CIG 4987 (*Nubia*) may be attributed to faulty pronunciation: Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 198.

9. σπο<sup>σ</sup>δδάν = σπονδάν? Comparetti thinks we have here another instance of *f* for *v*: see the note on l. 1. In l. 13 he restores σπωδᾶς (σπουδῆς).

10. A clause ends with μὴ ivθέμεν. The general sense of the clause may be that if one invites all the artists to a σπονδή, he is not to charge the expense to the state. But nothing can be made of the words ἐξ ᾧ αἱ κ.τ.λ.

#### No. 11 b (Creta: Axos).

The inscription seems to be a fragment of a law relative to some religious cult, but no continuous sense can be extracted from the corrupt remains.

3. πε[ρ]ώνται=φέρωνται?—ἡγγραμένα. Cf. note on no. 9 g 45, p. 330.  
 1. 7. κρίας=χρέους. 1. 8. πορτιπωνεῖν=προσφωνεῖν. So in no. 9 g frequently ἀποπωνεῖν=ἀποφωνεῖν. 1. 9. ὁ κοσμίων. On the functions of the κόσμοι see *Dict. Ant.*

5. τιτωῦεσθω. See note on no. 9 f.

12. Κυδαντεῖσις. The termination is the same as in other festivals mentioned in Cretan inscriptions: Ἰολαΐα, Βριτομάρτεια, Θιοδαΐσια, Ὑπερβώια, &c. Comparetti points to the resemblance between this word and the name of the Attic deme Κυδαντίδαι, but whether there was any relation between the one and the other we have no means of knowing.

13. ἰς. See note on 11 α, l. 1.

#### No. 12 a (Creta: Eleutherna).

3. κ' ὄρκον. Qu. κῶρον.

4. ἀράν. The terms of the imprecation follow. For ἐνήμεν cf. no. 11 α (Δωρος), l. 10, ἐνθέμεν.

5. Possibly the formula was [μήτε Ζῆνα σ]πὶν (σφῖν) ὕμεν (ῥεῖν).

6. ἀπατον ἦμεν: a frequently occurring expression in the long Gortyn inscription, where in all cases (1) ἀτα denotes a pecuniary fine, (2)  $\frac{2}{3}$  or per derivatives stands in manifest relation to νικά, success in a law-suit, *Dicāus atamēnos* in x. 21 is parallel to νενικαμένος in xi. 32. Perhaps we may here restore [τὸν δ' ὁμόσαν]τα ἀπατον ἦμεν, 'the person who has taken the oath shall come to no harm.'—ὡφτό=ὁ αὐτό[s]?

#### No. 42 (Ionic and Attic: Sigeum).

The dimensions of the monument are as follows: height 2.31 m.; breadth below 0.48 m., above 0.46 m.; thickness below 0.27 m., above 0.13 m. On the top close to the front surface is an oblong hole. The stone has been variously explained as the base of a marble statue—the base for the objects mentioned in the inscriptions—as supporting a *protome* (Hermes) of the dedicator—lastly, by Loeschke, *l. c.*, as a sepulchral stèle, the hole at the top being intended for the insertion of an anthemion.

In explanation of the fact that we have two inscriptions on the stèle, the upper in Ionic dialect and character and the lower in Attic dialect and character, a repetition and expansion of the upper one, Loeschke assumes a simultaneous engraving of the two inscriptions after the death of Phanodius, containing a reference to the dedication made by him in his lifetime; the Ionic inscription would be by the hands of his surviving relatives, the Attic by Attic artists for the Attic population of Sigeum.

On the following grounds (cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> 22 sqq.) the inscriptions are referred to the first half and even to the first quarter or first decade of the sixth century B.C.:—(1) Sigeum was surrendered to the Athenians by the Mitylenians on the verdict of Periander, who died in 585 B.C.; it subsequently again fell into the hands of the Mitylenians, for Herodotus (v. 94) states that Pisistratus was compelled to wrest it from them by

force of arms; it remained in the hands of his descendants at least till the date of the battle of Salamis; from 480 B.C. it was an independent member of the Attic confederation; (2) a comparison with other Attic inscriptions, e.g. no. 45 (and, it may be added, a comparison with other Ionic inscriptions), shows that the monument cannot be assigned to the period following the reconquering of Sigeum by Pisistratus; we are therefore driven back to the earlier period of its occupation by an Athenian population.

Boeckh (CIG) considered the inscriptions to be an archaising forgery of the age of the Ptolemies; but his objections were based on reasons which have since been shown to be groundless. *E.g.* he denied that the art of working in marble was advanced enough in the 6th century to account for a bust supported on a stèle; he argued that the number of artists was so small (though we now know it to have been considerable) that one like Αἰσώπος, if he had existed, could not fail to have been known to fame. He further found difficulty in the appearance of Ω on a βουστrophόδον inscription: but the discovery of the Ionic inscriptions at Miletus, to say nothing of others, has removed all doubts on this point.

[A = the upper, B = the lower inscription.]

A. 1—5 = B. 1—3. 'I am (the stèle) of Phanodicus, son of Hermocrates, the Proconnesian.' The abrupt change to the third person in the ἔδωκε of A (in B the first person is retained throughout) is not altogether without parallel. Compare the following inscriptions from Dodona: [Θεὸς Τύχη] ἀγαθὴ | Δέσποτα ἀναξ Ζεῦ νάϊε καὶ Διώνη | καὶ Δωδοναῖοι (sic) αἰτεῖ ὑμᾶς | καὶ ἱκετεύει Διδόγνητος Ἀριστομήδου Ἀθηναῖος δοῦναι αὐτῷ | καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ εὐνοῖς ἀπασιν | καὶ τεῖ μητρὶ Κλεαρτέῃ καὶ..... (Carapanos, Pl. xxxviii. 3), where the vocative should rather have been followed by the first person; and again; Ζεῦ Νάϊε..... | ἱκετεύει Γ....[κ]αὶ δοῦναι ἐ[μ]αυτῷ.....καὶ | τῷ[ι] μου νιέει κ[αὶ].....| θ[υγατρὶ καὶ πᾶσι....] (Pl. xxxviii. 7), where the syntax is still more quaint.

A. 4. Προκολλησίου: B. 2 Προκο(ν)νησίου. According to Strabo (xiii. p. 425) the double ν is the more common. And in fact the single ν here is fully explained by the fact (see Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.*, p. 37) that on Attic inscriptions older than 550 B.C. there is no trace of the gemination of consonants; cf. the note to no. 231. 1, p. 348. Ἀλόννησος however is recognised spelling beside Ἀλόννησος, e.g. in the speech Περὶ Ἀλονήσου.

The marble of Proconnesus was famous; cf. Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 6, xxxvii. 10, Vitruv. ii. 8, Strabo xiii. 589: Προκόνησος, πόλιν ἔχουσα καὶ μέγαλλον μέγα λευκοῦ λίθου σφόδρα ἐπαινούμενον. Hence the name now given to the Propontis, the *Sea of Marmora*.

A. 6. ὑποκρητήριον: B. 4 κἀπίστατον. Obviously ὑποκρητήριον and ἐπίστατον are intended to be equivalent in sense; in both cases a stand or tripod for the κρατήρ is meant. For the Ionic form cf. Hdt. i. 25, where the support of a κρατήρ is called ὑποκρητηρίδιον: in an inscription found in Aegina, CIG 2139, we find mention of βάθρον ὑποκρατήριον. Cf. Plut. *De Or. Def.* c. 14 περιβόητος ἡ τοῦ κρατήρος (at Delphi) ἔδρα καὶ βάσις,

ἦν Ἡρόδοτος ὑποκρητήριον ὠνόμασεν; also Paus. x. 16, who substitutes ὑπόθημα τοῦ κρατήρος and ἔδραν τῷ κρατήρι, and Athen. v. 210 B, where the words τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπόστημα are used in speaking of the same κρατήρ. In Attic, ὑπόστατον, ὑποστάτης, ἐπιστάτης (Aristoph. *Av.* 436), ἐπίστατον appear to have had much the same meaning as ὑποκρητήριον.

A. 8: B. 4. It is uncertain whether in the upper inscription we should write ἦθμός or ἦθμός. The absence of aspirate in the compound ἀπηθέω proves nothing; cf. ἀπηλιώτης, ἀντήλιος, &c. Schol. ap. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1294 remarks 'ἦθμός δασύνεται.' L. and S. give in all cases ἦθμός. The word occurs in the Aeginetan inscription above quoted and Pollux x. 108 mentions it among *demiochrata*: ἐν μέντοι τοῖς δημοπρατοῖς καὶ ἦθμός τις ἐπικρητηρίδιος (the Ionic form is strange) πέπραται ὃς ἴσως τοῖς περὶ τὸν οἶνον μᾶλλον προσήκει.

A. 10: B. 6, 9. The *eu* for *ei* in the Σιγενεῦσι of B is probably due to the engraver's error, for immediately afterwards we have Σιγειῆς. The Συκεεῦσιν of A may be, as Boeckh thinks, a local dialectic peculiarity.

B. 7—9. ἐὰν δέ τι...Σιγειῆς. In μελεδαίνεω με we have perhaps the most ancient *inscriptional* instance of the infinitive for the imperative. For the accusative after μελεδαίνεω cf. Theocr. x. 52; hence also ὁ μελεδαινόμενος, *qui curatur*, in Hippocr. *De morb. mul.* ed. Genev. (1657) p. 616 sq. μελεδαινομένη ἐν τάχει ἰγίαινει, and p. 696; cf. Hdt. viii. 115. It appears in fact to have been most frequently used as a medical term.

B. 9—11. καὶ μ'...ἀδελφοί. The *ei* in ἐποίησεν G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 72, regards only as an orthographical expression for long closed *e*. Roehl on the other hand supposes the *i* and the *e* to have simply changed places and the true reading to be ἐποίησεν.—The *spiritus asper* in Αἰζώπος may merely be an instance of the irrational aspiration in Attic so common at a later period: cf. the remarks in § 43.—For another example of a work produced jointly by two or more artists see no. 204.

#### No. 142 (*Teos*).

The date of this document has been discussed in § 70. It contains a series of curses imprecated upon certain classes of malefactors and enemies of the Teians. In written curses of this kind, called by the Romans *devotiones*, the vengeance of one or more deities was invoked upon an offender, and he was solemnly consigned to them for punishment in this world and the next. The imprecation was frequently drawn up in the form of a dedication; hence both in the Eastern and the Western Churches the name *anathema* is still applied to imprecations solemnly uttered by the priest (Newton, *Essays* &c. p. 193). As instances of these *devotiones* it may suffice to mention the leaden tablets (dating from about 150 B.C.) found by Mr Newton at Cnidos, in a sacred precinct dedicated to Demeter, Persephone, Pluto and other cognate deities (Newton, *Hist. Disc.* II., Part 2, p. 720 sq.: Wachsmuth, *Rh. M.*, xviii. p. 573: cf. Ditt., *Syll.* 432); an inscription of the same kind found at Corcyra (Ditt., *Syll.* 431); a bronze plate found in South Italy containing a dedication of stolen



coins to the priestess of Juno Lacinia (CIG 5773); lastly a dedication to a lunar deity of Asia Minor, Men Aziottenos (CIG 3442): in this case the imprecation appears to have been successful, for one of the culprits, having been punished by the god, made a propitiatory offering and mended his ways.

A. 1—5. These lines contain an imprecation against any one who compounds poisons (*φάρμακα δηλητήρια*; the same expression occurs Hdn. 3. 5) to the harm of the Teians, whether it be the community or whether it be for an individual. The position and syntax of *τὸ ξυνόν* are very strange, we should have expected *ἐπὶ Τηίων τῷ ξυνῷ*; cf. B. 25. For *ποιῶ* (instead of *ποιέοι*) see the note on no. 295. 2 (*Elis*).

6—12. With the injunction contained in this paragraph Boeckh compares the regulation of Solon (Plutarch, *Sol.* 24) who forbade exportation except in the case of oil, and *κατὰ τῶν ἐξαγόντων ἀρὰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ποιέισθαι προσέταξεν, ἥ ἐκτίνειν αὐτὸν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*.—The meaning of *ἀνωθεοίη* l. 10 is not clear. It may be 'to divert to another quarter' or 'to export again,' i.e. not to use the imported corn for home consumption.

B. 1—8. If the restorations are right this section provides for maintaining the authority of the *εὔθυνος* and the *αἰσυμνήτης*, while the next section (8—28) gives the terms of imprecation upon an *αἰσυμνήτης* who abuses his power.

In line 18 Boeckh's emendation *λοιμοῦ* depends upon the assumption that the inscription belongs to a period succeeding some plague or other, and Roehl's *ἀπὸ νόσου* B. 1 may have reference to the same circumstance.

On the functions of *εὔθυνοι* or auditors and the *αἰσυμνήτης* or umpire-prince (elective prince, *αἰρετὸς τύραννος* Ar. *Pol.* III. 14. 8, 9 and IV. 10. 2) see *Dict. Ant.* Though there were several *εὔθυνοι* at Teos, as appears from CIG 3059, where their functions are those of *πράκτορες*, it would seem that in the present case the *εὔθυνος* was a higher officer appointed for a special purpose. The *αἰσυμνήτης* to whose office a whole section is devoted was apparently at Teos, as at Cyme, a regular magistrate, and this view derives support from the expression B. 8 *ὅστις τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰσυμνῶν*. So at Chalcedon the presidents of the Senate, liable to be changed monthly, were called *αἰσυμνῶντες* (CIG 3794; for the spelling, *αἰσυμν.*, not *αἰσυμν.*, cf. another inscription from Chalcedon, *J. H. S.* VII. 1886, p. 154, and no. 255, note). In other states he was appointed only in a political crisis.

4. *ἀπειθεοίη*] Boeckh *ἀπειθεοίη*, comparing *ποιῶ* A. 2, though in A. 10 we read *ἀνωθεοίη*. For Boeckh's comparison to hold good we should have had *ποιοίη*. It is to be noted that after *αἰσυμνήτη* in Boeckh's authority there is room only for four letters, but the accuracy of the copy cannot be implicitly relied on.

10 sqq. The text of these lines is very uncertain. Boeckh reads ἡ γῆ τῇ Τηίῃ [ἡ τ]οὺς ἀνδράς ἀποκ[τείνει] παρὰ [τ]ὸν νόμον, | ὥς προδο[μ]εὺν τὴν πόλιν καὶ γῆν τὴν Τηίαν. In that case τοὺς ἀνδράς will be an equivalent

for *ἄνδρα τινα* or *ἄνθρωπόν τινα*. The word *ἀποκτείνειν* may be used either of the judge who tries for a capital offence or of the officer who carries the sentence into execution. One who violates the laws in doing so is regarded in the light of a traitor (*προδό[μεν]*): in the same way at Athens the public crier at each assembly denounced with imprecations any one who should conspire against the people.

Further the *αἰσυμνήτης* here incurs the imprecation if he allows the desertion of any of the survivors (of the plague?), whether in the island or on the high seas or after landing, so that they might fall into the hands of pirates or marauders. All these minute provisions indicate a preceding period of disturbance.

18 sqq. *κιξάλλεοι...κιξάλλας*. The difference between a *κιξάλλης* (*κιξάλης*) and a *ληστής* seems to be expressed by our *highwayman* and *pirate*. Comp. Democr. ap. Stob. 279. 11 *κιξάλλην καὶ ληστήν πάντα κτείνων τις ἀθῶος ἂν εἴη καὶ αὐτοχειρίῃ καὶ κελεύων καὶ ψήφῳ*. Hesych. explains *κιξάλης* by *φῶρ, κλέπτῃς* (cf. Io. Gramm. *de Dial. Ion. κιντάλης· κλέπτῃς*) and *κιξάλια* by *πάσα κακοτεχνία*: Phot. *Lex. κίξας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ ληστές*. Vaniček (*Wörterb.*) derives the stem from a root-form *skar* (spring, move one's self about, &c.) and traces the phonetic process thus—*σκα(λ)σκαλ, σκισκαλ, κι-σκαλ, κι-κσαλ*.

23. In the fourth letter, T, Roehl conjectures that we have the same symbol which appears in no. 145 (§ 75).

29. *τιμουχέοντες*] The *τιμοῦχοι* appear to have been the ordinary magistrates in several Greek states corresponding to archons elsewhere. Probably their office was annual: cf. CIG 3059 (*Teos*), *ἀναγγελ[λ]έτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐκάστοτε γινόμενοι τιμοῦχοι*. They were more especially an ancient Ionic institution; hence at Naucratis in Egypt, an Ionic colony, the *τιμοῦχοι* preside at solemn festivals in the prytaneum itself, and fine those who take more than their allotted portion of the viands (Athen. iv. 149. 32): so the Massilians, colonists of the Phocaeans, own the authority of 600 permanent *τιμοῦχοι*, who were presided over by fifteen, as the fifteen were by three, and the three by one (Strabo iv. p. 179). With the Messenians too after their restoration to Peloponnesus the *ἄρχοντες* were called *τιμοῦχοι* (Suid. v. *Ἐπίκουρος* and *τιμοῦχοι*).—At Teos it was the duty of these officers to pronounce to the best of their ability (*ἐπὶ δυνάμει*) the imprecations, on pain of being liable to the same themselves. Similarly Solon required the archon to recite certain imprecations (Plut. *Sol.* 24).

31. *καθήμενον κ.τ.λ.* Acc. to Boeckh the *ἀγών* here denotes the assemblage of people for the purpose of seeing games or other solemnities. The three occasions specified are the Anthesteria, the festival of Dionysos whose cult was established at Teos; the festival of Herakles, who in the Teian inscr. CIG 3059 is joined in certain honours with Hermes and the Muses; and lastly the festival of Zeus, *Jovialia*, *Δία ἰ.ε. Δῖα* or *Δεῖα*, a name which frequently occurs on inscriptions and coins, e.g. those of Philadelphia.

35. *τά(ς) στῆλας*. In Attic inscriptions the omission of *σ* before *στ*,

σπ, σφ is a well-known peculiarity: see Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 40, who cites *ειστήλην, τήστήλης, εισταθμά*, &c.

37. *φοινικῆια*. See p. 3, note.

37 sqq. *κατάξει, ἐκκόψει*[ι], *ποιήσει*. Cf. no. 144, l. 2, 4; 149 α, l. 12. At an early period, and notably in the 4th century, in the most diverse parts of Hellas, the *ι* *προσγεγραμμένον* in the 3rd sing. of Conjunctions began to be omitted, even where *αι* and *ωι* were consistently retained; the *η* alone sufficed to express an *ē*-sound inclining to *i*. And for this -*η*, -*ῆ*, of the Conjunction we frequently find beside *η* the spelling *ει*. See Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 72, where a long array of examples is collected.

### No. 145 (*Halicarnassus*).

This inscription contains a law for the better regulation of the procedure in suits concerning landed property. Mr Newton (*Tr. R. Soc. Lit.* ix. p. 183 sqq.) supposed that the law had reference to the ownership of certain real property which had been held under sequester by the state in consequence, probably, of some political revolution. The name Lygdamis, which occurs in the preamble, is probably that of the tyrant of Halicarnassus, said to have been expelled by Herodotus; the name Panyasis, which also occurs in the text, has been thought to be that of the epic poet and uncle of Herodotus.

It was further argued by Sauppe (*op. cit.*) and Kirchhoff (*Stud.*<sup>3</sup> p. 4 sqq.) that the document represented a compact or convention between the republicans of Halicarnassus and Salmakis (see below, l. 2) on the one part, and Lygdamis on the other, by which the former, having returned from exile, were to recover their lands and houses which had been confiscated and held 'in chancery' in the hands of the yearly board called of *μνήμονες*. Kirchhoff pointed out also that as Halicarnassus appears in the earliest 'Quota-list,' 454 B.C. (CIA i. 226), Lygdamis cannot have been expelled later than 455 B.C.; nor on the other hand can the change have taken place much earlier.

Ruehl however (*Philol.* XLII. p. 54 sqq.), while agreeing that the date must be prior to 454 B.C., contends (1) that there is nothing in the inscription to show that the Panyasis there mentioned was the epic poet, (2) that the formula in the opening lines "*ὁ σῦλλογος κ.τ.λ. καὶ Λύγδαμις*" does not necessarily point to a period after the expulsion of Lygdamis, and that the words by no means imply that the *σῦλλογος* and *Λύγδαμις* are contrasted as contracting parties; if the document was in fact a law and not a treaty or compact, Lygdamis, though tyrant, may have merely had his name formally associated with the *σῦλλογος* in passing the law, for, as Newton (*l. c.* p. 193) remarks, "there is no evidence to show that such dynasts could arbitrarily introduce new laws without observing the usual modes of procedure in such matters." In this view of Ruehl's, that in the inscription before us we have simply a law of the state regulating the possession of landed property, Dittenberger (*Syll.* p. 658 Add.) acquiesces. Kirchhoff

in the fourth edition of the *Studien*, without pledging himself to the absolute accuracy of details, still maintains against Ruehl that the document belongs to the period after the expulsion of Lygdamis from power.

Lastly, Comparetti, led to his conclusions by his restoration of the word *νεωποιεῖν*<sup>1</sup> in l. 7, maintains that we have not here a law enacted by the state as such, but a law (*νόμος*, l. 34) passed at a *σύλλογος* or conference of the Halicarnassians and Salmakites convened for the purpose of regulating certain affairs of the religious administration. His hypothesis is as follows. During the term of office of certain *μνήμονες*, mentioned in l. 10, a *ἄδος* (or perhaps several of the same kind) had been passed for the letting of properties belonging to the temples. For some reason or other this *ἄδος* had produced conflicts of interests and had given rise to numerous counter-claims, but by a subterfuge the tenants of the properties in question had evaded such claims by making over these properties to the *μνήμονες*, a procedure which increased the difficulties of would-be claimants to the properties. These abuses it was the object of the *σύλλογος* to redress: the result was the regulations embodied in this inscription, by which among other conditions the practice of making over the disputed properties to the *μνήμονες* was forbidden.

1. *σύλλογος*. Comparetti lays stress upon the fact that the deliberations are not those of a *δῆμος*, nor of a *βουλή*, but of a simple *σύλλογος*, a term of rather private (but cf. Thucyd. i. 67, ii. 22 &c.; Herodot. vii. 8, 10 &c.) than public significance, in keeping with the circumstances of a state ruled by a *τύραννος*. In the so-called Will of Epikteta (Ca. 148, *Thera*) *σύλλογος* is used of a private council. In an inscription of Cos (*B. C. H.* iv. 1882, p. 255, l. 50) the word denotes the assemblies of tribes, both as such and as participating in a common worship, the sanctuaries of which were situated in the deme of Halasarnae.

2. *Ἀλικαρνατέων*, 6. *᾽Οατάτιος*, 15. *Παννάτιος*. See § 75, p. 177. The vocalism of the first is strangely out of harmony with the otherwise complete Ionism of the inscription (*ΦΕΥΓΕΝ* in l. 37 = *φεύγειν*, not *φεύγεν*).—*Σαλμακιτέων*. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Σαλμακίς πόλις Καρίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σαλμακίτης, καὶ Σαλμακεὺς διὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον*. The old Carian town was it seems united under one government with Halicarnassus, though perhaps we may infer from 5 sqq., 10 sqq., that each town had its eponymous magistrates.

3. *Λύγδαμης*. Son of Pisindelis, grandson of Artemisia. The Lygdamis mentioned in l. 11 is not necessarily any connexion of the tyrant, as the Panyasis of l. 15 is not necessarily the kinsman of Herodotus. (See the remarks made above.)

*ιερῇ ἀγορῇ*. If the epithet *ιερός* was merely otiose, we have a parallel in the phrases *ιερός δῆμος*, *ιερά γερονσία*, *ιερά σύγκλητος*, *ιερά βουλή*, found

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that Comparetti's restoration must take the form NE[Ω|Γ]ΟΙ[ΕΝΤΟ]Σ, not NE[Ω|Γ]ΟΙ[ΕΙΝΤΟΥ]Σ, for which there does not appear to be room on the stone. See further on l. 8 sqq.

in inscriptions of Roman times, especially in Asia Minor. In a Delphian inscription (Wescher et Foucart, *Inscr. rec. à Delph.*, no. 14; *B. C. H.* vi. p. 240), in the phrase *ἐν ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ*, an assembly and not a place is meant by *ἀγορά*; on the other hand it denotes the place of meeting in a Thessalian inscription (*Mith.* vii. 1882, p. 75), *ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν Δημητριάδι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἀγορᾷ*.

4. *Ἑρμαιῶνος*. A month *Ἑρμαίων* is found in a decree of Iulis in Ceos (Rang. 677). A month *Ἑρμαῖος* appears in Boeotia, Argos, Bithynia, Crete and Cyprus. See Dar. and Sagl. s.v. *Calendarium*.

7. *Σα[ρυσσῶ]λλ[ου]*. The word is restored from another inscription of Halicarnassus (Ditt., *Syll.* 6. 42), of a somewhat later date. This name and *Θεκυλάωνεω* have a strangely un-Hellenic sound, but, as Mr Newton remarks, they are not more uncouth than other proper names which occur in inscriptions from Caria, as, e.g., notably in the inscr. just cited.

8 sqq. The interpretation of these lines and the foregoing is difficult from our ignorance of what stood in the gap before *[τοῦ] μ[νή]μονας*. Comparetti's *Θεκυλῶ νεωποιεῖν*, though it gives an intelligible sense to the opening lines, yet, as we shall see, is open to grave objections. *νεωποιεῖν* was suggested by the mention of *νεωποῖαι* in the Halicarnassian inscription alluded to in the last note. The words then would mean 'the *σύλλογος* determined that the *μνήμονες* should undertake the following arrangements as *νεωποῖαι*,' i.e. should *pro hac vice* perform the functions of *νεωποῖαι* or guardians of temple property (cf. the inscr. Ditt., *Syll.* 6). Mr Newton however writes that there is no evidence that the *νεωποῖαι* of the inscription cited had anything to do with the property in question here. They were temple-wardens and as such were the proper official guarantors of property sold by a temple, but there is nothing at all to show that the lands and houses to which our inscription relates were temple property. There is no parallel in inscriptions for the mixing up of functions so distinct as those of *μνήμονες* and *νεωποῖαι*. May we read simply *ποιεῖν*, which Mr Newton in a letter to me (supposing the emendation, though really his own, to be mine) thinks is the most plausible suggestion which has yet been made? The construction then will be: *ὁ σύλλ. ἐβουλεύσατο τοὺς μνήμονας τάδε ποιεῖν μὴ παραδίδοσθαι κ.τ.λ.— μνήμονας*. See the note to no. 9 g, xi. 16 (p. 332).

*μὴ παραδίδο[σθαι] κ.τ.λ.* As ordinarily taken, these words are inconsistent with 29 sqq. It is apparently here forbidden to make over property to the *μνήμονες* during the term of office of Apollonides &c., from which it would be inferred that they were still in office; but in 29 sqq. it is stipulated that the properties should remain in the hands of those who were in possession during the term of office of those *μνήμονες* (Apollonides &c.), *εἰ μὴ ὕστερον ἀπεπέρασαν*; whence it would result that they had already gone out of office. To obviate this inconsistency Comparetti joins *ἐπὶ Ἀπολλωνίδεω* not with *παραδίδοσθαι*, but with *γῆν οἰκία*, 'the land and houses the title of which was dated from the time of Apollonides &c.'; and for the absence of a connecting article before *ἐπὶ*

Ἀπ. he compares in an Orchomenian inscription (Ca. 295. 56), τὰς ἐ[σ]πράξις τὰς λύσας Νικα[ρέτη κατ] τὰς πόλιος Ξεν[ο]κρίτω ἄρχοντος, "ses poursuites en recouvrement contre la ville datant de l'archontat de Xenocritos"; as, elsewhere in the inscription, we find the expressions τὰς ὑπεραμερίας τὰς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ξενοκρίτω.—A possible reason for the παράδοσις practised and henceforward forbidden, has been suggested in the introductory remarks on p. 340. Dareste (*Journ. d. Sav.* l. c.) explains as follows: the sales effected during the year in which Ap., Pan., Meg., Phorm., were eponymous mnemons are annulled; consequently there shall be no making over to the mnemons of the properties sold: and he adds in a note "this making over of the property was legally necessary; the mnemon who dispossessed the seller at the same time invested the buyer with the property." Hence at Iasos the expression *μνήμονες συνεπώλησαν*, Ditt. *Syll.* 77. 45.—For other interpretations of this passage see the authorities cited.

16 sqq. ἦν δέ τις θέλη κ.τ.λ. Any one who wishes to go to law about land or houses must prefer his claim within 18 months from the date of the decree, and in this case the *claimant* administers the oath to the dicasts (Dareste, *Journ. d. Sav.* l. c.); but in the case where the claim is preferred after the 18 months the *actual possessor* administers the oath (24 sqq.). For the sense assigned to ἄδος cf. the expression τὰ Γεφάδῃ ᾧ ὅτα in the Locrian inscription, no. 231, l. 38, and see the introductory note above.

19 sqq. νόμῳ δέ κ.τ.λ. The restoration ὀρκῶσαι was made by Mr Hicks. The ι after ω may be a mere error, or due to the analogy of forms like διασῶσαι. Cf. further the note on πρήξουσιν, λάβουσιν, p. 344. ὅτ[ι] κ.τ.λ. 'Whatever the μνήμονες determine upon (εἰδέωσιν, in the sense of γιγνώσκωσι?), that shall be final.'

In illustration of καρτερός Sauppe cites the Laconian rhetra (Plut. *Lyc.* 6): δάμω δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος, and Tyrtaeus (fr. 4, v. 9): δήμου δὲ πλήθει νίκην καὶ κάρτος ἐπεσθαι. On l. 29 where καρτερός is joined with the genitive, he compares Schol. on Eur. *Med.* 703 καὶ τὸν ἐγκρατῆ λέγουσιν καρτερόν 'Ἀρχίλοχος (fr. 25 Bgk.): ὁ δ' Ἀσίης καρτερός μηλοτρόφου; and in this sense it occurs frequently in the Gortyn code, no. 9 g.

22 sqq. If a claim is preferred after the prescribed period, the oath is to be administered both to the owner in actual possession (τῷ νεμομένῳ) and to the dicasts (jurors?), in presence of the claimant (τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος). The oath of the νεμόμενος would probably be to the effect that he was the rightful owner. (So Comparetti; but see the explanation of Dareste cited above, 8 sqq.) The dicasts receive a fee of a ἡμίεκτον. The ἡμίεκτον or half a ἔκτη was  $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a stater, which is mentioned in l. 38. Mr Newton remarks (*Disc.* p. 683) that we thus learn the fact that at the time when this inscription was written the people of Halicarnassus made use of a gold or electrum coinage. B. V. Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 526) thinks that the electrum-stater of Phanes (see § 75, p. 177) may have been coined

by an ancestor of Phanes of Halicarnassus, though but for the fact that the coin was found at Halicarnassus he would have been inclined to attribute it, with Mr Newton, to the Ionian coast.—In one of the later Halicarnassian inscriptions (Newton, *Disc.* no. 3) the γραφεῖον τῶν ὀρκῶν (office for the registering of oaths?) is mentioned as one of the sources of public revenue.—For the sense given to ἐνεστηκότος in the text Mr Newton quotes Theophr. ap. Stob. *Serm.* XLIV. 22: εἴ τις ἐνίσταται ἢ ἀντιποιεῖται τοῦ κτήματος ἢ τῆς οἰκίας; and Sauppe adds Dem. 18 § 4 τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδὸς ἐστὶ δίκαιος ἔχειν, ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστήσάμενος.

28. καρτερούς. See note on l. 22.

32. ἀπεπέρασαν. 'Sold.' Cf. the use of the simple verb, Hom. *Od.* 15. 428 πέρασαν δέ με δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες. The compound ἀποπιπράσκω is not elsewhere found, but its counterpart ἀποπρίσθαι occurs Aristoph. *Ran.* 1227. It is enacted that all persons should retain their possessions who had held them at the time when Apollonides and Panamyas were in office, unless they had sold them since that date. The qualification expressed in the last clause was perhaps intended as a safeguard against unscrupulous claims of former owners, no unnecessary precaution in those unsettled times.

32 sqq. A clause forbidding the rescinding of the law.

38. αὐτὸν πεπρῆσθαι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ: 'he is himself to be sold for transportation.'

41 sqq. It seems doubtful whether the sense ends with ἐπικαλεῖν. There is however a long space on the stone after this word. Another side of the stone appears to have been inscribed (see the facsimile, IGA 500), but from the few letters preserved no help is obtained. It is possible indeed that the stelè was originally square and that all four sides were engraved. There appear at any rate to be traces on the left side also. If the inscription ends with ἐπικαλεῖν, the meaning is that 'to any citizen of all the Halicarnassians, who does not transgress these enactments, it shall be competent to prosecute (any one who does so transgress?), as the treaties have been sworn to, and as has been inscribed in the temple of Apollo.' Comparetti, however, objecting (1) to the unheard-of sense given to ἐλεύθερον, (2) to κατόπερ as against κατάπερ l. 19, (3) to the plural ἔταμον without a subject, proposes τ[ρόπ]ῳ in l. 42, and in 43, 44 κατ' οὐπερ τὰ ὅρκια ἐτά[χθη]. Instead of becoming a slave or an exile 'he is to be free according to the manner of all the Halicarnassians, whosoever shall not transgress the provisions here made, to wit, for preferring claims against the person against whom these oaths were devised and in the way prescribed in ordinary statute engraved in the temple of Apollo.' But τὰ ὅρκια κατὰ τινος τάρτεται is at least as strange an expression as ἐλεύθερον in the sense given above.

#### No. 149 (*Chios*).

**Dialect.** Besides the ordinary and obvious Ionisms the inscription furnishes other forms which are interesting as belonging possibly to the

local dialect of Chios and not to the Asiatic Ionism of the period generally. Whether, as Dittenberger (*Jen. Litt.-Ztg.* 1877, 569) thinks, the inscription offers any real confirmation of the perplexing statement of Herodotus (I. 142), who distinguishes four local varieties of Ionism in Asia Minor, must remain a matter of doubt. The noticeable forms are these: *Nouns.* *πρήχμα* (b 16, c 5) for *πρήγμα*, *πράγμα*. See Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 207, who explains the *χμ* not as from *γμ* (which in Greek remains intact) but as depending upon the analogy of forms like *βρεχμός*, *ἔχμος*, *λόχμη*, *ἔχμα*.—*οἰκίας* (c 10). Below (d 5) we have *οἰκίην*: Roehl therefore is inclined to think the word a mistake of the engraver for *οἰκίας*. With *γέας* (c 10) the case is different, if Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 126, is right in assuming *γέα* to have come from \**γηα*, \**γᾶα* (cf. \**γγο-* in Attic *γεω-*), hence Attic *γῆ*. The form occurs in an inscription of Halicarnassus (Ditt. *Syll.* 6. 3). Cf. the Ionic *μνέα*=*μνᾶ* (Hdt. II. 180).—*Ἀννικῶ* (c 11), *Πυθῶ* (d 4), *Λυσῶ* (d 17). These are genitives from A-stems, and are remarkable for the elision of the *ε* before *ω* or contraction of *εω*. Erman (*Stud.* v. 294) has collected a list of normal Ionic forms from inscriptional sources of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries (*Ἀπολλωνιδεω*, *εὐεργέτεω* &c.) and notes as the only exceptions those forms in which a vowel (*ι*, *υ*) precedes the stem-vowel ([*Παν*] *αμύω*, *Πακτύω*, *Πακτίω*). If, as Haussoullier (*B. C. H.* III. 237) and Roehl (*l. c.*) assume, the nominatives are respectively *Ἀννικέης*, *Πυθέης*, *Λυσέης*, the elision of the double *ε* is still more strange.—*βασιλεύς* (c 8) for *βασιλεὺς* must be classed with *δοτόν* and similar examples, Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 120, 121. Cf. *ιερεὺς* for *ιερεὺς* in an inscription of Miletus (*Rev. Arch.* 1874, II. p. 106 sq.).—*Numeral forms.* The genitives *δέκων* (d 13), *τεσσαράκοντων* (c 14), *πεντηκόντων* (d 7), *ἐνενηκόντων* (c 24) seem to show that these numeral forms were regarded as declinable neuters. *δυῶν* (d 9, 14) occurs in Hdt. I. 14, 94 &c. and does not seem to be confined to Ionic, as Eustathius says it is (802. 28): it is found in Cretan Doric (no. 9 g, I. 40, *Gortyn*) and in the *Tabl. Heracl.* *ἑξς* (a 5) for *ἑξ* appears to be unique.—*Verbal forms.* The difference in the terminations of *πρήξουσι* (a 16, 20) and *λάβωσι* (b 15) as well as the orthography in *ποιήσει* for *ποίησῃ* may be due to the same fluctuation which we find even in Attic inscriptions as late as the fourth century B.C. (cf. Blass, *Ausspr.* 2 p. 40). The *ι* of the termination *-οισι*, *-ωσι* is thought by Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 112. 4, to have arisen in the same way as the *ι* in Lesbian-Aeolic forms such as *παῖσα* (= *παῖσα*), *ἀκούσαις* (= *ἀκούσας*) and the conjunctives *γράφωσι* (*DI.* 213. 3), *γινώσκωσι* (*DI.* 304 a, 39)—the last two from *-οῖσι*.

*Subject.* The Chians appear to have obtained possession in some way of a district called Dophitis, and the inscription a 1—21 is a remnant of a decree by which the boundaries were fixed and their preservation provided for. Afterwards the people of the district Dophitis decreed that the land should be sold in separate parcels to individual citizens, to whom at the same time the rights enjoyed by the other Chians were to be ensured. Thus a second chapter or section (b 1—25, c 1—9) describes the guarantees to be given to the buyers, and a third section (c 10—25, d 1—19) gives the



list of buyers. These latter sections appear to be by a different hand from the first: the letters are smaller and more accurate. The estates are denoted by the names of former owners (οἱ Ἀννικῶ παῖδες, Θαργελεύς, &c.) and by the names of the districts (ἐν Εὐάδῃσι, ἐν Καμυνῇ, ἐμ μελαίνῃ ἀκτῇ, ἐν Οἴῳ). *Roehl*.

α 1—21. Of this first section we have only the end. We gather from l. 6 that 75 boundary stones in all had been erected; the positions of 12 only are specified in the remaining fragment.

α 3, 5, 6. *τρεις, ἑξς, τρεις*. Sc. *οὔροι* (ὄροι).

5, 6. *τοῦ Δηλίου*. Probably a temple of the Delian Apollo is meant.

8, 9. The whole 75 *οὔροι* enclosed only the one district, Dophitis. This may have been in the northern part of the island, if *Μέλαινα Ἀκτὴ* (c 23) is the *Μέλαινα Ἄκρα* of Strabo (xiv. 645), the modern *Κάβο Μελαντίος*.

9. *ἢν τις κ.τ.λ.* This clause contains the sanction in case any one should 'remove altogether or change the position of or conceal the boundary stones.' The penalty includes disfranchisement as well as a fine, to be exacted by the *οὔροφύλακες*, on pain of being liable for the same fine themselves: the sentence on the latter is to be executed by 'the fifteen' (cf. no. 229, l. 1, no. 232, l. 13), who in their turn if they fail in this duty are to fall under imprecation. The officer who pronounced the imprecation we learn from c 8 to have been *ὁ βασιλεύς*. Another (later) Chian inscription (*B. C. H.* III. 242 sqq.) makes it probable that the magistrates charged with fixing the boundary-stones were named *ὀρίσται* (l. 11, *ἡ [οἰκίῃ]... ἢν οἱ ὀρίσται ὥρισαν Κλυτιδῶν εἶναι*. Cf. *Tabl. Heracl.* I. 8).

20. *ἐν ἐ[τ]αρῇ ἔστων*. So *Roehl*, after *Haussoullier*. On the stone the line ends with *ENEI*, and the next line begins with the second oblique stroke of an A: if the I is part of a mutilated II, the correction is obvious. Cf. *ἐν τῇπαρῇ ἔχεσθαι*, no. 142, 34 (*Τεός*).

β 1—25. This section is incomplete, but the general sense is clear. If any law-suit (*πρήχμα*) should arise, consequent upon the sales, the council is to be informed of it within five days by the 'fifteen'; these are to publish notice, in the city as well as by sending criers into the different villages, of the day chosen for the trial (1—16).

11. *ἀδνέως*. *Hesych.* explains by *ἀδόλως, ἀπλῶς*. L. and S. give *ἀδνηής* (cf. *δῆνεα*) ignorant, inexperienced, *Simon. Iamb.* 6. 53, and the adv. *ἀδνέως* from *Anecd. Bekk.* 341. And perhaps the meaning 'simply, straightforwardly' is better than *Roehl's* explanation of *ἀδνέως* as = *ἄδην*.

12. *γεγωνόντες*. "It is remarkable that an island so important for the earliest history of the Homeric poems as Chios has preserved for us this Homeric word as a popular one from everyday usage." *Curt. in Leipziger Studien* I. p. 388.

16 sqq. They are to publish also the business to be transacted, the matter or suit (*πρήχμα*) to be tried. It seems necessary thus to take *πρήξεσθαι* in a passive sense.

23. *ἀνπρίθευτοι ὄντες*. The more usual form is *ἀνεπίθευτος*. With the meaning 'unbribed' it occurs *Philo* II. 555. Here the words may perhaps

be rendered 'not yielding to undue influence': cf. CIG 2761. 45 (*Iasos*). In a decree of Mylasa, CIG 2693 *d*, we find the expression 'ἀνε[ρ]ίθρευτος καὶ ἀδω[ροδόκητος γεν]όμενος.'

c 1 sqq. The words supplied are Roschl's. The meaning seems to be that a purchaser of the property undergoes no risk in the law-suit, but that the city is to take up his cause if he is molested in his possession, and the city if the verdict is unfavourable is to pay the damages (*ὑπερπαροδῶτω*). For the general provisions for securing the property to the purchasers compare the decrees of Mylasa CIG 2691 *c*, *d*, *e*.

8. βασιλεύς. Here apparently a magistrate charged with religious functions. The title thus perpetuated the remembrance of primitive royalty, of which it is interesting to find traces at Chios (Haussoullier *l. c.*).

10 sqq. This section appears to be complete. It contains the names of the purchasers, together with a list of the properties bought and the price paid. The properties consist of lands and houses; the price is given in staters, as we may infer from the gender of the concluding number *δικησιῶν ἑνός*, *d* 18. "The early coinage of Chios, which may be safely attributed to the sixth century B.C., consists of electrum staters of the Milesian standard (217 grs.), and of silver didrachms of a weight peculiar to Chios..." (B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 513).

11. τῶν Ἀννικῶ κ.τ.λ. "Hikesios, son of Hegopolis, (bought land and house-property) of the sons of Annikeas for 5340 (staters?); Athenagoras, son of Herodotus, for 1700; Philocles, son of Zenodotus, (bought) the property at Euadae belonging to Thargeleus for 2700, &c." The properties enumerated are those of the sons of Annikeas, those of Thargeleus, of Kephis, — —, of Andreus, of Asmis, and of Hikesios, son of Philo. The purchasers are Hikesios, Athenagoras, Philocles, Theopropos, Oenopides, Bias, — —, Leukippos, Theopompos, Stratios. The names of the places mentioned are unknown except perhaps Μέλαινα Ἀκτὴ (see above note on *α* 8).

#### No. 231 (*Ozolian Locris*).

*Subject.* Certain of the Hypocnemidian (Opuntian) Locrians had left or were leaving the mother-country to settle in Naupactus as ἐποικιοί, i.e. as occupiers of an already existing town. This inscription details the conditions under which the ἐποικία was to be carried out. Briefly they were these: the colonists shall not separate politically from the Hypocnemidian Locrians; at Naupactus they shall pay taxes only as citizens of Western Locris; if they return of their own accord to the mother-country they shall pay an entrance-fee for enrolment, the entrance-fee however not being required in the case of one who has left an adult son or a brother in his place at Naupactus. Persons who have remained in the mother-country may inherit the property of kinsmen who have died at Naupactus, and *vice versa*. The inscription supplies a valuable addition to our knowledge of Greek colonial law. Apart from the Attic Cleruch-inscriptions, which concern the settlements of Athenian citizens in the city and lands

of an expelled Greek population (cf. no. 45), the only other known inscription relating to Greek colonisation (in this case an ἀποικία, a colony planted amongst barbarians on a foreign soil) is furnished by two fragments of a decree (444—3 or 443—2 B.C.) for the foundation of a colony at Brea, in Thrace (CIA I. 31; Hicks, 29; Ditt. *Syll.* 12).

*The 'Hypocnemidian' Locrians.* That the 'Hypocnemidians' were the same as the 'Epicnemidians,' and these again identical with the Opuntians, is proved satisfactorily by the following considerations (see Vischer, *l.c.* p. 74 sqq.). Historians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (Hdt., Thuc., Xen.) recognise on the coast opposite Euboea only one branch of Locrians, whom from their principal town they call Opuntian. Xenophon moreover expressly mentions only two branches of Locrians in Greece. Polybius in the second century speaks only of two Locrian stems (ἔθνη) in Greece, without more precise specification. In an inscription of probably about the same time (*Arch. Z.* 1855, p. 33 sqq.) the Locrians opposite Euboea are comprised under the name Eastern Locrians (Ἡοῖοι Λοκροί), forming one κοινόν. At the end of the second century Apollodorus mentions only the Epicnemidians without distinguishing them from the Opuntians; and they had already (if Stephanus is right) been similarly specified by Hellanicus in the fifth century. In the second or first century a Delphian inscription quotes as members of the Delphian Amphictyony, with one vote each, the Western (Ozolian) and the Hypocnemidian Locrians (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 18 sqq., Amphictyonic inscr. l. 55. Λοκρῶν Ὑποκνημιδίων ψῆφος· τάλαντα συμμαχικά τέσσαρα μῶας πέντε· Λοκρῶν Ἐσπερίων ψῆφος· τάλαντα συμμαχικά τρία μῶας τριάκοντα πέντε). In the first century A.D. Pausanias names as members of the Amphictyony the Ozolians and those opposite Euboea (οἱ πέραν Εὐβοίας: comp. Hom. *Il.* II. 535 Λοκρῶν, οἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης), and the latter in two places (x. 8. 2; 20. 5) he speaks of as ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κνήμιδι, and in two others (x. 1. 2; 13. 4) as Ὑποκνημιδιοὶ (so the best Mss.; al. Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ).

These notices sufficiently prove that the Locrians opposite Euboea from the fifth century B.C. to the second A.D. were treated as one nationality (ἔθνος), but with different names—πρὸς Εὐβοίαν, πρὸς Εὐβοίαν ἐστραμμένοι, πέραν Εὐβοίας—Ἡοῖοι—Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ, Ἐπικνημιδιοὶ, Ὑποκνημιδιοὶ, Ὑποκνημιδιοὶ—Ὀπόντιοι, Ὀπούντιοι. This view is confirmed by the present inscription, in so far as it treats the Hypocnemidian and the Opuntian Locrians as identical, though with a slight distinction of usage. The term 'Opuntians' is used when the relations of the colony to the metropolis are in question; elsewhere the individual colonists are spoken of as Hypocnemidians, the individual towns as towns of the Hypocnemidian Locrians. In fact the first name is more of political, the second of local or popular significance. At the time of the enactment it would seem that the Opuntii and Hypocnemidii (=Epicn.) formed one aggregate, composed of a number of separate cities, which regarded Opus as their μητρόπολις<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> To the results stated above it should be mentioned that a passage of Strabo ix. 424, 425 stands in apparent, and a notice in the *Etym. Magn.* (p. 360,

**Dialect.** The peculiarities of the older Locrian dialect as exhibited in this inscription and no. 232 may be summarised as follows (cf. H. W. Smyth, *Am. J. Phil.* Vol. VII. (1886), No. 4):

1. The manifest fondness for  $\alpha$  for  $\epsilon$  before  $\rho$ , which we notice as being a chief peculiarity of the Olympian (Elean) inscriptions; e.g. ἀμάρρα, ῥεσπάριος, πατάρρα. 2. Contractions:  $\alpha + \epsilon = \eta$ ;  $\alpha + \omicron = \bar{\alpha}$ ;  $\alpha + \omega = \bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\omega$ ;  $\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon\iota$ ;  $\omicron + \omicron = \omega$ ;  $\omicron + \epsilon = \omega$ ;  $\epsilon + \omicron$ ,  $\epsilon + \eta$  do not suffer contraction, and  $\epsilon + \alpha$  in neut. pl. - $\epsilon\varsigma$  stems (nom. - $\omicron\varsigma$ ) is uncontracted. 3. The frequency of the use of  $\varphi$  and  $\psi$  (ῥότι, ῥέκαστος). 4.  $\sigma\tau$  for  $\sigma\theta$ , found also in Thessaly, Boeotia, Elis, &c.; e.g. ἀρέσται, ἐλέστω, χρῆσται. 5. The position of the dialect between the ψιλωταί and the δασυντικοί; e.g. ὁ, ᾶ, οἰ, ὕδωρ; ἄγειν. 6.  $\omicron$  decl. has gen. sing. in - $\omega$ , accus. pl. in - $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (traces of this in Delphic are very problematical). 7.  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon$ , not  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ , from compensatory lengthening. 8. The flexion of the - $\epsilon\omega$  verbs as - $\mu\iota$  verbs in ἐγκαλείμενος. 9.  $\xi$  in the fut. and aorist of - $\zeta\omega$  verbs. 10. Prepositions: ἐν for εἰς; πό, ποί; πέρ; ἐ = ἐκ. 11. Dat. pl. consonantal decl. in - $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ; e.g. μειόνους, Χαλειέους.

*Division into paragraphs.* To mark the beginning of nine paragraphs in the inscription the first nine letters A to  $\Theta$  are used, the  $\varphi$  being reckoned as the sixth. These index letters are made to lie sideways, pointing in some cases to the right, in others to the left: each letter inclosed between marks of punctuation consisting of three dots. Zeta is left upright to avoid confusion with H, while for H a peculiar sign | $\equiv$  is used.

1. ἐν Ναύπακτον κ.τ.λ. 'The colony to Naupactus according to the following (law).' These opening words, without verb, serve as a title to what follows: cf. e.g. the introductory title in the Elean inscriptions, nos. 291, 292, 294, 297, 298, 300. The harsh ellipse of τὸν νόμον after κα(τ) τόνδε and the absence of date might seem to show that the beginning of the document is wanting (cf. the remarks on the relation of Side A to Side B in no. 232); but the abbreviated formula may well have been due to local usage. If we may not accept this explanation we must suppose the first part of the law to have been contained on a bronze attached on the left (cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup>, note).—For the use of the single  $\tau$  in κα(τ) τόνδε, cf. l. 32 πὸ(τ) τοὺς and no. 232, 15 κα(τ) τὰς; similarly we have a single  $\sigma$  in 232, 2, 4 αἱ τι(ς) συλῶ, ἀδίκω(ς) συλῶ. Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* § 21, shows with regard to Attic that in inscriptions older than about 550 B.C. there is no trace of gemination of consonants in the middle of words, and that even in words ending with a consonant assimilated to the following consonant a single letter may suffice; e.g. no. 45, 2, 4 ἐ(ς) Σαλαμῖνι, ἐὰ(μ) μῇ, no. 45 α θανόντου(μ) μνημα.—ἀ' πύουκία. This is better treated as a case of prodelision than of crasis, which would require  $\alpha + \epsilon = \eta$  (cf. l. 4, 9, 23). For the *spiritus asper* in ᾶ beside the

32) in actual contradiction. Vischer shows that the first is reconcilable with his views and holds the authority of the second to be insufficient to outweigh all the rest. The evidence of coins is not adverse to the conclusions arrived at.

α of l. 25, see the note on the dialect (*above*); cf. 'Οποντίων l. 39, elsewhere 'Οπ.

Δοῖρὸν τὸν Ὑποκν. 'A Hypocnemidian Locrian, after he has become a Naupactian, may, as being a Naupactian, wheresoever (in Locrian territory) he be, share in and perform sacrificial rites, having obtained (such privilege), if he wishes; (that is to say) if he wishes to perform the sacrificial rites and have his share in them, whether of (κῆ=καὶ εἰ) the people or of brotherhoods, himself and his family for ever.' In this rendering the conjecture of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Ztschr. f. Gymn.* xxxi. p. 367), ὅπω κ' ἦ, for the ΗΟΠΟ of the bronze, is doubtfully adopted. Roehl accepts the conjecture but adds the word Δοῖρῶν; cf. l. 18. The ὅπω(ς) ξένον of others ('as if he were no more than a ξένος at Naupactus'), though a less violent alteration, still rests upon the assumption of an omission. Roehl (following Wilamowitz-Moellendorf) rejects the second αἰ κα δειλῆται as a mere unintended dittography. But it is impossible to believe that all such dittographies (for there are several) in the inscription were mistakes of the engraver.—δειλῆται. See Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* §§ 68, 241, who observes that this form (*Tabl. Her.* i. 146 δῆλομαι; cf. Boeotian βελόμενος *DI.* 430. 6; Thessalian βέλλειται *DI.* 345. 20, βελλόμενον *DI.* 1332. 15) as connected with βούλομαι is fatal to the identification of the latter with the group, Sk. *vr̥ḥmi*, Goth. *viljan*, Ch. Sl. *volite*, for there is no instance of β (=explosive b) as representative of Indo-Eur. *v*.—φοινάων. The reference (says Mr Hicks) is to the *sacra* of the gens or of the tribe. The form *κοινάνας* is found in Pindar and in a Tegeatan inscription (*Ca.* 457).—καταφεῖ. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 106: cf. no. 228 above (*Crissa*).

4. τέλος κ.τ.λ. The colonists are not to pay taxes to the mother-country unless they return to it and become again Hypocnemidians. For φρίν=πρίν see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 207, who rejects the old explanation that the aspirate in such cases is due to the influence of a neighbouring liquid or nasal, and maintains that from the earliest times in every position and in the most different dialects, especially in Attic, the unaspirated tenues were pronounced with so strong an aspiration that they completely coincided with the corresponding aspirates.

6. αἰ δειλετ' ἀνχωρεῖν. This is the only instance in the inscription of the elision of *αι*. There is no need to alter to αἶ [κα] δειλητ'. 'If a colonist wishes to return, provided he leaves behind in his home an adult son or a brother, he may do so, without re-admission tax.'—ιστία. See Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 59; Allen, *Stud.* iii. p. 245 sq.; Spitzer, *Ark. Laur.* 16, who somewhat fancifully explains the ι (beside ε in ἥε-) as a *svarabhakti*-vowel or *shwa*, which has taken an *i*-colouring. The ι for ε in this word is Homeric, Ionic (Hdt.), Boeotian, Heracleean, Arcadian.—ἐνετηρίων. The root form is probably the same as in ἀφ-ε-τος, ἐν-ε-τός, ἐν-ε-μα &c.

9. ἀνχωρεῖν ὅπω κ.τ.λ.: 'to return to the town of E. Locris whence he came.' In the case of expulsion by hostile force, the condition requiring the home at Naupactus to be maintained is naturally omitted. ὅπω=ὁπόθεν both here and l. 18, and ὦ=ὅθεν in l. 21. The Dorians generally

circumflexed these adverbs *ὁπῶ, τουτῶ αὐτῶ, τηῶ* (Ahr. Dor. 374), but whether the Locrians did so is uncertain.

10. *τέλος μὴ φάρειν κ.τ.λ.* For *μετὰ* the bronze has the obvious mistake NETA. The colonists are to pay only the same taxes as Western Locrians at Naupactus, *i.e.* they are to be full citizens and not subject to any *μετοίκιον* or the like.

11. *ἔνοργον κ.τ.λ.* ΑΠΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ is a necessary correction for ΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ. In l. 33 we have the uncontracted form Ὀπόεντι. Here we must transcribe ἀ[π']ὸποντίων, not Ὀπουντίων, for O on this inscription does not stand for ου, and Ὀπωντίων is improbable from the fact that coin-legends in the Ionic alphabet (ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ, B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 285) have O at a time when O could not stand for ω.—τέκνα must be an engraver's error, for we have τέχνα B, l. 13 (Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 207).—On the bronze there is a mark of punctuation before ἐγόντας, but as in l. 1 it even comes between the article and its noun we may safely ignore it here and punctuate *after* ἐγόντας. The meaning then will be 'the colonists to Naupactus are to be bound on oath not to withdraw from alliance with the E. Locrians on any pretence, at least of their own accord.' For the phraseology compare Hes. *Theog.* 231 ὄρκον ὃς δὴ πλείστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους πημαίνει ὅτε κέν τις ἐκὼν ἐπίορκον ὁμόςσῃ, and CIG 2555, l. 21 (Ca. 116, Crete), οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπιτράψω ἐκὼν καὶ γινώσκων παρευρέσει οὐδεμίᾳ οὐδὲ τρόπῳ οὐδενί. The construction ἔνορκόν ἐστί τινι recurs Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 18 τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν.

12. τὸν ὄργον ἐξεῖμεν κ.τ.λ. 'It shall be lawful, if the parties desire it, thirty years (*i.e.* a generation) after the date of this oath, for one hundred Naupactians to tender the oath afresh to the Opuntians; and similarly the Opuntians to the Naupactians.' Probably in spite of the brachylogy it is meant that there should be also one hundred Opuntians. Another example of the periodical renewal of oaths after treaties is found in Thuc. v. 18. 23, where it is stipulated that Athens and Sparta interchange oaths annually. This special usage of ἐπάγειν τινί is well illustrated from Pausanias iv. 14. 4 πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγουσιν ὄρκον· μήτε ἀποστήναί ποτε κ.τ.λ.; and in the middle in Harpocration: ἐπακτὸς ὄρκος, ὃν αὐτὸς τις αὐτῷ ἐπάγεται τουντέστιν αἰρεῖται.

14. ὀσστις κα κ.τ.λ. The spelling of ὀσστις with the double σ is persistent throughout the inscription. Comp. Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 39, who has collected from Attic inscriptions of the most varied periods examples of sporadic doubling of σ before κ, χ, τ, θ.—The meaning of λιποτελέη, though it is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, is quite clear; the word is formed like λιποτακτεῖν, λιποστρατεῖν, &c. 'Any colonist who shall return in debt from Naupactus shall not become an E. Locrian until he shall have paid the dues to the Naupactians.'—ἀπὸ Λογρῶν 'separated from the Locrians (Hypocnemidians).' Roehl coins a compound adjective Ἀπόλοκρος for which his parallel of ἀπόμαχος is hardly sufficient justification.—ἔντε for ἔστε is in accordance with the North Doric usage of ἐν for ἐς, εἰς. On ἀποτείσθ see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 115, and cf. Arcad. ἔστεισιν (=ἐκτίσιν),

ἀπυτεισάτω Ca. 457. The vocalism *ει* in this root is also Old Attic. The same phrase *ἔντε κα ἀπορείση* occurs in the Delphian Amphictyonic inscription Ca. 204=CIG 1688, l. 40.—The adjective *νόμιος* is new in the sense in which it is here used, unless we count the gloss of Hesychius and Suidas *νόμιον· δίκαιον*. And in this sense also Cicero understood the word as an epithet of Apollo, *De N. D.* iii. 23, “quem (Apollinem) Arcades *νόμιον* appellant quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse.” Allen (*Stud.* 275) even suggests that the connexion of this epithet of the deity with *νομός*, *νομέús* dates from much later times.

16. *αἷ κα μὴ κ.τ.λ.* The *ῆ* following *ἐπιφοίκων* is obviously a ditto-graphy. Mr Hicks thus paraphrases: ‘If a colonist dies, and leaves no issue to succeed him, then his next of kin in his native town of E. Locris may go in person and claim the estate, within three months of his death: otherwise the property must fall under the usual Naupactian laws for such cases.’—*ἐχέπαμον*. Comp. *ἐπιπάμων*=*ἐπίκληρος* and the fem. *ἐπιπαματίς*, Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 281, *ἐπαμώχη* *Tabl. Her.* (Ca. 40) i. l. 14. See Vanicek, *Wörterb.* p. 445. In Hom. *Il.* iv. 443 Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 65, would read *πολυπάμμονος*, which has the support of the majority of Mss. for *πολυπάμ-μονος*.—*χρήσται*. On this and similar forms occurring in this inscription and no. 232, see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 269, who collects examples of *στ* for *σθ* in infinitives and imperatives from Boeotian, Phocian, Delphian, Megarian, Messenian, Elean, and even Attic (*καθαρίζεσθω* CIA iii. 74, 3; cf. *Ἀλκιστένου*, *Ἀθην.* 5. 457). The subject of *χρήσται* is quite general.

19. *ἀνχωρέοντα*. ‘One who would return’ is to notify the fact in the *ἀγορά* both at Naupactus and in his native town of E. Locris. The object of this provision is perhaps to allow an opportunity for objections of any kind to be made to the return. *τοῖς* in l. 21 is a necessary restoration of the engraver’s TOI.

22. *Περφοθαρίαν καὶ Μυσαχέων*. This paragraph is the most obscure of the whole statute. Probably for *Ναυπακτίς*, obviously an error, we should accept Vischer’s restoration *Ναυπάκτι[ός τε]ς*; and in l. 23 *νομίοις* must be supplied in sense, if not in the text, after *τοῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ*.

It seems that we must understand the two peculiar names which head the paragraph to refer to two gentes or perhaps priestly families of E. Locris. Vischer is inclined to connect the first with *καθαρός*, in its Doric form *κοθαρός* (*Tab. Her.*=Ca. 40, i. 55 and 81). In *Περ-* we may recognise the preposition *περί*, as in compounds like *περικαθαίρω*, *περικάθαρμα*, &c. *Μυσαχέων* may be for *Μυσακέων* (*μύσος ἀκείσθαι*), just as the Dorians, acc. to Etym. Orion 5, 1 (cf. also Etym. Gad. 91, 56), changed *ἀτρεκές* into *ἀτρεχές*. Thus in *Περφοθαρίαι* and *Μυσαχείς* we may have the names of two priestly families, the ‘Purifiers’ and the ‘Healers of blood-guiltiness.’ It is evident, says Mr Hicks, that these two gentes or tribes stood in some respects on a different footing from the other E. Locrians, but whether the difference lay in special privileges or in certain disqualifications, does not appear. Whatever their peculiar position was, it was not to follow them to Naupactus: it had to do with the possession and inheritance of pro-

perty. We may translate: 'When any one of the *Περφόθαρται* and *Μυσαχεῖς* shall have become a Naupactian himself, his property too at Naupactus shall be subject to the (laws) at Naupactus, and his property in Hypocnemidian Locris shall be subject to Hypocnemidian laws, according to the usage of the several Hypocnemidian towns (lit. the town of the Hypocnemidians severally). But if any one of the P. and M. should withdraw from the operation of the colonists' laws, such persons shall severally be subject to the laws of any town in question (lit. to their laws according to the town).' If we punctuate after *αὐτός* there will be no need to adopt Roehl's explanation "*αὐτός ex solocismo pro αὐτόν*."

29. *αἱ κ' ἀδελφοὶ κ.τ.λ.* This paragraph must be taken as one sentence, with two protases, the first subordinate to the second; *κρατεῖν* at the end may be an unintended dittography, but it is not certain. The sense is, 'If one who has gone to live at Naupactus has brothers, and if one of these brothers die, the colonist at Naupactus, according to the law of the several Hypocnemidian communities, shall take possession of the property, that is, shall take his share of it.' The words *τὸ κατιζόμενον κρατεῖν* limit the more general statement of the preceding *κρατεῖν*; hence perhaps the genitive after the first and the accusative after the second. With the phrase *τὸ κατιζόμενον* we may perhaps compare *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος* Dem. Cor. 312, or more simply *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον* Hdt. iv. 115.—It will be observed that no provision is expressly made for the case where the deceased brother has issue.

32—34. *τοὺς ἐπιφίλους κ.τ.λ.* Neither the text nor the matter is without difficulty. *φέτος* in l. 33 is a correction for *φEOΣ*. The concluding words appear as *ΚΑΠΙΑΤΕΣ ΕΝΤΙΜΟΙΕΣ*. In these the word *ἐντιμοί* is clear. Bursian proposed *ἐντίμοιε(ν)*, i.e. *ἐντιμῶεν*, assuming a verb *ἐντιμᾶν* in a neuter sense=*ἐν τιμαῖς εἶναι*. Apart from the improbability of the existence of such a word, a subjunctive is here wanted, not an optative; hence *ἐντιμοί* [εἴ][ε[ν]] is open to the same objection. As giving a better sense, though by no means certain, we may adopt the *ἐντιμοί* [ἔ][ωντι] of Oikonomides. The word preceding may be *κάπι[ε]τες*, if we suppose an *E* to have been lost after the clumsy form of the *f* on the bronze which had almost been turned into an *A*.

The following is the sense of the whole: 'The colonists to Naupactus are to bring their case before the court with right of first hearing, that is to say, they are to bring their case and submit to trial in Opus within a year from the day of the offence (?). Such colonists of the E. Locrians as are magistrates for the year are to appoint *προστάται*, one of the E. Locrians for the colonist (who may be staying in Locris), and one of the colonists for the E. Locrian (who may be staying at Naupactus).' We can only hint at rather than clear up the difficulties. (1) Whether *ἀρέσται* = *ἐλέσθαι*, or in spite of the *spiritus asper* must be referred to *ἀρεσθαι*, is uncertain. In any case *ἀρέσται* and *δόμεν* seem to be the equivalent in meaning of the more usual *λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι* (cf. Hdt. v. 8. 3 *δίκας ... ἐδίδουσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον*). (2) *προδικία* is a privilege frequently



conferred along with *proxenia*, cf. Ca. 209, 210 (*Delphi*). Another meaning of *πρόδικος δίκη* has also been noted—‘a suit by arbitration,’ *Ar. Fragm.* 260 *ἐθέλω δίκην δοῦναι πρόδικον*. (3) *κατὰ Φέ[τ]ρος αὐταμαρόν*. This may mean that a time was to be appointed annually for the hearing of such cases at Opus (and Naupactus?), and on the same day in each year. Bréal (*Rev. Arch.* l.c.) explains ‘the trial shall take place within a year, day for day,’ and he compares the German phrase *auf Jahr und Tag*. Riedenauer again (*Hermes*, l.c.) objects altogether to *Φέ[τ]ρος* and proposes *κατὰ [ψ](φ)ΕΟΣ*, *i.e.* *κατὰ χρέος*, ‘the trial may take place if need be at once on the self-same day of the plaint.’ For the expression he appeals to *Hom. Od.* i. 479, *Hymn. Merc.* 138, and especially with regard to the meaning, *Od.* i. 409, ii. 45. Roehl prefers no alteration and explains *κατὰ Φέος* ‘adversus se.’ Lastly, I am indebted to Mr C. A. M. Pond, of St John’s College, for the suggestion that *κατὰ Φέος* = *κα(τ)ὰ τὰ Φέος*, ‘the colonist is to take his trial with reference to his own concerns (his plaint).’ On the possibility of such a form as *Φέος* cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 419, who quotes for the genitive of the 1st person *ἐμέος* and of the 2nd person *τέος*.

35. *ὅστις κ' ἀπολίπη κ.τ.λ.* ‘A colonist to Naupactus, who shall have left behind him (*i.e.* in E. Locris) a father and shall have left his share of the patrimony with the father (?), shall on the decease of the father be entitled to receive such share.’ But the syntax of the words *τῷ μέρους τῶν χρημάτων τῷ πατρί* is by no means clear.—For the meaning of *ἀπογένηται* see the *Lexx.*; and for *ἀπολαχεῖν* cf. *Hdt.* iv. 114 *ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος*, 115 *ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον*.

38—end. The concluding lines contain the sanction. With the exception of the last clause the sense is fairly clear. Changes are to be made only with the consent of both parties, that is to say, in the case of the Opuntians the majority of ‘the thousand,’ and in the case of the Naupactians the majority of the colonists. The penalty for violation of the statute is disfranchisement and confiscation. The magistrate is to grant a hearing to a complainant within thirty days, if his term of office lasts so long; else he himself is liable to the penalties above mentioned.

38. *Φεφαδηγόντα*. Perfect from *ἀνδάνω*; ‘resolutions,’ ‘statutes,’ ‘*placita*’; cf. the use of *ἄδος*, no. 145. 19 (*Halicarnassus*).

39. *ὅτι κα:* ‘as to any point which—.’ — *Ναῦπακτίων*. Cf. note on no. 90. 101.—*πλήθη*. *Oikonomides* compares *βλάβος*, *βλάβη*, *πάθος*, *πάθη*, *ἄκος*, *ἄκη*, *δίψος*, *δίψα*. In no. 232. 18 we have *πληθύν*. The mention of ‘the thousand’ in Opus seems to point to an aristocratic form of government or an aristocratic committee, and this accords with the statement of Polybius xii. 5, that at Opus the administration was in the hands of a hundred families, which derived their nobility from the mother’s side. Cf. *Thuc.* i. 108, where the Athenians take away as hostages *ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους*. Similar aristocratic assemblies of a thousand citizens we find with the Epizephyrian Locri (*Polyb.* xii. 6), in Colophon (*Athen.* xii. 526 c), Acragas (*Diog. L.* viii. 66), Rhegion (*Heracl. Pont.* 25), the Aeolic Cyme (*ib.* 11). *Comp. Busolt, Gr. Alt.* p. 63.—*παματοφαγεῖσθαι* (*on*

στ for σθ see above, l. 16)=δημοσιεύεσθαι. Compare the βασιλῆες δωροφάγοι of Hesiod (*Op.* 219, 262).

41. τῶνκαλειμένων. The person who charges another with a breach of the statutes is to have an immediate hearing. For δίκην δοῦναι in the sense 'to grant a hearing' there seems to be no parallel, but the words can hardly bear any other meaning. For the middle use of ἐγκαλεῖσθαι cf. *Ar. Eth.* IV. 1. 21 ἐγκαλεῖται τῇ τύχῃ, *Eur. Melan.* 13 (Dind.) οὐ χρή 'γκαλεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔαν. On the form ἐγκαλείμενος cf. the remarks on p. 360 (*Elean dialect*).

44. τὸ μέρος. It seems best to join these words with the preceding: 'the property is to be confiscated according to the due proportion.' Roehl joins μετὰ σοικιατῶν also to the preceding words ('proportionally, with his household'?).—σοικίας=οικέτης. Cf. Hesych. οικέτης· ὠνητὸς δοῦλος.—διομόσαι is used with reference to the oaths preceding the action, διωμοσία; Attic usage requires the middle voice.—ψάφιξις. The voting is by ballot. For the ξξ, unless it is an engraver's error, cf. no. 205 (*Lebadea*).

46. καὶ τὸ θέμιον κ.τ.λ. This reading is more probable than κα[τ] τὸ; cf. l. 1 κα(τ) τόνδε. 'And this decree of the Hypocnemidian Locrians shall hold good in the same way (as for the Naupactians) for the inhabitants associated with Antiphates.' But what is the meaning of this abrupt addition? In any case the provisions of the statute could have only a limited application to any other body of colonists or inhabitants. Perhaps the word φοιγηταῖς is used designedly as distinct from ἐπιφοίτοις, and we may understand the sentence to refer to a detachment brought by Antiphates from Chaleion and enrolled along with the F. Locrian colonists, though without any separate statute of colonisation.—On θέμιον see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 300. The same root-form appears in Laconian, no. 257, A 8, B 12, θεμόν; in Epidaurus, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 3 (1885), Sp. 65/66, l. 12, θεμόν; in Elean, no. 295. 3, θεθμον (θέθμιον?); the ordinary Doric form being τεθμός.

#### No. 232 (*Ozolian Locris*).

The inscriptions on the two sides of this bronze contain part of a treaty between the towns of *Oeanthea* and *Chaleion*. Kirchhoff (*l. c.*) infers that the complete document was written on both sides of four similar plates as in the accompanying diagram, and that the portions before us occupied the positions denoted respectively by O<sub>2</sub> and R<sub>2</sub>.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
O <sub>1</sub>	O <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>1</sub>
O <sub>2</sub>	O <sub>4</sub>	R <sub>4</sub>	R <sub>2</sub>

Rangabé however and Roehl think that what we have here are rather of the nature of appendices to some former convention between the two towns.

The object of the provisions laid down in the surviving portions is to prevent either state from injuring foreign merchants who visited the other's port. The citizens of both states may commit piracy anywhere except within their own or their ally's harbours. The barbarous character of the enactments about piracy is a confirmation of what we know from other evidence, that the Western Hellenic states outside the Peloponnese did not participate in the general advance in civilisation which took place in the rest of Greece after the Persian war. Thus, *e.g.*, the inhabitants of the coasts of the Corinthian Gulf during this period still practised piracy as a profession. The Aetolians had among the ancients an unenviable celebrity for their acts of depredation, and Thucydides (i. 5) attributes to the Ozolian Locrians the same kind of life as to the Aetolians. This convention then secured to the citizens of the two towns protection and immunities which were not accorded to citizens of other towns. We have here in fact an example of the kind of treaties called by the Greeks *συμβολαί* or *σύμβολα*, and the suits tried under the provisions of these treaties were called *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*. Citizens of states between which there existed no such *σύμβολα* were often not in a position to obtain their rights. Hence a creditor or a person who believed himself to be injured would by an act of self-help (*συλᾶν*, see below) possess himself of the person or property of another, if the latter could be found in the territory of the creditor or anywhere else where he might be seized. The courts of the state in question then decided whether the step was justifiable. In treaties which instituted *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* this privateering practice was forbidden. Cf. besides the present document a Cretan inscription, *B. C. H.* ix. 11: *μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ συλᾶν [μήτε] τὸν Δυτίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Μαλλαίων μήτε τ[ὸν Μαλ]λαίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Δυτίων.* (Busolt, *Gr. Alt.* p. 54.)

On the question of the date see § 95; and for the general characteristics of dialect see the introductory note to no. 231, p. 348.

## A.

1. τὸν ξένον κ.τ.λ. 'No Oeanthean is to seize the person of a stranger from the Chaleian territory nor is any Chaleian (to seize one) from the Oeanthean territory, nor his property, in the exercise of the right of *σύλαι*, but it shall be allowed with impunity to take security by force from a stranger who exercises the right himself.' On *συλᾶν* see the introductory remarks above, and compare the expression *σύλην διδόναι κατὰ τινος* (Dem. *adv. Lacr.* p. 931). Only a privilege, the *ἀσυλία* so frequently granted as an honour, afforded protection from such a practice. By τὸν ξένον is meant a member of another community than Chaleion and Oeanthea. The compact before us makes Chaleion and Oeanthea neutral territory so far as concerned this right of *σύλαι* against ξένοι. 'Ἀσυλία was guaranteed to ξένοι. That is, any Chaleian or Oeanthean who had the right of *σύλαι* against any state (*αἷ τις συλῶ*) could not exercise it against a stranger (belonging to such state) so long as the stranger was sojourning

in Chaleion or Oeanthea. The *ἀσυλία* however is to some extent qualified; see the next clauses.—*συλῶ*=*συλάω*. So below, l. 4. For the single *σ* in *αἱ τι(ς) συλῶ, ἀνάτω(ς) συλῆν*, cf. l. 4, and note on 231. 1.

3. *τὰ ξενικά κ.τ.λ.* 'One may without fear of reprisal (*ἄσυλον*) seize a stranger's goods from the open sea, but not from the harbour over against the city.' The harbour like the land is thus considered to be neutral territory. The same stranger who might be plundered or seized by a Chaleian or Oeanthean outside their respective harbours is safe within them.

4. *αἱ κἀδίκως συλῶ κ.τ.λ.* I adopt the reading *κἀδίκως*=*καὶ ἀδίκως* for the *κ' ἀδίκως* of previous editors on the suggestion of Mr R. S. Conway, of Gonville and Caius College. The *αἱ κα* could hardly stand with the optative *συλῶ*. 'If further one make such seizure illegally, the fine is four drachmae.' The mention of a fine presupposes the existence of a prize-court in both towns, to which the stranger could appeal and force his captor or plunderer to make good his plaint. If the latter failed to do so, the court would naturally decide that the property seized must be restored, and would impose a fine. The fine named would appear ridiculously small but for the next paragraph. [*ἀδικοσυλῶ* Oikonomides: *ἀδίκω συλῶ* Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 123), but adverbs answering the question *πῶς* end in *-ως* (*ἔπως* no. 231. 26, 29)].

5. *αἱ δὲ πλέον κ.τ.λ.* If the plunder, security or prize is not restored within ten days, the seizer is liable to make reparation to one and a half times the value of such prize; i.e., the actual fine might amount to half the value of the prize seized.—The present is the only example of *σῶλον* in the singular.—On *ῥῶ* see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 438, who now (ed. 2) separates *ὄς*, *ᾶ* (*ῆ*), *ὄ* (=Sk. *yās*, *yā*, *yād*) from *ὄτις*, with its neuter *ὄτι*, the first part of which he refers to the reflexive stem *σvo-*.

6. *αἱ μεταφοικέοι κ.τ.λ.* Inhabitants of Chaleion or Oeanthea who sojourn longer than a month in Oeanthea or Chaleion respectively, who become in fact *μέτοικοι*, are subject to local jurisdiction, not to the courts for *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*.

8. *τὸν πρόξενον κ.τ.λ.* The syntax is loose. 'As to the *proxenos*, if he perform his duties unfaithfully, let his fine be doubled.' Ordinarily there would be no security that a *proxenos* would honestly look after the interests of his protégés. This provision gives the stranger a legal right to his protection and good faith. The reading in the text is adopted from a large number of suggestions.—*διπλεῖ* from *διπλός* (Meister, *Stud.* iv. 389) must be classed with adverbs like *οἶκει*, *πανδημεῖ* &c.; see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 352. *θωή* is Homeric (*Il.* xiii. 669, *Od.* ii. 192); and for *θωῖά* or *θωά* of the text (in the crasis *θωῆστω*=*θωά ἔστω*; cf. note on 231. 1) we may compare *θωῖον* Archil. 78. Bechtel in fact, after Oikonomides, *DI.* 1479, reads *θωῖ(α)* as a neuter plural. For *διπλεῖ οἱ* Bechtel *DI.* 1479 appeals to *ἐν τῇ ἰστιά* no. 231. 7, 16. *διπλεῖ οἱ*, *τῇ ἰστιά* each being under one principal accent count each as one word; hence the disappearance of a medial *ς* as in *Ὅποιεντι, παῖς* &c. [*διπλεῖ οἱ* *θωῆστω* Ross; *διπλῆ (ς)οι* *θωῖ ἔστω* Kirchh.; *διπλεῖ (ι)ῶ* *θωῖ ἔστω* Ahrens, *K. Z.* viii. 345.]

## B.

10. αἱ κ' ἀνδιχάζωντι κ.τ.λ. 'If the ξενодίκαι are evenly divided in their votes the ξένος who is plaintiff (ὁ ἐπάγων τὴν δίκην) may in the case of suits for the value of a mina and upwards choose as assessors fifteen men, in suits for sums of less amount, nine men, other than the *proxeños*, and the *ιδιόξενος*, from the foremost citizens.' ξενодίκαι are judges of cases in which strangers are concerned: their functions seem to correspond to those of the tribunal presided over by the Polemarch at Athens. The word ξενодίκης is once used by J. Laurentius (Π. ἀρχ. τ. Ῥωμ. πολ. i. 38, p. 68) to explain the Latin *praetor peregrinus*.—The ξένος here mentioned is plainly not a Chaleian suing an Oeanthean at Oeanthea or *vice versa* (else we should have had ὁ Χαλειεύς or ὁ Οἰανθεύς), but one not belonging to either of these towns.—The ἐπωμόται are assessors or additional sworn members of the tribunal, chosen by the plaintiff. The ἐπὶ may denote that they had to swear an oath in addition to or different from that of the other jurors; or it may have the same force as the Latin preposition in *suffectus*, *subsortitio* &c.—An ἴδιος ξένος or ιδιόξενος (it matters little for the sense which reading is adopted) must mean an unofficial supporter among the citizens as opposed to the πρόξενος. The compound occurs in Dion. H. i. 84, Diod. xiii. 5, Luc. *Phal.* 2 &c.; the phrase ἴδιος ξένος in Dion. H. vii. 2.—For the sense of ἀνδιχάζωντι cf. Hdt. vi. 109 δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι; Ar. *Pol.* vi. 3. 6 εἰν δίχα ἡ ἐκκλησία γένηται; Hes. *Op.* 3 διὰ δ' ἀνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσι.—ἐπάγων. Cf. ὦξ = ὁ ἐξ, ὠλαφος (Theocr. i. 137) = ὁ ἔλαφος.—ἐχθός = ἐκτός. Cf. Rhodian ἐχθέμειν Ca. 176. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 209.—ἀριστίνδαν. See the article in Curtius, *Stud.* i. α, 65 sqq., *De adverbis Graecis*.

14. αἱ κ' ὁ φαστός κ.τ.λ. On the σσ of φαστός see the note to 231. 14. This paragraph treats of the constitution of the court, which had to decide in cases brought by citizens of Chaleion against those of Oeanthea or *vice versa*, i.e., in δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων. The words κα(τ) τὰς συμβολάς then mean 'in accordance with international compact.' The formation of the court is entrusted to the Demiurgi of both towns who are to select sworn jurors (L. and S. do not recognise this sense of the word ὀρκωμότας) from the foremost citizens, after having themselves taken the quintuple oath, i.e., probably an oath in which five deities were invoked.—For πεντορκίαν we should have expected πενθορκίαν.—In l. 14 ποῖ=πρός. So in Argive, Boeotian (Ποίδικος, *Corae*, CIG 1574), and in Ποιτρόπιος, the name of a Delphian month. Roehl's πῶ[τ] τὸν is improbable beside κα(τ) τὰς of l. 15.

No. 257 (*Laconia*).

The inscriptions engraved on both sides of this bronze, though found at Tegea, are probably in the Laconian dialect and of Laconian origin.

*Subject.* The contents of the inscriptions are briefly as follows. Each side gives an independent document relating to the deposit of 200 and 400 minae of silver respectively. The depositor is in both cases the same,

Xuthias, son of Philachaïos. The documents cannot therefore be more than two or three decades apart; the similarity of the writing also points to this conclusion. On side A the writing seems to have been purposely defaced, and it was probably intended to be cancelled by side B, which was thus later. It is in agreement with this view that we find on A regularly *αλ*, on B chiefly *ελ*. To both documents are appended directions for the eventual delivery of the deposit to the depositor or his heirs. The directions are essentially the same in both, but more detailed in B.

**Dialect.** It has been urged that the dialect cannot be Laconian; for we have (1) *θ* and not *σ* in *Ξουθία, ἀποθάγη*, &c., (2) that in *ἡβάζωντι* we have the intervocal sigma as against *ἐποίηε*, &c., of Old Laconian inscriptions. But it has been argued that both of these phenomena are comparatively late and were unknown in the oldest phase of Laconian. Cf. Muellensiefen, *De tit. Lacon. dial.*, Argentorati 1882, §§ 6, 8, and the note on no. 264. 3. Meister on the other hand (*N. Jahrb.* 1882, p. 522 sqq.) urges that the change of intervocal *σ* to *spiritus* was much older than has been maintained, and that the evidence of *ἡβάζωντι*, so far as it goes, is against the Laconian origin of our inscription. He lays no stress on *Φλειάσιοι*, no. 259, *Ἐφέσιοι*, no. 258, as being proper names: *ἐβασίλευον* and *ἦσαν* in no. 267 are Ionic.

**Laconian origin (?)<sup>1</sup>.** The special mention at the end of the inscription of Tegeatan judges seems to show that Xuthias was not a Tegeatan, but a foreigner, otherwise the epithet 'Tegeatan' would have been superfluous. The assumption that Xuthias was a Laconian agrees very well with the statement of Poseidonios (ap. Athen. vi. 233) that the Spartans, to evade the law forbidding private property, used to deposit property with the neighbouring Arcadians. It is probable that the property of Xuthias was deposited in a temple and not with a private individual, whose name would certainly have been given in the inscription. We know that the Greeks largely used their temples, especially the more famous, *e.g.*, the Delphian, as Deposit Banks. The documents referring to the deposits were exhibited and preserved in the temples themselves; and though it might seem natural that the authorities should use their own dialect in drawing up these documents, yet that this was not always so is shown by the next inscription, no. 258, also found at Tegea. The temple in this instance may well have been that of Athene Alea, whose protection was repeatedly claimed by Spartan fugitives. As the temple was burnt down in 395 B.C., and afterwards replaced by the new one of Scopas (Paus. viii. 45. 4), it would follow that this bronze was a survival from the old temple. Other examples of such survival are (1) the inscription on stone given in no. 258, (2) the Image of Pallas, said to have been found at Tegea, and now at Athens, with a dedicatory inscription (*Ἀνέθηκεν τῇθεναίᾳ*) in fifth-century

<sup>1</sup> Fick, guided by the name, argues that Xuthias, son of Philachaïos, was an Achaean (*Bezz. Beitr.* v. 324 sq.): Roehl in his *Imagines* now classes the inscription under the head "incertorum locorum." Cf. p. 255, note.

characters, (3) the fetters of the Lacedaemonians which Herodotus (i. 66) saw in the old and which Pausanias (viii. 47. 2) states to have been in the new temple in his time.

On the date of this and other Laconian inscriptions see § 101.

A 1. The concise language of the first sentence is somewhat amplified in B 1, where *παρκα(θ)θήκη* = *παρακαταθήκη*. The dative *Ξουθία* denotes the person in whose interest the deposit is made.—*διακαταίαι*: the normal Doric form.

2. *αἷ κα ζώη κ.τ.λ.* This reading is based upon the comparison of B. The bronze on side A is considerably damaged, perhaps purposely, and with a hammer (*σφυρηλασία Eustrat.*). The omission of the *iota* in *ζώη*, which occurs twice in B, is remarkable in so early an inscription; cf. note on no. 167.

4, 6. The promiscuous use of infinitives (*ἦμεν = εἶναι*, *διαγνώμεν = διαγνῶναι*), beside the direct imperative, is not unknown in formal decrees.

4. *ἐπεὶ κα πέντε κ.τ.λ.* Cf. B 6. According to a gloss on Herodotus (ix. 85) *ἐφηβεύει δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ ἐτών ἰδ' μέχρι καὶ κ'*, the age of *ἐφηβία* at Sparta lasted from the 14th to the 20th year. If then Xuthias was a Spartan, the sons were to enter on their property with their 18th year completed, i.e. at the time when they would become *μελλείρηνες* (Plut. *Lyc.* 17). If so, we learn also the time of the civil majority at Sparta. *Kirchhoff*.

5. *αἷ δὲ κα μὴ κ.τ.λ.* 'If there shall be no issue within five years.' Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 113 sqq.) objects that ΠΕΤΝΕΤΟΝ is certainly not a mistake for *πέντε ἑτέων*, and boldly suggests a form *πέγνητον = πεδάγνητον* = a descendant (*μεταγενής*).—*ἐπιδικατόν*. Probably from *ἐπιδικάω*, as *θαυματός* (Pind.) beside *θαυμαστός*. The meaning will be the same as that of the Attic *ἐπίδικος*. 'The question may be subject to litigation, and the Tegeatans are to decide according to their law.'—*κά(τ)τόν*. On the single τ cf. the note to no. 231. 1. *θεθμόν*. Cf. note on no. 231. 46.

B 4, 7, 8. *ἀνελόσθω*. G. Meyer's account (*Gr. Gr.* § 578) of these and similar middle imperative forms is briefly as follows. Originally -τω served as an active 3rd person plural ending: all other forms were new formations. Then (1) a middle -σθω was adopted to correspond to the active -τω: thus *διδόσθω*, *ἐκλογιζέσθω*, *κρινέσθω*, *ἐκδανειζέσθω* in a Corcyrean inscription CIG 1845; and *λυσάσθω*, *πεπάσθω* in an Elean inscription, no. 300. 7, 8; (2) -όνσθω (-όσθω) was formed as a middle to active -όντω. So here *ἀνελόσθω*, *Tabl. Her.* i. 127 (Ca. 40), *ἐπελάσθω = ἐπελα-όσθω*; (3) -σθω was 'pluralised' by the addition of -ν, or (4) by the addition of -σαν; (5) -όσθω (no. 2) was further pluralised to -όσθων (cf., in the active, -όντων) in Old Attic, where the forms in -όσθων appear on older inscriptions than those in -έσθων, e.g., *συσσημανόσθων* CIA i. 32 a, 17.

8. *τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελόσθω*. This is at first sight a strange addition, that in default of legitimate children the illegitimate are to have a prior claim to the *ἀγχιστεῖς*. Such a stipulation is irreconcilable with a known principle

of Greek family right (Eustratiades refers to K. F. Hermann, *Pr. Alt.* § 63, 64, to the type of will in Diog. Laert. III. 41, v. 11, 51, 69, x. 16, and to CIG 4 and 1850); and the 400 minae cannot be treated as νόθεια, because in such cases legitimate descendants are named before νόθου. Kirchhoff suggests the following explanation. Xuthias, as we have seen reason to suppose, was a Laconian, or at any rate not a Tegeatan. By depositing his property in a foreign land he had withdrawn it from the operation of his country's laws, and was therefore enabled to make an arbitrary disposition of it. Hence probably the unusual provision in favour of the νόθοι.

9. τοὶ <σ> ἄ(σ)σιστα πόθικες. *I.e.* οἱ ἄγχιστα προσήκοντες. It seems better to assume a form from ποθίω on the analogy of οἰκότεριψ from τριβω than to suppose letters to have been accidentally omitted from a ποθί-κ(οντ)ες. Below in ἀνφιλέγωντ[ι τ]οὶ Τεγ. the omission is more easily explained from the occurrence of τ in three consecutive syllables.—In ἄ(σ)σιστα, if we may trust the restoration of the text, we have probably the Aeschylean form (Fr. 61) quoted by Hesychius and explained by him as = ἔγγιστα.—In διαγόντω note the ordinary Doric form of the 3rd person plural of the active imperative without final -ν.

#### Nos. 290—300 (*Elis*).

##### *The Elean Dialect.*

[Ahrens, *Dial.* i. 225 sqq.; Daniel, *De dialecto eliacā*, Halle, 1880; D. Pezzi, *Il dialetto dell' Elide nelle iscrizioni testè scoperte*, Torino, 1881; id., *Nuovi studi intorno al dialetto dell' Elide*, Torino, 1881 (from the *Mem. ed Atti dell' Accademia*). Compare also Blass, *D.I.* i. pp. 313—315; H. W. Smyth, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII. (1886), No. 4 (The dialects of Northern Greece).]

With the object of avoiding frequent repetition and reference in the following commentaries on Elean inscriptions we subjoin a brief summary of the principal peculiarities, other than the ordinary marks of Dorism, exhibited by "that remarkable combination of dialectical phenomena known as the Elean dialect" (H. W. Smyth, *l. c.*). In this dialect are distinguishable an older and a later stratum, the former represented by the group of inscriptions from which nos. 290—300 are selected, the later especially by the decree on bronze in honour of one Damocrates, Ca. 264, *D.I.* 1172, belonging probably to the Macedonian period. While in this later stage, with the exception of some borrowed words from the literary language of Greece at that period (καθῶρ, not κατ-, εὐεργέταιρ, not εὐαργ-, φανεράν, not φαναράν, χρείαν, not χρίαν, ἔγκτησιν, not ἔγκταςιν, &c.) and of prepositional forms like περί, not πάρ, the dialect is pure and consistent; yet the older stratum betrays a most astonishing inconsistency and variety in its forms, which cannot be accounted for by any further division according to chronological periods. The explanation of this inconsistency is rendered all the more difficult by the fragmentary condition of many of the inscriptions, the impossibility in some of determining satisfactorily the sense,



and above all by extreme carelessness and faultiness of the engraving, which in some cases appears to have been executed by an engraver who copied from an original (possibly written *βουστροφῆδόν*) which he did not understand or could not read (cf. the notes to no. 295).

Blass (*l. c.*) is inclined to seek a partial explanation of this dialectical fluctuation and inconsistency in the relations of the Pisatid district, in which Olympia was situated, to the Elid territory. It was not till the sixth century that the Eleans obtained the mastery over Pisa. Up to that time therefore and even later the Elean dialect may have been in contact with the Pisatan, which possibly was related to the Arcadian<sup>1</sup>. Again, a tradition, not untrustworthy, represents the Eleans to have immigrated from Aetolia; this fact brings their dialect into connexion with the Northern Dorism and will account for the striking coincidences noticed below between the Elean and the Locrian. H. W. Smyth indeed (*l. c.*) assumes that originally there was but one North Doric dialect, varied no doubt here and there by cantonal preferences, but spoken by Locrians and Aetolians alike; he holds that by this assumption alone can the Doric ingredient in the mixture of dialects in Elis be explained.

The most noticeable features then in the Elean dialect are as follows.

1. A great fondness for *ä* before *ρ*—*φάργον*, *πατάρ*, *φάρην*, *πάρ*=*περί*; and for *ā* instead of *η*—*φάρτρα*, *πατάρ*, *βασιλᾶς*=*βασιλῆς*, *πεντάκοντα*, *εἶα*, *ἔα* (but also *εῖη*), *μά* (but also *μή*), and later *ἐπανιτακώρ*, *φαίνεται*, *ποιήσεται*, *ἀνατέθα*, *δόθα*, *ἀποσταλᾶμεν*. Of these two groups of phenomena the latter is elsewhere found chiefly, the former exclusively, in Locris.

2. E in the older inscriptions in infinitives = *η*, not *ε*—*ἔχην*, *φάρην* (*φέρην*), *θαρρῆν*—as we may infer from the later *ὑπάρχην*, *μετέχην*. Similarly

3. *ο*=*ω*, not *ου*, (1) in genitives—*βωμῶ* &c., (2) as the product of compensation—*μνασίως*, *βωλά*. Cf. later Elean *τῶ*, *πολέμω*, *βωλᾶρ*, &c.

4. *α* + *ε* is contracted to *η* as in Doric—*μῆπιθειαν*, *μῆπιποέοντα*, &c. (though of course it is possible that the negative here is *μή* not *μά*); but

5. there is a general tendency to uncontracted forms—*Φέρεα*, *γράφεα*, *ἀποΦηλέοιαν*.

6. *αι* and *οι* appear as products of compensation in the accusative plural of *a*-stems (and later of *o*-stems)—*κα(τ)θνταῖς*, *μναῖς*, *ἄλλοιρ*, *τοῖρ*. But, in the earlier group, also [*δα*] *ρχμάς*, *μνασίως*.

7. Rhotacism of final *s*, sporadic in the earlier group—thus *τοῖρ φαλείοις*, *τοῖς Ἑραίοις*, *τιρ*, *τις*, *τάς*, *τῶρ*—but affecting every final *s* in the later—*θεόρ*, *ῥπωρ*, *αὐτόρ*, *πλείονερ*, &c.

8. Psilosis—*ἐπίταρον*; but strangely *ποθελομ[ένω]* (no. 298. 10).

9. Loss of intervocal *ι*=*γ*—*ἔα*, *συνέαν*, but also *εἶα*, *εῖη*, *μῆπιθειαν*, &c.

10. *ζ* in some inscriptions of the older stratum takes the place of

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Smyth, *l. c.*, objects to this suggestion that the general features of the Arcadian dialect are widely different from those of Elis;—thus *υ* for *ο* in *ἀπύ*, *ἄλλυ*; *ές* for *έξ*; *ιν* for *έν*; *πός* for *πρός*; termination *-νσι*, accus. pl. *-τος*, *ει*, *άν*, *ήναι*, *-φεναι*, change of *τ* to *σ*.

δ—ζέ, ζίκαια, Φειζός = εἰδός, &c. Blass (*l. c.*) holds the view that ζ was not an ordinary Elean letter, but that Elean like many other species of Doric used δ or δδ instead; the δ, as well as θ, seems at an early period to have become a spirant, and to express this sound the superfluous ζ was used, but this usage in Elis was due not so much to the Eleans as to foreigners writing in the Elean dialect; hence the appearance of this character in a neighbouring district like Olympia. So the spirant in the Laconian *θιός* was written σ (σιός) by foreigners, especially Athenians. The later Damocrates-inscription has no trace of this ζ = δ. Foreign intermixture may perhaps also explain forms like *συλαίη* = *συλαοίη*, *μή*, *Φέ(ρ)ρην* beside *Φά(ρ)ρην* (but cf. the note on no. 292. 2), *τοῖρ Φαλείοις*, *μᾶς* (accus.), &c.

11. στ for σθ in verbal terminations—*λυσάστω*, *πεπάστω*, *τιμώστω*—a phenomenon which we have encountered in Locris and Crete; cf. note on no. 231. 16.

12. Verbal flexion. (1) The so-called 'contracted' verbs are treated as in ordinary Doric—*κα(δ)θαλέοιτο*, *δοκέοι*, *ποιέοι*, &c. For *ἐνποιῶν* see the note to 295. 2, and for *συλαίη* the note to no. 294. 5. Blass (*l. c.*) maintains that, in face of *κα(δ)θαλέοιτο*, *δοκέοι*, &c., the form *κα(δ)δαλήμενοι* (no. 291. 7) bears only an accidental resemblance to the Aeolic and Arcadian flexion of contracted verbs (*Lesb.* *ὁμολογήμενα*, *ἐγκαλημένων*, &c., Meister, *Dial.* i. 175, *Arcad.* *ἀδικήμενα*) according to the -μι conjugation. The η stands on the same level as the ει of Northern Doric *καλείμενος* (no. 231. 41, *ἐγκαλείμενον*), i.e. *καλῆ[ό]μενος*, while Attic *καλ[ε]όμενος* becomes *καλούμενος*. But, as P. Cauer (*Wochenschr. f. Cl. Phil.* 1885, 103) remarks, "wie soll man das glauben?" It is much more likely that the North Doric and Elean -ειμενος, -ημενος, depend upon the analogy of the unthematic conjugation, though this analogy indeed in the two dialects does not extend beyond these middle participles. (2) The optative third person plural has -αν for -εν—*ἀποτίνοιαν*, &c. (3) The infinitive of -μι verbs is -μεν—*δόμεν*, *ἦμεν*, &c.—as in ordinary Doric.

13. Nominal flexion. (1) Accusative plural in -ερ in the later period—*πλείονερ*, *χάριτερ*; and occasionally (without rhotacism) in the earlier, if *ἄνδρες*, *ὁμόσαντες* (no. 298. 11) are accusatives. (2) We infer from the later locative-dative *αὐτοῖ*, that the dative of *o*-stems in the early period must be transcribed -οι, and that in the *a*-stems the *a* in -αι of the dative is short. (3) The dative plural *χημαῖοις* (295. 8) is an Aetolian importation.

14. Prepositions. *ἐν* for *εἰς* as in Northern Doric. The prepositions *κατὰ*, *περί* are apocopated—*πάρ*, *κά(τ)*, *κά(δ)*.

15. Syntax. (1) The optative with *κα* used in an imperative sense—*κ' ἔα*, *συνέαν κα*. (2) Similarly, in the later period, the subjunctive—*ἀνατεθαῖ*, *δοθαῖ* (*αἰ* or *αἱ*?).

#### No. 291 (*Elis*).

[Compare Mr Newton's commentary (B. M. I. 158) throughout.]

1. 'Α *ῥάτρα* κ.τ.λ. 'The covenant between the Eleans and the Heraeans.' This is the usual opening formula in these Elean in-

scriptions: the words merely form a title to what follows. There is no lack of parallels (*e.g.*, Ca. 32, *Laconia*).—*ῥήτρα*. *ῥήτρα*, according to Hesychios *s. v.*, originally meant 'treaty' or 'convention' but was afterwards used in the sense of a law, *i.e.* something agreed on by a community. Hence the laws of Lycurgus were called *ῥήτραι*. See the authorities quoted in CIG.—*φαλείους*. On the *digamma* in this word see § 112.—*Ἡρφαίοις*. Such and not *Εἰς* appears to be the reading if we may trust the facsimile taken from the B. M. inscriptions. The *ρ* at the end of the line is clear. A town *Εἶα* in Elis is unknown. (Paus. II. 38. 6 mentions *Eua* in Argolis; Steph. Byz. is evidence for a *Εἶα πόλις Ἀρκαδίας*.) On the other hand we have an iron coin with the retrograde legend [Ἡ]ρσασ[ov] which R. Weil, *Ztschr. f. Num.* VII. 371 (cf. Koehler, *Mith.* VII. 1882, p. 377 sqq.), assigns to Heraea in Arcadia (Ca. 470 a). These Heraeans appear to have remained a community of nine villages up to the time of the battle of Leuctra, when the city of Heraea was founded by Cleombrotus, king of Sparta. As early as OL. 65 (520 B.C.) they could boast of the honour of an Olympic victory gained by Damaratos; Paus. v. 8. 3; vi. 10. 2.

2. *κ' εἶα*. See above, note on the dialect.

3. *ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖς τοῖς=τοδί*; so below l. 8 *ταῖς=ταδί*. If the noun to be supplied to *τοῖς* is *ῥέτος* the meaning will be 'The present year is to begin the period of alliance.' Cf. Ca. 298. 40 (*Orchomenus*), *ἄρχι τῷ χρόνῳ ὃ ἐνιαυτὸς ὃ μετὰ Θύναρχον*, and Thuc. IV. 118, *ἄρχειν τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν, τετράδα ἐπὶ δέκα*, and *ib.* v. 19. See also the note to no. 116—*αἱ δέ τι κ.τ.λ.* 'If there be any need, whether in word or in deed, let them combine together in all other matters and about war.'—In *ἄ(λ)λ(α)*, if we may judge from the general carelessness of these bronze-inscriptions, we must rather assume an omitted *a* than apocope. For the single instead of double consonant in this and other forms see the note to no. 231. 1.—With the formula *αἱ δέ τι δέοι* cf. the clause in the treaty Thuc. v. 79, *αἱ δέ ποι στρατιᾶς δέη κοινῆς*.

6. *τοὶ κα(δ)δαλήμενοι = οἱ καταδηλούμενοι*, 'those who violate the treaty.' Boeckh read *τῷ καταλημένῳ*, 'to the injured Zeus.' But *κα(δ)δαλείοιτο* occurs in l. 8 in a deponent sense. On the termination *-ήμενος* see above (note on the dialect).—Boeckh supposes that the talent of silver here named was of uncoined metal. In no. 292. 7 the fine is ten minae; in the fragment of an Olympian rheta, *DI.* 1158, the fine is in drachmae.—*λατρεῖόμενον*, 'consecrated to the service of the god.' This meaning corresponds with the general sense of worship contained in the words *λατρεύω, λάτρευμα*. Ahrens gives as the equivalent *οἰκειούμενον* and compares the triplet *οἰκεὺς οἰκεῖς οἰκειώω* with *λατρεὺς λατρεῖος λατρεῖώω*. Cf. no. 290. 7, *Ζι Ὀλυμπία λατρεῖόμενον...*, and for the vocalism *βασιλᾶες* no. 292. 3.

7—10. *αἱ δέ τι κ.τ.λ.* 'But if any, whether private citizen, magistrate or deme, injure these letters, let him be bound in the penalty here enjoined.'—*γράφος* occurs again in the Elean fragments, no. 298. 19 and *DI.* 1157. 6.—*ῥέτας=ῥέτης* Thuc. v. 79 (treaty between the Argives and

the Lacedaemonians). See the Lexx.—τελεστάς). So Blass, who rejects equally the explanation that τελεστά is a form like the Homeric *ἱππότα*, *νεφέληγερέτα*, and that it is a feminine in the sense of 'collegium.' Mr Newton doubtfully cites *ναῦτα* from a Doric inscription, CIG 1930 f. *Ad* 7.—*δᾶμος*. This doubtless refers to the townships into which both Olympia and Heraea were anciently divided.—τ' ἐπιᾶροι. This is probably elision rather than crasis (τῆπ.); cf. *DI*. 1157. 3 (*Εἰς*), τ' ἱαρῶ. ἐπιᾶρον=ἐφίερον, 'sacred fine.' So Boeckh and Blass. Ahrens and Roehl take it in the sense of ἐπαρά; cf. no. 142 B. 34 (*Τεος*), ἐν τῇπαρῇ ἔχεσθαι; but here there is no mention of a curse, while there is mention of a fine. For the phraseology cf. no. 292. 7 and 298. 14.—The reading of the three last words τοῖ ταύτη [γε]γρα(μ)μένοι is based upon a comparison of no. 298. 14. But for this, it might have been urged that ἐγρα(μ)μένοι was an instance of imperfect reduplication, like that of the Cretan *ἐγρατται*, &c. (*Gortyn*, see no. 9 g 45), ἡγραμμέναν (*Hierapytna*, Ca. 117).

#### No. 292 (*Elis*).

The precise subject of this rhetra it is hard to determine. Blass (*DI*. 1152) suggests that it is either a decree of the Eleans guaranteeing security to the γραμματεῖς (γοφεῖς) of a φαρρία; or that it is an edict concerning the public peace.

1. On the opening formula see the note to no. 291. 1. In the next clause Blass doubtfully asks whether Παρρίαν may not be a proper name (cf. Παρρέας in a Delphian inscription; Wescher-Foucart, no. 158, 210, &c.). It is generally understood as a dialectic variant of φαρρία=clan. The meaning will then be: 'if one should utter imprecations against a male Elean, no harm shall come to his clan or family or property'; or perhaps we may understand τὰ αὐτοῦ in the sense of τοὺς οἰκείους.

2. αἱ ζή κ.τ.λ. Blass, supposing a fresh clause to begin with these words (and certainly if Α|ΙΕ in the following = αἱ ζή=εἰ δέ, it should do so here also) reads: αἱ ζή τις καταραύσειε, *Ἰάρρην*, ΟΡ (=δς) *Ἰαλείω*, 'if one should imprecate curses, he is to be banished, (any one that is) who imprecates them against an Elean'; or ὦρ (=ὡς) *Ἰαλείω*, if Παρρίαν is read as a proper name. The explanation of *Ἰάρρην*=φεύγειν depends upon the comparison of *Ἰέ(ρ)ρην* in no. 294. 5, but see the note *ad loc.*—καταραύσειε=καθιερεύσειε (Ahrens, &c.); Kirchhoff (*A. Z. l. c.*) proposed *κατάρ' αὔσειε*, Curtius (*A. Z. l. c.*) *κατ' ἱαρ' αὔσειε* (καταῦσαι acc. to Hesych.=καταντλήσαι, καταδύσαι with the variant καθάδουσαι ἀφανίσαι). Ahrens (*Rh. Mus.* xxxv. p. 580) defends *καταραύω* by arguing that as βασιλᾶες (l. 3) would have a corresponding form βασιλαῦω, so ἱαράω agrees with a form ἱαράες=ιερείς; though below, l. 8, we have the normal εὔ in γοφεῖς.—αἱ ζή μήπιθειαν κ.τ.λ. 'If the magistrate holding the highest office and the βασιλεῖς should not impose the proper penalties (sc. upon the imprecator), then each of such magistrates or βασιλεῖς who do not impose the penalties must pay 10 minae as offerings (καταθυγή) to Olympian

Zeus.' Kirchhoff understands by the holder of the μέγιστον τέλος the president of the φρατρία, and by βασιλᾶες the noble members of the same who acted as his assessors; but it is more likely that the μέγιστον τέλος ἔχων was the chief magistrate of the state and the βασιλᾶες were probably priestly functionaries like the ἄρχων βασιλεύς and the φυλοβασιλείς (Poll. 8. 111, 120) at Athens.—The verbs ἐπιτίθημι and ἐπιτιόω in this clause seem to be used in the same sense.—The expression ἀποτίνειν κα(τ)θυταῖς τοῖ Ζι' Ὀλυνπίοι occurs in another Elean inscription, *DI.* 1157.

5. ἐπένποι ζέ κ.τ.λ. So below ἐπενπέτω, μῆ[πέν]ποι (or μῆνποι=μῆ ἔνποι). The general sense of these forms appears to be the same as that of ἐπιτιθέναι. Buecheler and Bergk (*U. cc.*) compare ἔνπει with *inquit* and ἐπένπειν with the phrase '*multam indicere.*' Other conjectures and readings are: ἐκπέμποι Kirchhoff, ἐπεμπῶ ἐπεμπήτω (ἐμπάω, like ἐμπάζομαι) Curtius, ἐπ-ένπω=ἐφέπω (*curare*) Ahrens; Comparetti, who with Kirchhoff assumes omission of ΠΕ in l. 6, cuts the knot by explaining ἐπένποι &c. as engraver's errors for ἐπενπ[όε]οι &c., making the form identical in sense with ἐπιτιόω above. But the threefold error is very improbable.—It has been noted above, § 113, that Kirchhoff on the ground that only one Hellanodica is here mentioned, assigned the inscription to a date prior to 580 B.C., or close upon the seventh century. Comparetti (*l. c.*) objects (1) that no such inference can be drawn, for in the absence of the article the singular Ἑλλανοζίκας may be used collectively, or the expression may rather denote 'a' than 'the' Hellanodica (so Pindar, *Ol.* III. 12, uses the singular in referring to *Ol.* 76. 1=476 B.C., a date at which we know that there were 9 or 10 Hellanodicae, or at any rate more than one); (2) that Kirchhoff's observation proves too much. An inscription in every respect resembling the present in character, *DI.* 1157, and probably contemporaneous with it, speaks of an ancient written law, κα(τ) τὸ γράφος τάρχαϊον. To push these inscriptions back towards the seventh century (Comparetti urges) would allow too little interval to justify the epithet τάρχαϊον, if we accept the traditional date (660 B.C.) for the earliest written laws. (See the *Note on the date of the Cretan inscriptions*, p. 54.) But it is by no means necessary to render τάρχαϊον by 'ancient' rather than by 'original,' and it is not certain that the expression γράφος refers to a body of written law.—τᾶλλα ζίκαια. Ahrens understands the penalties enforced against the incantator or imprecator; Blass refers the sentence to the protection in other matters (afforded to Patrias?) against harm and the penalties imposed.

6. ἡ ζαμωργία. Cauer prefers -οργία, and in the note to no. 274 enumerates examples from Achaia, Messenia, Cnidos, Telos, Pamphylia. Once, Ditt. *Syll.* 195. 9 (*Nisyros*), we have the remarkable variant δαμιοργοῦ. Under the collective noun ζαμωργία Kirchhoff understands the combination of the chief political officers (ζαμωργοί) of the several Elean districts. Ahrens prefers the explanation of ζαμωργία as a collegium of ζαμωργοί, who formed the supreme board of government at Elis, resembling herein the Attic archons; and probably the μέγιστον τέλος ἔχων was a member of the board.—ζίφυιον=διπλοῦν. Cf. no. 300. 8, διφυνία.

ἐν μαστράαι. 'Subject to revision or audit.' Cf. the gloss of Hesychius μαστρίαι· αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναί. Curtius corrects to μάστρα, on the ground that i between two vowels is not usually omitted in this dialect, but cf.  $\xi a = \epsilon i a = \epsilon i \eta$ , no. 291. 2.

7. αἱ ζέ κ.τ.λ. The sense appears to be that if any one illegally takes upon himself the punishment of an accused person, he is to be subject to penalty. But the explanation and transcription of the individual words is not clear. Ahrens reads δικαίων as a participle of δικαιοῦν in the sense of κολάων: according to Bergk it = δικάζων. Kirchhoff and Roehl take τὸν αἰτιαθέντα ζικαίων to mean "in iudicium poenae legitimae vocatum."—ἱμάσκοι is explained as = ἱμάσσοι, μαστιγοίη, but this explanation does not yield a very satisfactory meaning for the addition αἱ φειζὼς (εἰδὼς) ἱμάσκοι, unless perhaps we may translate 'if he should punish, though aware that the person specified was still under trial.' Bergk proposes ἱλλάσκοι (= ἱλ.). Comparetti pointing to the notion of *binding* or *constraining* in the substantive ἱμάς suggests for τῶν ζικαίων ἱμάσκοι the meaning 'to hinder a person from his rights.'—With ζεκαμναίαι supply ζαμίαι, and for the expression ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν cf. no. 291. 9.

8. γραφεύς. On the vocalism see the note to no. 7. πάσκοι = πάσχοι. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 269. The reading of these two lines is very uncertain. As given in the text the words will mean: 'the secretary of the clan is liable to the same penalties, for any wrongs he inflicts upon τὸν αἰτιαθέντα.' But α for τὰ is doubtful, though there is not room for more than one letter before νν. Blass suggests [τὰ] ἵν; Hesych. ἵν· αὐτῇ, αὐτῇν, αὐτόν. Κύπριοι. *Comp.*: αἱ τιν' ἀζικέοι. *Ahr.*: ἀκινητί κ' εἶοι ὁ πίναξ κ.τ.λ. *Roehl*: [τ]υῖ 'ν [αἰε]ῖ κ' εἶοι κ.τ.λ. (*hic in omne tempus tabula sacra esto*).—ὁ πίναξ of course means the bronze itself.

#### No. 294 (*Elis*).

The community of the Chaladrians confer the *proxenia* upon one Deucalion and his offspring. The Χαλάδριοι according to Busolt (*Forschungen z. griech. Geschichte* i. 47 ff.) were an Elean deme. The name Χαλάδριοι is doubtless from χαλάδρα = χαράδρα. (On the cognate forms cf. further Ahrens *l. c.*) As certain lands are assigned to Deucalion in Pisa, the date of the inscription would seem to be soon after the destruction of Pisa in 570 B.C.

1. For the opening formula cf. no. 291. 1. The restoration of the dative Χαλαδρίοις is obvious.

2. He, as well as his descendants (γόνος perhaps in a collective sense), is to be a Chaladrian citizen with the rank of πρόξενος and δημιουργός; i. e. he might hold civic offices. On the functions of the Demiurgi see *Dict. Ant.*

5. αἱ δέ τις κ.τ.λ. 'If any one should molest him in his possession, he may go to (the temple court of) Zeus (to seek redress), unless the δῆμος should resolve to act.' If a man was condemned before the temple court of Zeus, he became the slave of the offended god, and could only be

ransomed by paying a heavy sum : by this court a series of statutes was established, which obtained validity as the sacred law of Olympia (cf. E. Curtius, *Gr. Hist.* i. 234, Engl. transl.). This interpretation, which is due to Prof. W. Ridgeway (*l. c.*), depends upon his contention that ἔρρει originally and in Homer had not the bad sense which is generally assigned to it in Attic Greek, but meant simply 'to go.' As regards the Homeric form the loss of an initial consonant is sufficiently attested by combinations like ἐνθάδε ἔρρων (*Il.* viii. 239), αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔρρων (*Il.* xviii. 421). Other interpretations are as follows. (1) Kirchhoff and Roehl (but cf. IGA 113 *Add.*) read—αἱ δὲ τις σὺλᾶ, ἐφέρην αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία, αἱ μὲ(δ) δάμοι δοκέει—explaining σὺλᾶ=σὺλάοι, ἐφέρην=μηνύειν (cf. Hesych. εὐείρω· εἴπω; should not the transcription in that case be ἐφέρην?), μὲ(δ) δάμοι=μετὰ δάμοι, i. e., ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. But σὺλαίη for σὺλαοίη may perhaps be supported by μαίτο=μάοιτο(?) 290. 3; and the assumed apocope in μὲ(δ) δάμοι is unparalleled. (2) Ahrens and others read as in the text but explain φέρ(ρ)ην as=ἔρρειν=φείγειν, not referring αὐτὸν to Deucalion, but to the subject of σὺλαίη, and supplying σὺλᾶν or ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς δαμόους. But surely the contingency that the δῆμος should approve an act (expressed by the word σὺλᾶν) to the harm of the person endowed by them with privileges is hardly likely to have been provided for.

No. 295 (*Elis*).

The text is very corrupt and uncertain. The difficulty of interpretation is increased by the fact that the inscription is a continuation of a larger document the preceding portion of which was engraved on another bronze or bronzes. And if, as has been suggested (Comparetti, Roehl, *l. cc.*), this inscription is an ancient copy of an ancient inscription, imperfectly understood by the copyist, we can abundantly account for both the quantity and the quality of the errors.

The inscription appears to be part of a law concerning the tenure of certain sacred lands.

1. τοῖ ζε θεοκόλοι κ.τ.λ. Roehl reads -τοι as the remains of an optative. The reading in the text is that of Blass, who proposes further θά(ρ)πος εἴη, comparing θαρρήν, no. 292, l. 1. The sense will be 'no harm shall come to the θεοκόλοι, either to himself or to his property, whatsoever at least belongs to him in very truth.' Others (Roehl, &c.) read γὰ in l. 2. For the phrase αὐτοῖ καὶ χρημάτοις cf. the formula αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτᾶ, Ca. 22.—θεοκόλοι. Hitherto all we have known of officers bearing this name has been in connexion with sacrifices and priestly functions. The word occurs in the *Βουστροφηδόν* inscription no. 290. It is possible that besides holding hieratic offices, the θεοκόλοι were administrators (or tenants?) of the landed property belonging to the temple, and perhaps land-owners themselves.

2. αἱ δ' ἀ[λ]ύτρια κ.τ.λ. The bronze has ΑΙΑΟΤΡΙΑ. It is more likely that the I is a mistake than that it is a mutilated λ, for there

is no trace of gemination of consonants in the inscription. For ποιῶτο Roehl doubtfully adopts πολοῖτο from l. 4. Blass prefers to adopt ποιῶτο in the latter place. πολοῖτο = πολέοιτο = *coleret*, but we should have expected the active and the uncontracted form. With ποιῶτο we may supply ἐαυτοῦ: 'if he should appropriate to himself another's property, he is to pay 50 drachmae in respect of each θέθμιον, which he unlawfully possesses and appropriates.' In ποιῶτο the contraction after the vowel is permissible; cf. no. 296. l. 5, ἐνποιῶ, but ἐξαγρέοι.

3. θέθμ[ι]ον. On the bronze ΘΕΘΤΜΟΝ. For the form θέθμιον, cf. θεθμός no. 231. 46 (*Locris*), and no. 257 A. 6 (*Laconia*?). The meaning however seems to be peculiar to this place. Comparetti, referring to the most ancient meaning of *θεσμός*, as originally denoting the legal division and possession of landed property, doubts whether θέθμιον means here a certain legally determined portion of land, or rather the legal document or title on which the claim to ownership is founded. Roehl remarks "θέθμιον mensura agri?" Blass understands by the word a κτῆμα of some sort, comparing τοῖς χρημάτοις τοῖς...κακκειμένοις below. Cauet thinks the word may be applied to an estate let on lease, as it is used of money put out to interest in an inscription of Orchomenos, Ca. 295. 64 sqq.

4. γνώμα δὲ κ.τ.λ. The decision (as to the just or unjust occupation) shall rest with the *λαρομάς*. On this word see the note to no. 290. 2; for the elision, the note to no. 291. 9.

5. τὰ δὲ δι[κ]αία δίφνια. The fines are to be double (it is not clear under what circumstances). From what follows no intelligible sense can be extracted without violent restorations. The vacant space in l. 6 Roehl attributes to the inability of the engraver to read the original which he was copying. He proposes the following: τὸ δίκαιον τόδε κα θεοκόλος ἐπωπῶ (ἐπωπᾶν), ἃ λῶ(?) δαμιωργία. τὸν δ' ἄ(λ)λο[τρίαν πολέοντα] ἀποΦηλείο κ.τ.λ.; translating "*hoc uetigial curato theocolus, ut placebit damiurgie (?)*"; and adding "*an ἐπ[ι]π[ο]οῖ imponito?*" Cf. 292. 4.

In l. 6, according to this reading, ἃ λῶ = ἦ θέλοι, ὅπως ἂν θέλῃ? Cf. λεφῶταν (or λεοίταν) no. 298. 3.—In writing δίκαιον the engraver had begun either with a Τ or a Ι; Comparetti supposes the latter and thinks that we see here "the end of the period when Ι (ζ) was written instead of Δ." He is further of opinion that the ancient inscription from which this was copied was written *βουστροφηδόν* and with Ι instead of Δ.

7. ἀποΦηλείο κ.τ.λ. Cf. no. 297. 4.—After τοῖ δὲ the word may be θεοκόλοι, and adopting Blass's conjectures in what follows, we may translate; 'no harm shall come to the theocolus, to his property as stored in the house and to his cattle' (lit.: the theocolus may have confidence for, &c.; cf. note on l. 1). At the end of l. 8 Kirchhoff reads ἦ μῆλοις. Comparetti proposed καὶ σμεῖλοις ('slaves'), relying upon the Hesychian explanation of the Phrygian ζέμελεν as βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον ("we all know that a large proportion of the slaves sold in the Greek market were Phrygians, and that the name Φρύξ was often used as an abusive equivalent of *slave*").



9. ὑπαδυνίους=ὑποζυγίους. The same form appears in the corrupt  
 V|ΠΑΔΥΚ|Ο| of IGA 117=DI. 1159, l. 3.

No. 296 (*Elis*).

The inscription appears to be part of a law intended to enforce the reverence due to the god and to his temple and to lay down regulations for the conduct of θεαροί (θεωροί) or visitors to the temple. Another such law seems to have been the subject of the very mutilated fragment DI. 1158.

1. κα θεαρὸς εἴη. These words evidently form the end of a sentence.—ἐνηβέοι is an almost certain emendation based upon a comparison of DI. 1158. 3: ἀποδὼς ἐνηβέο[.] ὁ ξένος. Blass thinks that ἐνηβέειν may=ἐνηβάν, 'to enjoy oneself in a place' (ἐνηβητήριον=pleasure-resort). The sense of what went before on the lost plate may have been: "without having performed certain duties towards the god [ὁ ξένος οὐκ ἐνηβέοι κ' ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ, οὐδέ] κα θεαρὸς εἴη." Then "if he should ἐνηβέειν within the precinct, he must make atonement by sacrifice of an ox and by a full purification, and the θεαρὸς is to be liable (supply ἐνέχεσθαι or the like?) to the same penalty."—θοά(δ)δοι according to Cauer, *Del.* 259, may have the meaning of καθίζοι. Buecheler (cf. also Blass) supposes a meaning akin to that of καθαίρεσθαι, ἀφοσιοῦν, the root being perhaps the same as in θύειν, Cyp. θέαγον, Ion. θέειον. Comparetti connects the word with θωή, 'punishment,' 'expiation'; cf. no. 232 A. 9 (*Locris*). He quotes a gloss of Kyrillos, θήη δὲ λέγεται ἡ θυσία. Some part of the same verb θοά(δ)δευ, also in connexion with βοί, seems to lurk in the corruption: ΟΑΔΟΟΝΤΑΔΕ ΚΥΑΙΥΣΕΒΟΙΚΟ of DI. 1158. 5.—For the ellipse in τ' ἱεροῖ cf. note on no. 291, and for the vocalism of κοθάρσι, note on no. 7.—ἐν τα[.]ραῖ is Blass's correction for ἐντάχται, which Comparetti considers to be either a mistake for ἐντ[er]άχ[θ]αι (used as an imperative) or to be a syncopated form.

2. αἱ δέ τις κτλ. 'If a judge gives a decision at variance with the written regulation, the decision shall be null and void, but the decree of the demos as declaring any decision shall be final.' This and the following clauses probably have a general reference to the whole of the regulations contained in the document, of which we have only the concluding portion. (Very much the same phraseology occurs in the hopelessly mutilated inscription, DI. 1157,—τὸ γράφος—τῶν γραφῶν—βωλά—καὶ ζᾶμον πλαθύοντα.) Blass considers τὸ γράφος and ἡ φράτρα to be identical in sense. But may not the φράτρα rather denote a single act of the demos, possibly corrective of a δίκαι, after appeal?—ἀτελής is for the more usual ἄκυρος, τελεία for κυρία.

3—5. These last clauses contain provision for altering the law (τῶν γραφῶν), which is to be within the competence of the Council of 500 and a full assembly of the demos. But the complete restoration of the text seems hopeless. In the corrupt words at the end of l. 4 we ought to find an optative to go with κα, and a subject for the optative which will agree with the participles ἐξαγρῶν (ἐξαιρῶν) and ἐνποιῶν. After πληθύνοντι Roehl

proposes δῖνα κῶ· κῶ δέ κα [ἐ]ν τρίτον, αἶ τι κ.τ.λ. κῶ (for κοῶ) or κοῖ (for κοῖ) he derives from κοῶ or κοῖω, with the sense *animadvertere* or *reperire* (cf. Ahrens, *Dial.* II. p. 86, note; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 248, *θουσκός*, Goth. *skanjan*), and by δῖνα he understands ὁ δῖνα = ὁ βουλόμενος. But he offers no explanation of the general sense or of his restoration κῶ δέ κα [ἐ]ν τρίτον κ.τ.λ. Kirchhoff's δινάκοι· (δινά)κοι δὲ does not help us much. Blass thinks that δικάδοι κα may be concealed in the corrupt words, or that before τρίτον was once οὐδέ κα ἔν: cf. οὐξέ κα μί' εἴη, *DI.* 1157. 7.—κα(λ)λιτέρως (?) = καλλιον. With the phrase ἐξαγρών καὶ ἐνποιῶν, cf. CIG 2557 (*Crete*), ἐὰν δέ τι φαίνηται ὑμῖν προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελέν, εὐχαριστῶμες.—On ἀγρέω = αἰρέω (*Lesb.* ἀγρέω, *Thess.* ἀνγρέω, cf. *Pamph.* ἀγλέσθω) see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 160.—For ἀφλανέως Roehl, &c. compare ἀολλής, ἀλής, Hesych. ἀλανέως· ὀλοσχερῶς, *Ταραντίνοι*. The word may then qualify βωλαῖ as πληθύνοντι qualifies δάμοι: there is to be a full meeting of the βωλάδ as well as of the δάμος.

No. 297 (*Elis*).

We have here a treaty between two otherwise unknown communities, the Ἀναῖτοι and the Μετάτιοι, one at least of which must be supposed to have belonged to Elis.

1, 2. Roehl reads: ἃ ῥάτρα· τὼς Ἀναίτω[s] καὶ τὼ[s] Μεταπίως φιλίαν [ἔχην] κ.τ.λ. But all these Elean rhetrae begin with a dative after ῥάτρα, and it is more easy to supply ἡμεν with φιλίαν, than ἔχην; cf. no. 291. 2.

3. κῶπῶτα[ρ]οι κ.τ.λ. 'And whichever of the two peoples fails to observe the treaty' (μὴ ἔμπ.= μὴ ἐμπεδοῖεν, ἐμπεδώ) &c.

4. Cf. no. 295. 7, and for the form ἀποφηλείαν see the note to no. 9 g, x 35.

5. καὶ τὸ[ν] ὄρ[κ]ον κ.τ.λ. 'And if they (who? the πρόξενοι and μάντιες?) should transgress their oath, the decision (as to their penalty?) is to rest with (supply ἡμεν) the ἱερομάδος (cf. 290. 2, note) at Olympia.' The text is Blass's and depends upon a comparison of γνώμα δέ κ' εἴη τ' ἱερομάω (note the singular) in no. 295. 4. Roehl reads: γνώμαν (rather γνώμαν, i.e. γνώμεν, γνώναι) τὼρ [ἀπ]ὸ ναὸ τῶλυνπία. In the text l. 5 p. 294 we might read μάντιε[ρ] αἶ.

No. 298 (*Elis*).

The restoration of this inscription has been very cleverly attempted by Roehl, who saw (cf. especially l. 16) that about 30 letters were wanting to each line on the left hand. He thinks that there had been a revolution at Scillus and that after its suppression an arrangement was made, as set forth in this inscription, that the state for the future should be administered by two Elean demiurges, Nicarchidas and Pleistaenus. Blass's view, which differs in some respects from Roehl's, is given in the notes below. If we may accept the statements of Pausanias, V. 9. 4 and VI. 22. 4, that the Triphylian Scillus was destroyed about 570 B.C. by the Eleans, we have an inferior limit for the date of the inscription (*Blass*).

1. Ἄ Φράτρα ταῖ δαμιωργίαι, Σκιλλωντίων παρ Roehl, who refers the collective δαμιωργία to Νικαρχίδαι καὶ Πλεισταῖνοι. He understands κατάστασις of the restoration of the government at Scillus, while Blass, comparing τὸ καταστάτω l. 13, takes the word to mean the appointment of the two persons named, who he thinks were distinct from the local δαμιωργία but exercised like functions, cf. l. 16 δαμιωργοῖταν. Bl. would punctuate: Ἄ Φράτρα ταῖ δαμιωργίαι Σκιλλωντίων παρ τᾶς κ.τ.λ. 'The decree of the demiurgia of the Scilluntians: concerning the appointment of (for) N. and P.' δαμιωργία. Cf. the note to no. 292. 6.

2, 3. Πλεισταῖνοι. αἱ τις τῶν Σκιλλωντίων ἀπειθεί...δαμιωργία ἐς τι[ὰν δίκαν, τῶν Σκιλλωντίων ποθελομένα ἐπωμ]ότας ἀνέρας, αἱ κ.τ.λ., R. Bl., objecting to ἐς as being neither Elean nor Arcadian, emends as in the text and gives to κατισταίη an absolute sense 'to reduce to order' or 'to bring before the court.' For ἔστα=ἔστε=ἔως cf. *Arc. μέστ' ἄν, Cret. μέστα κα*. The subject to ἀποτινέω is δαμιωργία. On λεοῖταν (R. λεφταν; qu. ληοῖταν) see the note to no. 9 g, x. 33. If N. and P. so will, the penalty is to be ὅσια (qu. a secular penalty? On the difference between ὅσιος and ἱερός when contrasted, see the Lexx., and cf. Thuc. II. 52, ἐς ὀλιγοῖαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως), else it is to be ἱερά, as an offering to Olympian Zeus (for the phraseology in this and the next lines cf. no. 292. 4: κα(τ)θυταῖς τοῖ Ζι' Ὀλυμπίοι). In ll. 3, 4 Roehl restores: αἱ δ' ἰ[αράν λεφταν, ἱαράν. αἱ δ' ὁ ἀπειθήσας μ]ῇ μετ' αὐτᾶς κ.τ.λ.

4. ποταρμόξαιτο. If the δαμιωργία should not agree to (accommodate themselves to the payment of) this (one mina; ταύτας=τῆς μνᾶς), then they are to pay five minae. If they fail to do this, the fine is to be still increased. In ll. 4—7 Roehl's reading is: πέντε μνᾶ[ς ἀποτινέω τᾶς ἀμέρας κα(τ)θυτὰς τοῖ Δι' Ὀλυμπίοι. αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτᾶ(ς) ποταρμόξαιτο, μνᾶς, ὅσας τὸ δικαστήριον τάξαι, ἀποτινέω κ.τ.λ.

6. αἱ δ' ἀξιώσυλος κ.τ.λ. If the person (or persons) fined can be distrained upon, he shall quit himself of his debt and the state shall join with him in so doing. But if the state fails to do so, it shall pay the debt increased by one half to Olympian Zeus annually for — years. Roehl for ll. 6—9 has: γένο[ιτο, ἀλλυοῖτό κα τὸ χρέος τοῖς χρημάτοις], συναλλύοιτο...συναλλύ[εσται δύνατο εὐθύς, τὸ χρέος κα σχολα]ῖ ὀλιγοῖ ἀ...*Ἡμολιασμός=τὸ ἡμιόλιον δοῦναι*, Harpocration. ἀν' ἱκανὰ *Ἡμολιασμός=τὸ ἡμιόλιον δοῦναι*, Harpocration.

9—12. Any one who excites sedition is to be put upon his trial before N. and P., who are to choose as sworn assessors certain of the Scilluntians. ἄνδρες and ὁμόσαντες are accusatives. ll. 9—12 Roehl: Σκιλλωντί[ων, ἐς τὰν δίκαν αὐτὸν κα κατισταίη]ταν...ποθελόμ[ενοι ἐπωμότας ἀνέρας τῶν Σκιλλωντίων, ὁμόσαντες...Ὀλύν[πιον] αἱ δὲ μὴ ποταρμόξαιτο, πέντε μνᾶ[ς] κ' ἀποτίνοι κ.τ.λ.—The aspirate in ποθελόμενοι is remarkable in this dialect.

12. The Σ of μνᾶς is apparently corrected from Ι; qu. μναῖς (accusative)? The general sense of these lines appears to be as follows. The δαμιωργία is to be liable to pay a daily fine, if it neglects to bring to trial the accused, on the bidding of the appointed administrators (τὸ καταστάτω, sc., N. and P.; see note on l. 16 below). If the δαμιωργία fails to perform

its duty or pay the fine, then the state is to be liable to the penalty herein laid down.—ἐπε. Perhaps ἐπή, like ταύτη l. 14, τῇδε l. 20; but *DI.* 1158. 1 has ἐπεὶ—κελοίσταν=κελοίσθην, from κέλομαι. The first part of l. 14 probably contained an ἐν which is required with ἐνέχσθαι, cf. no. 291. 9, 292. 7. If ἐπίαρρον, sc. χρέος, is adjectival, the article preceding is not superfluous. For the elision (τ' ἐπ.) see no. 291. 9, note. ll. 12—14 Roehl: 'Ολυ-  
[νπίοι - - - -]ο, ἐπεὶ...τὰν δ' α - - seu δα[[μωργίαν - - - - τ]οῖ κ.τ.λ.

15. The δαμωργία (or πόλις) shall honour the god in the Olympian month with whatsoever sacrifice N. and P. shall order.—μείς. Perhaps μῆ[ν]<ς>. The Σ is on the line of fracture and may not be a letter at all. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 37 (note), remarks "gänzlich unglaublich ist elisch μείς." In *DI.* 1168. 6 we have μῆνός. Α μὴν 'Ολυμπικός is mentioned *DI.* 1155. 2.—εὐσαβείος=εὐσεβείῃ. In l. 16 for κελοίσταν Roehl has φαίνεσθαι.

16. [κατιστ]αίταν δέ κα, κ.τ.λ. 'N. and P. shall establish order (cf. however ll. 2, 3 note) and perform as demiurgi the duties laid down in this decree...seeing that [the Scilluntians] assigned this charge to the Mantineans.' This interpretation depends upon Blass's reading Μαν-  
τωνῆσι (as an Arcadian dative to Μαντινῆς=Μαντινεύς) for Roehl's μαντί-  
<N>εσσι. Blass understands τὸ καταστάτω to be Mantineans, and refers to the case of the Mantinean Demonax, who was sent by his state as κατα-  
τιστῆρ to Cyrene at the request of the Cyrenaeans (*Hdt.* iv. 161; *Diod. Exx.* p. 550, viii. c. 30 *Id.*; cf. for a similar case *Hdt.* v. 28). On the word καταστάτω Roehl quotes the following: Hesych. στάτοι' ἀρχή  
τις, and Bekk. anecd. i. p. 305: στατῶν' ἄρχοντές εἰσι, παραπλησίαν ἔχοντες  
τοῖς ἀγαθοεργοῖς ἀρχήν, *ibid.* p. 333: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀρχή τις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι  
οἱ ἀγαθοεργοί: ἄρχουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρα-  
νομησάντων. ll. 16, 17 Roehl: τῇνταύ[[τα Νικαρχίδας καὶ Πλείσταυος ὧς  
καλλ]ίστως ἐπεὶ [ἐπ]έτραπον? κ.τ.λ. Blass's interpretation it must be  
observed leaves unexplained the letters -ιστος in l. 17.

17. τὰρ δέ κ.τ.λ. 'Let neither of them (sc. N. and P.) do aught in contravention of this decree'?—Roehl restores l. 18 as follows: [μαντείας  
ἐναντία μηδέτερος αὐτῶν κα πο]ύξοι, and justly calls the dialect Protean,  
which offers ποίξοι, ποίεοι and (no. 296. 5) ἐνποιοῖ.

19, 20. After ἐπίαροι Roehl restores: αἱ δέ τις μανύοι τινα ὧς] τὸ.....,  
γνοιά[ν κα τοῖ ἱερομόδοι(?) καὶ ἐν τῇπιάροι κα] ἐνέχοιτο κ.τ.λ. Blass suggests:  
γνοία (the vacant space after α seems to show that the word is complete) κα  
ἀ δαμωργία, αἱ δὲ μῆ, ἐν τ' ἐπίαροι κα] ἐνέχ. κ.τ.λ. From the vacant space at  
the end of l. 20 we may perhaps infer that the following lines are in the  
nature of an appendix.—For γράφος cf. no. 291. 7.

21—24. The gaps in what remains of these four lines as well as the loss on the left hand make the restoration even more uncertain than in the preceding. We can do little else than record Roehl's conjectures.

[Δίκας δὲ ἤμεν τὰς προγενομένας στάσι]ος' ὕσοι δ' ἡ[ρρον, κ]ριθέντων  
ἀνδροφά[νοι: ὁ δ' ἐ]

[νδαμείων παρείη κα ποτὶ Νικαρχίδαν καὶ Π]λείσταυν[ον καὶ κ]ρίνοιτο. αἱ  
δὲ τί[ς] καὶ σ-

[ - - -, ἐν τῇπιόροι κα ἐνέχοιτο τοῖ τῇ[δε γεγρα(μ)]μένοι· τὰ δὲ δίκαι -  
 [ - - - - - - - - - - πλε[ιστων(?) δὲ διδ[ων(?) -]

—In l. 20 Blass writes  $\delta\sigma(\sigma)\omicron\iota$  on a comparison of the later Elean  $\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , *DI.* 1172 = *Ca.* 264, l. 21.

No. 300 (*Elis*).

This short inscription contains the terms of a contract or a lease; but whether the contracting parties are the two individuals, Theron and Aichmanor, or the state on the one hand and Theron and Aichmanor on the other, is not certain. The harsh construction of  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\iota$ , l. 7, as intransitive ('si quid residuum sit'), which the latter supposition would necessitate, makes the former alternative the more probable; though it must be admitted that the provision in line 8 for perpetual lease is in that case strange.

1.  $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\theta\eta[\kappa]a[\iota]$  κ.τ.λ. The bronze has  $\Sigma\Upsilon\Nu\Theta\text{E}\text{N}\text{A}$ : on a vertical slit after the A are said to be traces of an I. There is room for two letters at the end of the line. 'The terms of a lease between Theron and Aichmanor, concerning the land at Salmona, 18 plethra.'

3.  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$ . Ordinarily  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$  or  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  in the Pisatid territory. On the evolution of the second a in  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$  see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 95. Cf.  $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , below, l. 5.

4.  $\delta\pi\tau\acute{\omega}$ . Daniel and Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, p. 121) alter to  $\delta\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$ . G. Meyer too (*Gr. Gr.* § 404) admits only the alternatives that either the  $\pi$  is an error or is borrowed from the  $\pi$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ . A dialectic change of  $kt$  to  $pt$  is common enough in later times in the Roumanian  $lapte$ ,  $\delta pte$ , &c., from Latin  $lact(t)$ ,  $octo$ .

5.  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\nu$  κ.τ.λ. The party to whom the land is leased is to pay as rent 22  $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$  of barley, in the month Alphioeus. If he should fail to do so, he must redeem the deficiency at double the amount. His possession is to be perpetual.—On  $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  Roehl quotes Hesych.  $\mu\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu'$  μέτρον τι διμέδμνον; and Epiphan. *de mens. et pond.* II. p. 178 B;  $\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  τοίνυν παρὰ Κυπρίους μετρεῖται καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ [καὶ] μόδιοι σίτου ἢ ἡ κριθῆς.— $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega$ . If the view is adopted that the state is contracting with two individuals, these forms must be duals or plurals (cf. the note on no. 257 B. 4, 7, 8).— $\delta\iota\phi\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ . Cf. no. 292. 6,  $\xi\acute{\iota}\phi\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ .

No. 167 (*found at Olympia*).

If, as Roehl thinks, the dialect is Ionic the inscription is of high interest, and with its  $M=\sigma$  surpasses in antiquity all other Ionic inscriptions. There is nothing to show the town to which  $\text{Βύβων}$  belonged. If the inscription is really Euboean, the  $\lambda$  is sufficient to assign it to the same group as those of Styra and Eretria; the  $\sigma$  and the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\delta\omicron\nu$  arrangement denoting a decidedly older period of development.

But (argues Karsten *l. c.*) if the inscription were Euboean and of so high antiquity, we should certainly have expected the sign for *spiritus asper*, which is expressed by  $\vdash$  in all the Euboean inscrr. of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; but it is absent in  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ ,  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron\dot{\upsilon}\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha$ . Moreover, if we except the  $\chi$ , the other letters have nothing decidedly in common with Euboean inscrr. (of Styra, &c.) and excluding other provenance. If, however, we may lay stress on the Ionic form  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  we shall find on examination of the Table (*infra*) that no other alphabet than that of Styra, &c., unites these three characteristics (i)  $\Psi = \chi$ , (ii)  $\Lambda = \lambda$ , (iii) the *Ionic* dialect.

Comparetti (*l. c.*) takes  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$  intransitively, and reads  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\omega$   $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  'beat (his competitors) in carrying the egg (egg-shaped stone) with one hand above his head' ( $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , genitive).  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  he thinks may be a mistake for  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ . It might be possible to read  $\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ ,  $\tau'$   $\acute{\omicron}\omega$  (*i.e.* elision, not crasis; cf. note on no. 291. 9 *App.*).

Lastly, Wilamowitz, as was said on p. 196, argues that the inscription is Elean. In favour of this attribution he appeals to the alphabet, which agrees with Elean, and the  $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ . Moreover the stone comes from Olympia. If we find a difficulty in  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  or  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ , all we can say is that it is not the only crux offered by the Elean dialect (cf. p. 360 sqq.). W.'s complete reading then is:  $\text{Βύβον (Βύβων) τέττει (τήττει) χερὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶμ (μ') ὑπερέβαλετο (qu. ὑπερ-) ὁ (qu. ὁ) Φόλα.}$

### III. ADDENDA NOVA.

THE references in the following (Bechtel *Ion.*) are to the work "*Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, von Fritz Bechtel" (see also *Abhandlungen der kön. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Bd. xxxiv., 1887), which came to my notice too late to be of use in the text.

19. Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 53 note, remarks that the inscription may be Attic; and that, if Ionic, the transcription should be  $\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , not  $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .

23. Bechtel, *Ion.* 56, conjectures that HIPON was intended.

31 a. Bechtel, *Ion.* 40, reads  $\kappa(\epsilon)\theta\upsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ . For the wrong use of  $\mathsf{H}$  to denote  $\epsilon$  cf.  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\mathsf{H}\nu\eta$ ,  $[\mathsf{K}\lambda\epsilon]\omicron\mu\mathsf{H}\nu\eta\varsigma$  on Attic tombstones, Koehler, *Mitth.* x. (1885) 363 sq.

130 e. For  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\beta\iota\varsigma$  Bechtel, *Ion.* 152, suggests  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}(\mu)\beta\iota\varsigma$  as a 'Kose-form' of  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , the nasal being omitted as in  $\mathsf{K}\acute{\omicron}\sigma\upsilon(\mu)\beta\omicron\varsigma$ , *ibid.* 19. 227 (*Styra*).

132 a—g. Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 153 sq., objecting to E. A. Gardner's interpretation (see the note p. 160 above) of these dedications, and to his assumption of a high antiquity for them, thinks that even the lack of analogy for the formula is sufficient to condemn his reading. He would read in every case  $\text{'Απόλλωνός εἰμι ('Απολλωνός[s] εἰμι).}$

**142, 23.** Bechtel, *Ion.* 156, cannot accept the explanation of  $T = \sigma\sigma$  ( $\tau\tau$ ) until further instances are found in genuine Greek words.

**143.** For the scansion of  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\alpha\varsigma$  Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 162, compares  $\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$  ( $-\sim$ ), Hom. *Od.* vi. 308.

**145.** l. 10.  $\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ . On this form Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 141, remarks: "At Halicarnassus datives in  $-οισι$  have become obsolete with the beginning of the stone-memorials. Two influences contributed to effect this: the Ionic colony contained a Doric element, and the neighbours of the Halicarnassians were Dorians. If Herodotus had written in the Halicarnassian dialect, his text, the oldest portions of which according to Kirchhoff (*Entstehungszeit*, 32 sqq.) were not written before 447 B.C., ought not to have exhibited any examples of  $\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ ."

**149.** (See Bechtel, *Ion.* 174, p. 106 sqq.) a 11.  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ : cf. for the aspirate  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$  142 B. 31 (*Teos*).—12.  $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ :  $-\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$  in  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\xi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  a 16, 17, 20:  $-\omega\iota\sigma\iota$  in  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  b 16, 17. Cf. note on p. 344. Roehl, IGA, compares these endings with the Lesbian  $-οισι$  and  $-\omega\iota\sigma\iota$ ; and the flexion of the numeral forms (p. 344) exhibits another point of contact between the dialect of Chios and that of Lesbos. For  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\xi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  Schulze, *Herm.* xx. 493, reads  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\xi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ .—13.  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . The inscription is so free from Atticisms that J. Schmidt (*K. Z.* xxvii. 298) can hardly be right in explaining the form as an instance of such. Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 107, points to  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  in Xenophanes fr. 2. 9. 22, scanned like  $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ , Archil. 68. l.—15, 16.  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma = \omicron\iota \omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  acc. to Roehl, IGA.

b 13, 14.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\acute{\nu}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ : the present of the Herodotean  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$ , cognate with Lat. *docceo*, which must be separated from  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\mu\iota$  (Bechtel).—23, 24.  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ . Acc. to Meisterhans, *Gr. d. Att. Inschr.* p. 67, these longer forms (as against the shorter,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\varsigma$ , &c.) did not come into use in Attica till after 100 B.C. In Ionic too at an early period the longer forms gave way to the shorter.

**149.** On p. 344 allusion is made to the statement of Herodotus (i. 142) that four local varieties ( $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota$ ) of Ionism were distinguishable in Asia Minor. Bechtel, *Ion.* p. 136 sqq., seeks to show that this distinction must have been based not upon the observation of grammatical differences but on differences in the vocabulary.

**152.**  $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$ . According to Bechtel, *Ion.* 211, a Carian name, like  $\Pi\alpha\eta\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$  (145. 12).

**153.**  $\Pi\rho\iota\eta\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}$  or  $\Pi\rho\iota\eta\eta\acute{\iota}$ . Bechtel, *Ion.* 212, argues that an inflexion  $-\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\iota$  is impossible for Ionic *prose* in the 5th century. He explains  $\Pi\rho\iota\eta\eta\eta$  ( $\Pi\rho\iota\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$ ) as a locative dative ('Apollo at Priene'), comparing  $\tau\acute{o} \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{o} \mu\upsilon\rho\rho\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\eta\gamma\tau\iota$  (CIA II. no. 600: circ. 300 B.C.); but the comparison is hardly convincing.

**158 a.** Bechtel, *Ion.* 228, reads the first word  $\Lambda\rho\acute{\sigma}\iota\omega\nu$ , 'Kose-form' of some fuller name, such as  $\Lambda\rho\acute{\sigma}\iota\omega\omicron\varsigma$ . The  $\text{HP}$ , he thinks, denotes merely the aspirated  $\rho$ , as in no. 25 ( $\Phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\nu$ ), where the  $\text{P}$  has hitherto been joined to the  $\Phi$ , as in the  $\otimes \text{P}$  of no. 1 n.

**170.** On a leaden plate from Styra in the possession of Bechtel (*Ion.* 19. 438; cf. 14) is the word  $\rho\acute{\omicron}\omicron\mu\iota\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\chi$ ,  $\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . It cannot be the name of an inhabitant of Styra, the dialect of which does not change  $\sigma$  to  $\rho$ , and is more

probably the name of an Eretrian. From a *linguistic* point of view then we should argue that no. 170 with its Φιλήσιος is, in spite of its fourstroke σ, older than the Styra leaden plates in which there is no change of σ to ρ; in fact we twice find Κτησίως.

**172 a.** A block of stone before the demarch's house at *Chalcis*, found near the Arethusa. Lolling, *Mitth.* x. (1885) 282; Bechtel, *Ion.* 1.

ΕΥΦΗΜΟΣΑΝΕΘ      Εὐφημος ἀνέθ[η]κεν.

ΥΕΚ

The forms of the letters and the βουστροφηδόν arrangement show this inscription to be older than no. 172; but it adds nothing material to our knowledge of the Chalcidian alphabet.

**177.** Δημοχαρίδος. Cf. Bechtel, *Ion.* 3, who says that in the Ionic of the Cyclades and the Asiatic coast the genitive of *i*-stems in the second element of compound names ends in -ος, not -δος. Cf. Πρωτοχάρης, no. 151 (*Samos*).

**177 a.** Bechtel, *Ion.* 3 a, while regarding the inscription as unintelligible observes that it supplies a new proof that the Chalcidians retained the original pronunciation of the υ.

# §§ 24—27. *Creta.*

Vol. II, Puntata 2 of the *Museo italiano di antichità classica*, 1887, contains further accounts of the investigations in progress at Gortyn and elsewhere. Dr Halbherr has made the interesting discovery that the circular wall, which contains the long inscription (9 g), formed part of a small ancient theatre. The inscribed portion had been carefully transported block by block from some more ancient building. The use of the numerals of a later period of the alphabet, which were previously a puzzle in the intercolumnar spaces of the long inscription, thus admit of a simple explanation. There are four strata of stone, the blocks of which were numbered consecutively Α, Β, Γ &c. from right to left, before the demolition began. The strata are numbered from top to bottom in such a way as to ensure the preservation of the inscribed columns in their proper relative position in the reconstruction. Thus ΑΑ is Col. I, Stratum 1; ΒΔ is Col. II, Stratum 4, &c.

The "muro settentrionale" alluded to on p. 41 has been further explored and is now seen to contain several more inscribed blocks.

Comparetti's restoration τρί[π]οδα ἔνα of the fragment mentioned on p. 53 has been amply confirmed by a second fragment which turns out to be the counterpart of the former; the whole now reading

ΑΥΕ | ΑΔΟΙ ΣΤ | ΥΕΜΑ,

i.e. κατιστ[ά]μεν τρίποδα ἔνα.

A fragment of calcaréous stone, discovered at *Praesos*, contains part of an inscription of five lines in a language which is certainly not Greek,



though the characters are for the most part (except Ϛ, ϛ, Ϝ, Ξ) those of the ancient Cretan alphabet. The similar phenomenon of the two inscriptions discovered in Lemnos (p. 311 *note*, 313) at once recurs to us, but it cannot be asserted as positively that this inscription of Praesos is in the Phrygian alphabet.

Six fragments discovered at Gortyn (*Mus. Ital.* II. 2, Nos. 21—26) present the remarkable peculiarity that while (1) they are written βουστροφηδόν and have as yet no special sign for ω, yet (2) they do not use the ancient Cretan alphabet, but a very much later and all but Ionic phase. The letters which are found are these :

ΑΒΓΔΕΖ . ΗΘΙΚΛΜΝ . ΟΠΡΣΤΥΦ.

We may probably add the signs for ξ, χ, ψ (cf. the development of the Melian alphabet) and perhaps the sign for ζ, unless its place was taken by δ.

§§ 28—30. *Thasos.*

24. The inscription has been conjecturally referred to Theagenes of Thasos (p. 60). To this conjecture P. Foucart (*B. C. H.* XI. 1887, 289 sqq.) objects (1) that the surviving fragments of the stone show that the right-hand column cannot have contained as many lines as is assumed in the restoration given in the text, (2) that there is no evidence of the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Thasos as early as the middle of the fifth century, (3) that the significance of the word ἀκονιτεί has been overlooked.

He refers the inscription to the victories of the Rhodian Dorieus, youngest son of Diagoras, and appeals to Paus. VI. 7. 1, 4: Δωριεύς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί... Δωριεὶ δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρὲξ ἡ Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγονάσιν ὀκτὼ νίκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσai μῖας ἐς τὰς ὀκτὼ λέγεται (in the inscription?) δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτεῖ. The distinction of a victory won ἀκονιτεῖ, i.e., from the fact that no other candidate dared to come forward, was rare. Acc. to Diodorus (IV. 14. 2) Hercules won all the prizes ἀθρήτως. Dorieus, and Dromeas of Mantinea, are the only victors 'ἀκονιτεῖ' who are recorded in history to the end of the fifth century. Mons. Foucart then proposes to restore the inscription as follows :

[Δωριεύς Διαγόρα Πέδιος]

[Ὀλυμπίῃ πανκράτιον]

[Ὀλυμπίῃ πανκράτιον]

[Ὀλυμπίῃ πανκράτιον]

[Ἰσθμοὶ πύξ]

[Ἰσθμοὶ πύξ]

[Ἰσθμ[οὶ πύξ]

[Ἰσθμ[οὶ πύξ]

[Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Νεμέ[η π]ύξ	5
5 [Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Νε[μέη] πύξ	
[Πυθοῖ π]ύξ ἀκονιτέλ	Ν[εμέ]η πύξ	
[Ἴσθμο]ῖ πύξ	Ν[εμέ]η πύξ	
[Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ	[Νεμέ]η πύξ	
[Ἴσθμ]οῖ πύξ	[Νεμέη πύξ]	10
[καλ πα]νκράτιο[ν]	[Νεμέη πύξ]	

The actual number of Isthmian victories, it must be observed, is not stated in the passage of Pausanias cited. The Olympian victories of Dorieus were gained in Ol. 87, 88, 89=432, 428, 424 B.C. If the inscription is rightly held to be commemorative of Dorieus, it would result that the Ionic alphabet and the Ionic dialect were in use in Rhodes before the last quarter of the fifth century. This conclusion is borne out by two other inscriptions found at Olympia, commemorating two Rhodians of the same family, the Diagoridæ (*A. Z.*, 1878, p. 129=Loewy, *Gr. Bildh.* 86; *A. Z.*, 1880, p. 52).

#### §§ 39—43. Attica.

65. l. 5. The expression *τπιρτοῖα* (*sic*) βάρχος occurs in an Attic inscription discovered in 1880 (*Ditt. Syll.* 13) and probably also in CIA 533, 534 (pre-Euclidean).

#### §§ 44—47. Argos.

81. T. Studniczka (*Mith.* xi. 1887, 449 sq.; cf. Wilamowitz, *Lectt. Epigr.* 1885, p. 12, and Robert, *Arch. Märchen*, p. 97), regarding Atotos and Argeiadas as the names of two persons, explains as follows. The Argive-Sicyonian school was certainly a unity (Klein, *Arch.-ep. Mith. aus Oest.* v. p. 99), its home being Sicyon. Agelaidas was the first noteworthy artist, who was entitled 'Argive,' though he too was by birth a Sicyonian, like his compeers Kanachos and Aristocles. His fame won him the citizenship of Argos, as was later the case with Polyclitus and others (Loeschke, *A. Z.* 1878, p. 11 A, 11; Robert, *Arch. Märchen* 101 sqq.). Hence Argeiadas describes himself with pride as the 'Son of the Argive.'

#### P. 120 sqq. Corinthian Vase-inscriptions.

A nearly complete ("möglichst vollständige") collection of the Corinthian vase-inscriptions is given by Paul Kretschmer in the *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, Bd. xxix. (N. F. ix.) 1887, pp. 152—176. On the usage of the signs E and B for the e-sounds he remarks as follows: (1) B denotes ε and η=orig. Greek ε and ē; (2) E denotes generally the pseudo-diphthong ει, but certainly also occasionally the genuine

diphthong, as in Ποτειδάν no. 90, IGA 20, 1a, 114, 'ΑργΕος='Αργείος (P. Kr., no. 35); so too even in Attic, e.g. ΣΟΔ|ΣΔ|Π=Πείσιδος CIA I. 373 a, . . ΡΑΚΛ'ΞΔΗΣ='Ηρακλείδης on an Attic tombstone from the middle of the 5th century, *Mith.* x. 1885, p. 365 no. 10, ΚΕΤΑ|=κείται ib. p. 370 no. 29. Further (3) sometimes Β stands for ει and Ε for ε. Kretschmer argues that Β was originally nothing more than a *cursive* form of Ε (for the antiquity of cursive writing, see G. Hinrichs in Mueller's *Hdb. d. klass. Alt.* i. 415), and that both were used simultaneously to denote ε, η and the pseudo-diphthong ει, and, united with ξ, the genuine diphthong ει. This orthography is represented on the one hand by ΒΜΞ εἰμί, P. Kr. no. 5 (but ΕΜΞ IGA 20, 6, 14 &c.), ΠοτΒξδάν IGA 20, 109 &c.; on the other hand by ΠοτΕξδάν ib. 20, 43 α, 'ΑθανΑΕα ib. 20, 4='Αθανaea for 'Αθαναία, ΠΒΡΑΕΟΟΒΝ (see above no. 90. 5) if it=Πειραιόθεν, 'ΕγραψΕ, ἀνΕθεΚΕ IGA 20, 36 α. In Corcyra the use of Ε for the pseudo-diphthong ει does not appear to have taken root; at least ἐποίει, no. 98, and εἰμ', no. 100, are written with ρξ.

There appear to have existed two forms of *beta* in the Corinthian alphabet; one is rarer, ς, in ΜΟςΟΦςΛΔ Δ[α]ίφoσος (P. Fr. no. 27), found also in Acarnania (see no. 106), at Selinus (no. 117), in Melos (nos. 8 b, j) and even on an Attic vase (Kretschmer, *l. c.*, p. 155). It may have arisen from the Phoenician form (Table, p. 5) merely by the folding back of one side of the triangle; cf. what is said of the form of β at Gortyn, p. 49. The other form we have seen on nos. 89 (i) f, 90 l b, and with the angles rounded off it appears in ΦΑΚΑϞ Α Φακάβα ('Εκάβη), P. Kr. no. 27, CIG 7379, Ca. 78. A rounded and inverted form, ϐ, is found on a didrachm of Sybaris having the unusually full legend Συβαρίτας (*retrogr.*), dating at latest from the sixth century (*Ztschr. f. Num.* vii. 1880, tab. iv. 5), where however J. Friedlaender denies any connexion with the Corinthian form of β.

**87.** l. 4. σᾱκίς Dor.=σηκίς (cf. Argive σακός in an inscr. of Epidauros 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1886, p. 158 sqq., σακίταν Theocr. i. 10) a house-slave, male or female (cf. οἰκέτης, οἰκέτις), Ar. *Vesp.* 768 and Schol. ἡ κατ' οἶκον θεράπαινα (cf. Hesych. s. v. σηκίς, Poll. iii. 76). Σηκίς as the name of a female slave in Pherecrates, 'Αγριοι frg. 10 Kock. Kretschmer, *l. c.* p. 174.

l. 6. The sixth name may possibly be Δάκων, as O. Jahn first read it.

**88.** B. 2. 'Αχάλλε(ο)ύς: nominative acc. to Kretschmer (*l. c.* p. 160), like all the other names on the vase.

**91.** Acc. to Kretschmer (*l. c.* p. 158) the correct reading is

ΞΒΝΟΚΑΒΝΜΒΑΟΚΡΙΤΟΙ, i.e., Ξενοκλή[ς] Μη[δ]οκρίτω.

§§ 93—95. *Ozolian Locris.*

231. 1 (p. 348). Dittenberger (*Observv. Epigr.* p. xi. sq., *Ind. Schol. Hall.* 1885—6; cf. *DI.* II. 1, *Nachtrag*) approves the reading of G. Curtius (*Stud.* II. 445 sq.), κα(τ) τῶνδε, which he supports by comparing the Locrian καθ' ὧν, *DI.* 1508, supposing that in E. Locris κατ τῶνδε = Attic κατὰ τὰδε.

232. 9 (p. 356). Dittenberger (*l. c.*), reading διπλείωι θωήστω, compares θφάσσει restored by him from ΟΟΑΣΕΙ in *CIA* II. 841 = Ditt. *Syll.* 359.

§§ 98, 99. *Thessaly.*

The archaic inscriptions of Thessaly are so few that the following ought not to be omitted.

242 a. On a pedestal of white marble in the form of a pillar found at Larisa. (H. G. Lolling, *Mitth.* XI. 1887, p. 450.)

ΑΡΓΕΙΑ : ΜΑΛΕΘΕΚΕ : ΥΠΕΡΠΑΙΔΟΣ  
ΤΟΔΑΓΑΛΜΑ : ΕΥΑΤΟΔΑΓΕΤΟΡ  
ΓΑΣΤΙΚΑΙ : ΕΛΟΔΙΑΙ

Ἀργεῖα μ' ἀνέθηκε ὑπὲρ παιδὸς  
τόδ' ἀγαλμα, εὗξατο δ' Ἀγήτωρ  
Γαστικᾷ εἰνοδίᾳ.

The inscription is metrical. By γαστικά may be meant Ἐκάτη, possibly so named from the Thracian tribe Ἀσται, known from Steph. Byz. and others.

§§ 100, 101. *Laconia.*

260. In the note to line 5 δουλορέστης (i.e. Orestes in the condition of a slave) should perhaps have been written *Dulorestes*. The word, which does not appear to occur in Greek, is known as the title of a Play of Pacuvius, of which many fragments have survived. It is not exactly known on what Greek play the *Dulorestes* was founded, though, as all the plays of Pacuvius were *palliatae*, it was probably imitated from a Greek original. It certainly did not follow the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. (J. S. Reid on *Cic. Lael.* § 24.)

## TABLES OF ARCHAIC GREEK ALPHABETS.

### EASTERN GROUP.

- A. THE ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN SEA.
- B. THE MAINLAND OF HELLAS (ATTICA, ARGOS, CORINTH AND ITS COLONIES, PHLIUS, MEGARA AND ITS COLONIES, AEGINA).
- C. THE IONIC ALPHABET.

### WESTERN GROUP.

- D. STATES OF NORTHERN GREECE.
- E. STATES OF PELOPONNESUS.

*Note.* The asterisk denotes that the letter to which it is attached is written retrograde. The sign .. denotes that the letter in the place of which it stands may be presumed to have been present in the alphabet but is accidentally absent from the extant inscriptions.

## A. THE ISLANDS

		α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	η	θ	ι	κ	
Thera	I	ΑΑ ΑΑ	Γ?	Γ	Δ	ΕΕΕ ΕΕΕ	Ϝ		Η η	Θ Θ	Ι Ι	Κ Κ	1
	II	Α				Ε				Θ	Ι		2
Melos	I	Α	..	Γ	Δ	Ε	..	..	Η η		Ι	Κ	3
	II	Α	Υ	Γ	Δ	Ε	..	..	Η η	Θ	Ι	Κ	4
	III	Α	Υ	Γ	Δ	Ε	..	..	Η η		Ι	Κ	5
(Naukratis, Vase)		ΑΑ Α	..	..	Δ	Ε Ε	..	..	Η η	Θ	Ι	Κ	6
Crete		ΑΑ ΑΑ	Γ Γ	Λ Λ	Δ	ΕΕΕ Ε Ε	Ϝ Ϝ	Ι Ι	Η η	Θ Θ	Ι Ι	Κ Κ	7
						Ε Ε	Ϝ Ϝ	Ι Ι	Η η	Θ Θ	Ι Ι	Κ Κ	
Paros, Siphnos		ΑΑ ΑΑ Α	Υ Υ	Λ	Δ	ΕΕΕ		Ι	Η η	Θ Θ	Ι	Κ Κ	8
Thasos		ΑΑ ΑΑ	Υ	Λ	Δ	Ε		Ι	Η η	Θ	Ι	Κ	9
Delos		Α	Υ	..	..	Ε		..	Η	..	Ι	Κ	10
Naxos		ΑΑ ΑΑ	Υ	Λ	Δ	ΕΕΕ Ε Ε	Ϝ		Η η	Θ	Ι	Κ Κ	11
Ceos		ΑΑ Α	Υ	Λ	Δ	Ε Ε		..	Η η	Θ	Ι	Κ Κ	12

## OF THE AEGEAN SEA.

	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
1	↑↑ Λ	↑↑↑ Μ	↑↑ Ν		ο Ο ο, ου	↑↑ Π	φ Ρ	↑↑ Σ	Τ	Υ↑ Υ↑ Υ↑				⊙?
2		Μ	Ν		ο Ο			Ξ			Φ			
3	Λ	Μ	ΝΝ		ο Ο ο, ου (οι)	Π	..	Δ	Μ	Τ	Υ			
4	Λ	Μ	ΝΝ	..	ο Ο	Π	..	Ρ	Μ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	..
5	Λ	ΜΜ	ΝΝ	Ξ	ο Ο	Π	..	Ρ	Ξ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	..
6	Λ	Μ	Ν	..	ο Ο	Π	..	Δ	Ξ	Τ	..	Φ	Χ	ο
7	↑↑ Λ	↑↑↑ Μ	↑↑ Ν		ο Ο ο, ου	↑↑ Π	φ Ρ	↑↑ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			
8	Μ	Μ	↑↑ Ν		ο Ο	Π	φ	↑↑ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ		ο
9	Γ	Μ	Ν		ο Ο	Π	?	Ρ	Ξ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	ο
10	Λ	Μ	Ν		ο Ο	Π	..	Δ	Ξ	Τ	..	Χ		ο
11	↑↑ Λ	↑↑ Μ	↑↑ Ν		ο Ο	Π	↑↑	↑↑ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ		
12	Λ	Μ	↑↑ Ν	ξ?	ο Ο	Π	Ρ	↑↑ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ		

## B. THE MAINLAND

		$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\delta$	$\epsilon$	$F$	$\zeta$	$\eta$	$\theta$	$\nu$	$\chi$	
Attica	I	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X}^* \text{X}^* \\ \text{X}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	..	..	$\Delta^p$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{J}^* \\ \text{J} \end{smallmatrix}$		I	$\text{H}^h$	..	$\zeta^*$	..	1
	II	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{AAA} \\ \text{AA} \end{smallmatrix}$	$\theta^*$	$\lambda$	$\Delta$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \\ \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \end{smallmatrix}$			$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	$\text{X}^* \text{K}$ $\text{K}$	2
	III	A	B	$\lambda$	$\Delta$	E		I	$\text{H}^h$	$\bigcirc$	I	KK	3
Argos	I	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{AA} \\ \text{AA} \end{smallmatrix}$	B	$\lambda^* \lambda$	D	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \\ \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{F}^* \\ \text{F} \end{smallmatrix}$	..	$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	$\text{X}^* \text{K}$ $\text{K}$	4
	II	AAA	..	$\Gamma$ C	D	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \\ \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	F	..	$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	KK	5
Corinth	I	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{AAA} \\ \text{AA} \end{smallmatrix}$	$\Gamma$	C < I	$\Delta$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \\ \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X}^* \text{F}^* \\ \text{X}^* \text{F}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	I	$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	$\Sigma \Sigma$	$\text{X}^* \text{K}$ $\text{X}^* \text{K}$	6
	II	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{AA} \\ \text{A} \end{smallmatrix}$	..	..	$\Delta$	E	..	..	..	..	I	K	7
Sicyon		A $\Delta$ A	B	..	$\Delta$	$\Sigma$ E	$\wedge$ F	I	..	..	I	K	8
Corcyra		$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{A}^* \text{A}^* \\ \text{AA} \end{smallmatrix}$	$\Gamma$	$\gamma$ <	$\Delta$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \text{B}^* \\ \text{B} \end{smallmatrix}$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X}^* \text{X}^* \\ \text{X}^* \text{X}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	..	$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	$\Sigma \Sigma \Sigma$	$\text{X}^* \text{X}^*$	9
Leucas	I	A								$\oplus$	I	K	10
	II	A			$\Delta$	E					I	K	11
Acarmania		AA	$\gamma$	C	$\Delta$	B	..	..	?	$\oplus$	I	K	12
Epirus (Dodona)				$\lambda$					$\text{N}^h$				13
Acrae		A							$\text{H}^h$		I		14
Syracuse		A AA			$\Delta$	$\text{E} \text{E} \text{E}$			$\text{H}^h$		I	K	15
Phlius	I	AA			$\Delta$	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{E}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \\ \text{E}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \end{smallmatrix}$			$\text{H}^h$		$\zeta$		16
	II				.	E					I		17
Megara	I	A $\Delta$ A	$\Gamma$ C	C	$\Delta$	B BE	..	..	$\text{H}^h$	$\bigcirc$	I	K	18
	II	AA		$\gamma$ C	$\sigma$ D	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{E}^* \\ \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{J}^* \text{E}^* \end{smallmatrix}$	$\text{J}^*$		$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	$\text{X}^* \text{K}$	19
Selinus		A	$\wedge$	<	D	E	..	..	$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	KK	20
Aegina		$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{AAA} \\ \text{AAA} \end{smallmatrix}$	B	$\Gamma$	$\Delta$ D	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \\ \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \text{E}^* \end{smallmatrix}$			$\text{H}^h$	$\oplus$	I	$\text{X}^* \text{K}$	21



## OF HELLAS.

	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
1	λ	..	γ*		ο	π*	..	ρ*	ς	τ	υ	..	χ	
2	λ*	μ* μ	γ* μ ν		ο	π*	ρ	ς*	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ	
3	λ	μ	ν ν		ο	π	ρ ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ		
4	λ*	μ μ	γ* ν	..	ο	π	ρ*	ς	τ	υ	..	χ		
5	λ*	μ	ν ν	Η	ο	π	ρ ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ		
6	λ*	μ μ*	γ* γ*	Ξ	ο	π*	ρ	ς*	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ
7	..	[μ]	ν ν	Θ	π		ρ	..	τ	υ	..	χ	..	
8	..	μ	ν	..	ο	π	..	μ	..	υ	..	..	..	
9	λ*	μ μ*	γ* ν	Η	ο	π*	ρ*	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ	..	
10	λ	μ		Θ	ο		ρ	ς	τ	υ				
11	λ	μ	ν	ο				ς	τ	υ	φ			
12	λ λ	μ μ	ν ν	..	ο	π π	..	ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ	..	..	..
13			ν					ς	τ	υ	φ	χ		
14		μ		ο		ρ	ς	ς	τ	υ	[τ]			
15	λ	μ	ν	ο	π		ρ	ς	τ	υ				
16	λ*	μ*	γ*	ο		φ	ρ*	ς	τ					
17	λ			ο				ς		φ				
18	λ	μ	ν ν	ο	π π	ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ		[ψ]			
19	λ	μ	ν ν	ο	π*	ρ	ς*	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ		
20	λ	μ	ν ν	Ξ	ο	π	ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	
21	λ	μ μ	ν ν ν	ο	π		ρ ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	χ		

## C. THE IONIC

	$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\delta$	$\epsilon$	$\zeta$	$\eta$	$\theta$	$\iota$	$\kappa$	
Abou-Symbel											1
Naucratis											2
Miletus											3
Erythrae											4
Teos											5
Abdera											6
Ephesus											7
Halicarnasus											8
Proconnesus											9
Cyzicus											10
Chios											11
Samos											12
Amorgos											13
Samothrace											14
North coast of Euxine											15
Cebrene											16
Thymbra											17
Mitylene I											18
II											19

## ALPHABET.

	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
1	$\lambda^* \lambda$	$\mu \mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
2	$\lambda^* \lambda$	$\mu \mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
3	$\lambda^* \lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu^* \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
4	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
5	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
6	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
7	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
8	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
9	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu^* \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
10	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu^* \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
11	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu \nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
12	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu^* \nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
13	$\lambda^* \lambda$	$\mu^* \mu$	$\nu^* \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
14	$\lambda$	$\mu^*$	$\nu^* \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
15	$\lambda$	$\mu \mu$	$\nu \nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
16	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
17	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
18	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$
19	$\lambda$	$\mu$	$\nu$	$\xi$	$\sigma$	$\pi$	$\rho$	$\sigma$	$\tau$	$\upsilon$	$\phi$	$\chi$	$\psi$	$\omega$

## D. STATES OF

		$\alpha$	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\delta$	$\epsilon$	F	$\zeta$	$\eta$	$\theta$	$\iota$	$\kappa$	
Euboea, Styra &c.		$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$	BB	$\Gamma$	$\overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ $\overset{\wedge}{E}$		$\overset{\wedge}{I} \overset{\wedge}{I}$	H	$\oplus$ $\oplus$	I	K	1
Chalcis		AAA	B	$\wedge$	$\Delta$	EE			B?	$\odot \otimes$	I	$\chi^* K$	2
Chalcidian Colonies		$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ $\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$	B	C	$\overset{\Delta}{D} \overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ $\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	$\Gamma$	I	$\overset{\wedge}{H} \overset{\wedge}{H}$ H	$\oplus \otimes$ $\odot$	I	$\chi^* K K$	3
Vases	I <sup>1</sup>	AAA	$\delta^*$	$\gamma^* \lambda^*$	$\overset{\Delta}{D} \overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ $\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	$\gamma^* \Gamma$	I	H	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	$\chi^* K K$	4
(Formello)II <sup>2</sup>		AA	B	$\zeta$	D	E	$\Gamma \Gamma$	$\zeta$	H	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	K	5
(Caere) III <sup>3</sup>		A	B	C	D	E	$\Gamma$	I	H	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	K	6
(Colle) IV <sup>4</sup>		A	B	C	D	E	$\Gamma$	I?	H	$\odot$	I	K	7
Boeotia		$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ $\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ AA	BB	$\overset{\wedge}{\Gamma} \overset{\wedge}{\Gamma}$ $\wedge \wedge$	$\overset{\Delta}{D} \overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ $\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ E	$\overset{\wedge}{F} \overset{\wedge}{F} \overset{\wedge}{F}$	I	H	$\oplus \otimes$ $\odot$	I	$\chi^* K K$	8
Phocis		$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ A	B?	$\gamma^* \Gamma$ C $\Gamma$	$\overset{\Delta}{D} \overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$ E E	$\gamma^* F$		H	$\oplus \oplus$ $\odot$	I	$\chi^* K$	9
Locri Ozolae	I <sup>5</sup>	A	B	C	D	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	$\overset{\wedge}{F} \overset{\wedge}{F}$	$\neq$	H	$\oplus$	I	KK	10
	II <sup>6</sup>	AA		$\Gamma$	D	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	F	$\overset{\wedge}{I} \overset{\wedge}{I}$	H	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	K	11
	III <sup>7</sup>	A	B	$\zeta$	D	EE	F	$\overset{\wedge}{I} \overset{\wedge}{I}$	H	$\odot$	I	K	12
	IV <sup>8</sup>	A	..	$\zeta$	D	E		..	H	$\odot$	I	K	13
Locri Opuntii		$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ AA	..	$\wedge$	D	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	..	..	$\neq$	$\oplus$	I	K	14
Locri Epizephyrii		AA	..	..	D	EE E	..	..	..	$\odot$	I	K	15
Thessaly	I	$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ AAA	..	$\wedge \Gamma$	$\overset{\Delta}{D} \overset{\Delta}{D}$	$\overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E} \overset{\wedge}{E}$	$\overset{\wedge}{F} \overset{\wedge}{F}$	I	B?	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	KK	16
	II	$\overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A} \overset{\wedge}{A}$ AAA	..	..	..	E E	F	..	..	$\oplus$ $\odot$	I	KK	17

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 188—194.<sup>2</sup> P. 16 sq.<sup>3</sup> P. 17 sq.<sup>4</sup> P. 18.

## NORTHERN GREECE.

	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
1	Λ	Μ	ΝΝ	+	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>Ρ</sup> <sub>Ρ</sub>	ΣΣΣ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Ψ		
2	λ	μ	ν <sup>ν</sup> Ν		ο		ρ	ς	τ	υ				
3	λ <sup>λ</sup> λ λλ	μ <sup>μ</sup> μ μμμ	ν <sup>ν</sup> ν <sup>ν</sup> νν	+	ο	ππ	ρ <sup>ρ</sup> <sub>ρ</sub>	ς <sup>ς</sup> ς <sup>ς</sup> ςς	τ	υ	φ	↓		
4	λ <sup>λ</sup> λ <sup>λ</sup> λλ	μμμμ	ν <sup>ν</sup> ν <sup>ν</sup> ν <sup>ν</sup> νν	+	ο	ππ	ρ <sup>ρ</sup> <sub>ρ</sub> <sup>ρ</sup> ρ <sup>ρ</sup> ρρρ	ς <sup>ς</sup> ς <sup>ς</sup> ςςς	τ	υ	φ	ψ		
5	λ	μ	νν	χ <sup>+</sup> (⊕)	ο	ππ	ρρ	ςς	τ	υ	φ	ψ		
6	..	..	μ?	χ <sup>+</sup> (⊕)	ο	π	..	ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	ψ	
7	λ	μ	ν	(⊕)	ο	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
8	λλλ	μμμ	ν <sup>ν</sup> νν ννν	+	ο	ππ ππ ππ	ρ <sup>ρ</sup> <sub>ρ</sub> <sup>ρ</sup> ρ <sup>ρ</sup> ρρρ	ς <sup>ς</sup> ς <sup>ς</sup> ςς	τ	υ	φ	ψ	↓	
9	λ <sup>λ</sup> λ	μμμ	ν <sup>ν</sup> νν	+	ο	ππ	ρ <sup>ρ</sup> <sub>ρ</sub>	ςς	τ	υ	φ	ψ		
10	λλ	μμμ	ν	+	ο	π	ρρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	↓	*	
11	λλ	μ	ν	+	ο	π	ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	↓		
12	λλ	μ	ν	+	ο	π	ρ	ς	τ	υ		ψ	*	
13		μ	νν	..	ο	..	ρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	..		
14	λ	μ	ν <sup>ν</sup> νν		ο	π	ρ	ς	τ	υ		↓		
15	λ	μ	νν	+	ο	..	ρ <sup>ρ</sup> <sub>ρ</sub> <sup>ρ</sup> ρ <sup>ρ</sup> ρρρ	ς	τ	υ	φ	ψ		
16	λ	μμμ	ν <sup>ν</sup> νν	+	ο	π	ρρρ	ςςς	τ	υ	φ	ψ		
17	λ	μμμ	νν		ο	..	ρ	ς	τ	υ	..	ψ		

## E. STATES OF

		α	β	γ	δ	ε	Ϝ	ζ	η	θ	ι	κ	
Laconia	I	AAA A	δ'β Λ	Γ Λ	δ Λ	ε Λ	Ϝ Λ	ζ Λ	η Λ	θ Λ	ι Λ	κ Λ	1
	II	AAA		C	D	E	F	I	B	⊕	I	K	2
	III	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F		B	⊕	I	K	3
	IV	A				E					I	K	4
	V	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F		η H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	5
Tarentum and Heraclea		AA AAA	..	Δ	Ϝ	Ϝ	..	η H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	K	6
	No. 268	A	β		Δ	E					I		7
	No. 271	A	θ	Γ	Δ	E	Ϝ	I	(H) η	⊙	I	K	8
	No. 272	AA	β	Γ	Δ	E	Ϝ	I	η	⊙	I	K	9
Arcadia		AAAA AA	..	Δ	Δ	E	F	..	η H	⊕ ⊙ ⊙	I	K	10
	Hermione, &c.	AAA AA	..	Γ	Δ	E	F	..	η H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	11
Elis		AAA AAA	β	Γ	Δ	E	F	I		⊕ ⊙ ⊙	I	K	12
		AAA AAA A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F	(I)	H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	13
Achaia		AAA AAA A	B	Γ	Δ	E	F	(I)	H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	13
Cephallenia		A	..	C	D	E	F	..	B	⊕	I	K	14
Ithaca		AAA A	..	..	..	E		..	η H	⊕ ⊙	I	K	15

## PELOPONNESUS.

	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω
1	Λ <sup>*</sup>	Μ	Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν Ν	Χ	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ Ρ	Σ <sup>*</sup> Σ <sup>*</sup> Σ Σ	Τ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Υ	Φ	Χ <sup>*</sup> Υ		
2	Λ	Μ	Ν Ν	Χ	Ο	Π	Ρ Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ Υ	Φ	↓		
3	Λ Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν	Χ	Ο	Π	Ρ Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ		
4	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π		Σ	Τ	Υ				
5	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Χ	(Σ)	
6	Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν	..	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ Ρ	Σ <sup>*</sup> Σ <sup>*</sup> Σ Σ	Τ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Υ	..	Χ	(Σ)	
7		Μ	Ν <sup>*</sup>		Ο		Ρ <sup>*</sup>	Σ	Τ					
8	Λ	Μ	Ν	≡	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ?	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	(Υ) (Σ)	
9	Λ	Μ	Ν Ν Ν	Χ <sup>+</sup>	Ο	Π	Ρ Ρ Ρ	Σ Σ Σ	Τ					
10	Λ Λ <sup>*</sup> Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν Ν	≡ ≡ ≡	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ Ρ	Σ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Χ		
11	Λ	Μ Μ	Ν Ν Ν	Χ	Ο	Π	Ρ Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	..	Υ <sup>*</sup> Χ?		
12	Λ <sup>*</sup> Λ <sup>*</sup> Λ	Μ <sup>*</sup> Μ <sup>*</sup> Μ	Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν	Χ <sup>+</sup> Χ	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ Ρ	Σ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Υ		
13	Λ <sup>*</sup> Μ <sup>*</sup> Λ Λ	Μ <sup>*</sup> Μ <sup>*</sup> Μ	Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν <sup>*</sup> Ν	Χ <sup>+</sup>	Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ Ρ	Σ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ <sup>*</sup> Υ		
14	Λ <sup>*</sup>	Μ Μ	Ν Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ <sup>*</sup> Ρ	Σ Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Υ		
15		Μ <sup>*</sup> ?	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	..	..	..		

REFERENCE TABLE, showing the numbers of the inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, the *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* and P. Cauer's *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. 2), which correspond to the inscriptions of this work.

	CIG	IGA	Ca.		CIG	IGA	Ca.
1 a		436	141. 2	22		379	525
b		437	141. 6	23			526
c		438		24		380	
d		439		a		380 a	459
e		440	141. 3	25		407	516
f		441	141. 7	26 a		408	517
g		442	141. 8	27		409	518
h		443		28		410	519
i		444	141. 5	29	2422	411	520
k		445	141. 4	31 b	41	394	529
m		446, 7	141. 1	32		393	
n		449	141. 9	33		396—8	531—2
o		450				CIA	
2 a—d		451	142 a—d	35		i. 355 and	
3		452				Suppl. p. 40	
4 a		453	144	36		i. 463	
b		454	146. 5	37		i. 467	
c		455	145	38		i. 468	
d		456	143	39	22	i. 465	
e		457		40		i. 470	
f		458	146. 8	41		i. 471	
g		459				IGA	
h		460	146. 2	42 (146)	8	492	487
i		461	146. 7			CIA	
j		462		43	23	i. 469 Add.	
k		463	146. 3	44		i. 466	
l		465		a		Suppl. 477 b	
m		466	146. 6	45 a		i. 472	
5		479		46		i. 348	
6 a	2746 i	469		47		i. 350	
b		470		48		i. 357	
7	3	412	133	49		i. 475	
8 a		413	135. 7	50		i. 476	
b		414	135. 8	51		i. 349	
c		415	135. 1	52		i. 351	
d		416	135. 5	53		Suppl. 477 a	
e		417	135. 6	54		i. 358	
f		419		55		i. 360	
g	2434	420	135. 2	56		Suppl. 373 e	
h		422	135. 4	57		i. 479	
i		423	135. 3	58		i. 481	
j		429	136. 1	59		i. 482	
k		430	136. 3	60		i. 478	
l		431	136. 2	61		i. 483	
m		432		62		i. 352 & Suppl.	
n		433		63		i. 353	
o			137. 4	64		i. 393	
q			137. 2	65		i. 5	
r				66	167, 168	i. 432	
s	2436 b		137. 1	67		i. 374	
t			137. 3	68		i. 375	
9 q		476	113	a		i. 376	
11 b		480		69	165	i. 433	
13		474	114	70		i. 284	
15	24	402		71		i. 422	
16		400	521			IGA	
17		401	522	72 a		34	
18		403—5		73	2	30	48
19		406	523				
20	2423 c	399	528				
21		378					



	CIG	IGA	Ca.		CIG	IGA	Ca.
74	6	31		138		488	486
75	29 Add.	32	49	139		489	
76 <sup>a</sup>	14	35		140		490	
77 <sup>b</sup>	18	39	52	141		495	
78 <sup>c</sup>	19	40	50	142	3044	497	480
79	166	36 (CIA 441)		143		499	481
80	17	37	50	144	2953	489	478
81		38	51	145		500	491
82		41	54	146	see 42		
83 <sup>a</sup>		42	55	147		491	488
84		43		148	3695	501	
85		43 <sup>a</sup>		149		381	496
86		44		150		382	497
87		45	56	151		383	503
88		15	71	152		384	504
89		16-19	72	153	2247	385	505
90	7	20		154		386	506
91		23	81	155		387	507
92		24		156		388	
93		28 <sup>a</sup>		157		388 <sup>a</sup>	
94		21		158 <sup>c</sup>	2263 <sup>b</sup> Add.	389	511
95		22		159 <sup>a, b</sup>		390 Add.	512
96		340	82	160 <sup>a</sup>		391 Add.	
97		341		160 <sup>b</sup>		Im. p. 46	513
98		342	83	160 <sup>c</sup>		Im. p. 47	514
99		343	84	160 <sup>d</sup>		Im. p. 48	
100		344	85	160 <sup>e</sup>		Im. p. 48	
101		345	86	160 <sup>f</sup>		Im. p. 48	
102		346	87	161		392	
103		347		162	40	377	
104		348	92	163	2133	350	555
105		349	93	164		496	556
106	1794 <sup>h</sup>	329	91	165		498	
107	174 <sup>g</sup>	330		166		502	
108		332		166 <sup>b</sup>		503	426
109 <sup>a</sup>	5458	507	96	166 <sup>c</sup>		504	
110 <sup>b</sup>	5435	508	97	167		370	557
111	16	509	94	168		371	
112 <sup>a</sup>	21	510	95	169		372	533
113 <sup>b</sup>	37	28 <sup>a</sup>		170		373	552
114 <sup>c</sup>		28 <sup>b</sup>		171		378	535
115		28		172		375	
116		11	100	173	8337	524	539
117		12 Add.	134	174	32 Add.	525	542
118 <sup>a</sup>		13		175		526	543
119 <sup>b</sup>		14	101	176		527	
120 <sup>c</sup>		514	109	177		528	540
121		515	110	178		518	
122		516		179		374	
123 <sup>a</sup>		517		180		532	537
124 <sup>b</sup>		518		181		533	
125 <sup>c</sup>	8737	519		182		536	538
126		549		183 <sup>a</sup>		519	541
127 <sup>a</sup>	2138 Add.	351		183 <sup>b</sup>		520	
128 <sup>b</sup>		352	65	184		522	
129 <sup>c</sup>		353		185		523	
130	2138 <sup>d</sup> Add.	354	68	187		521	
131 <sup>a</sup>	2140 <sup>e</sup> Add.	355		188	7381		544
132 <sup>b</sup>	2140 <sup>a'</sup> Add.	356	67	189	7696		545
133		357	67	190	7459		546
134		358	68		7460		547
135		359	69		7582		548
136		360		191			
137	2140 <sup>a''</sup> Add.	361		192			
		362		193			
		363		194			
		363-7, 369		195			
	2143 <sup>g</sup>	482	174	196		183	288
	5126	473	175	197		186	285
		512 <sup>a</sup>		198		187	
		483	484	199 <sup>a</sup>		191	348
		484	485	199 <sup>b</sup>		240	
		485		200		198	
	39	486		201		243	
	2861	487				300	350
						301	

	CIG	IGA	Ca.		CIG	IGA	Ca.
202		129	347	218 <i>d</i>		266	358. 25
203 <i>a</i>	1639	163	289. 1	219		265	361
<i>b</i>		217	289. 2	220 <i>a</i>		201	344. 1
<i>c</i>	1643	258	289. 3	<i>b</i>		202	
<i>d</i>		259		<i>c</i>		249	344. 2
<i>e</i>		292	289. 4	<i>d</i>		271	
<i>f</i>		293		<i>e</i>		272	
<i>g</i>		294	289. 5	221		247 <i>a</i>	
<i>h</i>		295		222 <i>a</i>		166	362
<i>i</i>		296	289. 6	<i>b</i>		200	
<i>k</i>		297	289. 7	223 <i>a</i>		143	
<i>l</i>			289. 8	<i>b</i>		144	284
<i>m</i>			289. 9	224 <i>a</i>		149	379
204	25	165		<i>b</i>		254	380
205	1678 <i>b</i>	150		225		234	276
206 <i>a</i>		214		226		298 <i>a</i>	
<i>b</i>		256	321. 1	227		219	286
<i>c</i>		290	321. 2	228	1	314	202
<i>d</i>		291		229		319	203
<i>e</i>		257		230 <i>a</i>		315	
<i>f</i>		403		<i>b</i>		316	
206 <i>bis</i> (i)		215		<i>c</i>		317	
(ii)		216		<i>d</i>	2024	318	
207 <i>a</i>		211	330. 1	<i>e</i>		320	
<i>b</i>		212		230 <i>bis</i>		Im. p. 72	203 <i>a</i>
<i>c</i>		253		231		321	229
<i>d</i>		264	330. 2	232		322	230
<i>e</i>		286	330. 3	233		323	231
<i>f</i>		287		234	5769 Addl.	537	233
<i>g</i>		288		235	5778 <i>b</i>	538	234
<i>h</i>		289	330. 4	236 <i>a</i>		307	227
<i>i</i>		302	330. 5	<i>b</i>		308	
208		146		<i>c</i>		309	226. 1
209		145	332. 1	<i>d</i>		310	
210 <i>a</i>		147		<i>e</i>		311	226. 2
<i>b</i>		204	332. 2	<i>f</i>		312	226. 3
<i>c</i>		205		<i>g</i>		313	
<i>d</i>		206		237			
<i>e</i>		206 <i>a</i>		<i>a</i>		324	392
<i>f</i>		207		237 <i>bis</i>			
<i>g</i>		209	332. 3	238			
<i>h</i>		210		239		325	393
<i>i</i>		250	332. 4	240 <i>a</i>			403
<i>j</i>		253	332. 5	<i>b</i>			404
<i>k</i>		262	336	241		327	394
<i>l</i>		280	332. 10	242		328	
<i>m</i>		282	332. 11	243		49	
<i>n</i>		284		244		49 <i>a</i> Addl.	1
211		148		245		51	2
212		210 <i>a</i>	335	246		52	3
213		167		247	35	53	
214 <i>a</i>		151	374	248		54	4
<i>b</i>		162	375	249		56	
<i>c</i>			375 <i>a</i>	250		57	
<i>d</i>		218		251		60	5
<i>e</i>		298		252		61	6
215 <i>a</i>		124		253		62	
<i>b</i>		125		254		63	
<i>c</i>		126	358. 1	255		62 <i>a</i> Addl.	8
<i>d</i>		126 <i>a</i>		<i>a</i>		84	7
<i>e</i>		127	358. 2	256		67 Addl.	
216 <i>a</i>		130	358. 3	p. 254		537	
<i>b</i>		131	358. 4	257		68	10
<i>c</i>		132	358. 5	258	1511	69	11
<i>d</i>		134		259		70	11
<i>e</i>		135	358. 7	260	1469	72	13
<i>f</i>		137		261		75 Addl.	14
<i>g</i>		139	358. 9	262		76	
<i>h</i>		162	358. 11	263		77 <i>b</i> Addl.	15
<i>i</i>		163	359	264		79	17
217		157	357	265 <i>b</i>		83	19
218 <i>a</i>		164	358. 17	<i>c</i>		86	21
<i>b</i>		169		<i>d</i>		88	22
<i>c</i>		172		266		87	20. 2

	CIG	IGA	Ca.		CIG	IGA	Ca.
267		91 Add.	24	292		112 Add.	253
268		546		293		112 <i>a</i> Add.	262
269		547		294		113	257
270		548	38	295		113 <i>f</i> Add.	255
274		92	468	296		113 <i>c</i>	259
275		93	469	297		118	260
276		94	451	298		119 Add.	261
277		95	445	299		120	
278	1520	96	452	300		121 Add.	263
279		98		301 <i>a</i>	20	123	266
280		99 Add.		302		540	
281		100	446	303	5778	541	
282	1512	102	453	304		542	273
283		105	467	<i>a</i>		Im. xv. 5	277
284		106	442	305		545	
285		107	443	306		543	275
286		46 Add.	63	307		544	274
287	1195	47		<i>a</i>	5	550	276
288	1194	48	59	308		334	270
289		89		309	1928	335	271
290		109 Add.		310		336	
291	11	110	258	311		337	272



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Note:  $\gamma$  appears under  $g$ ;  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$  under  $e$ ; *spiritus asper* under  $h$ ;  $F$  under  $f$ ;  $\zeta$  under  $z$ ;  $\theta$  under  $th$ ;  $\xi$  under  $x$ ;  $o$  and  $\omega$  under  $o$ ;  $\varphi$  under  $q$ ;  $\phi$  under  $ph$ ;  $\chi$  under  $ch$ ;  $\psi$  under  $ps$ . The numbers refer to pages.

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